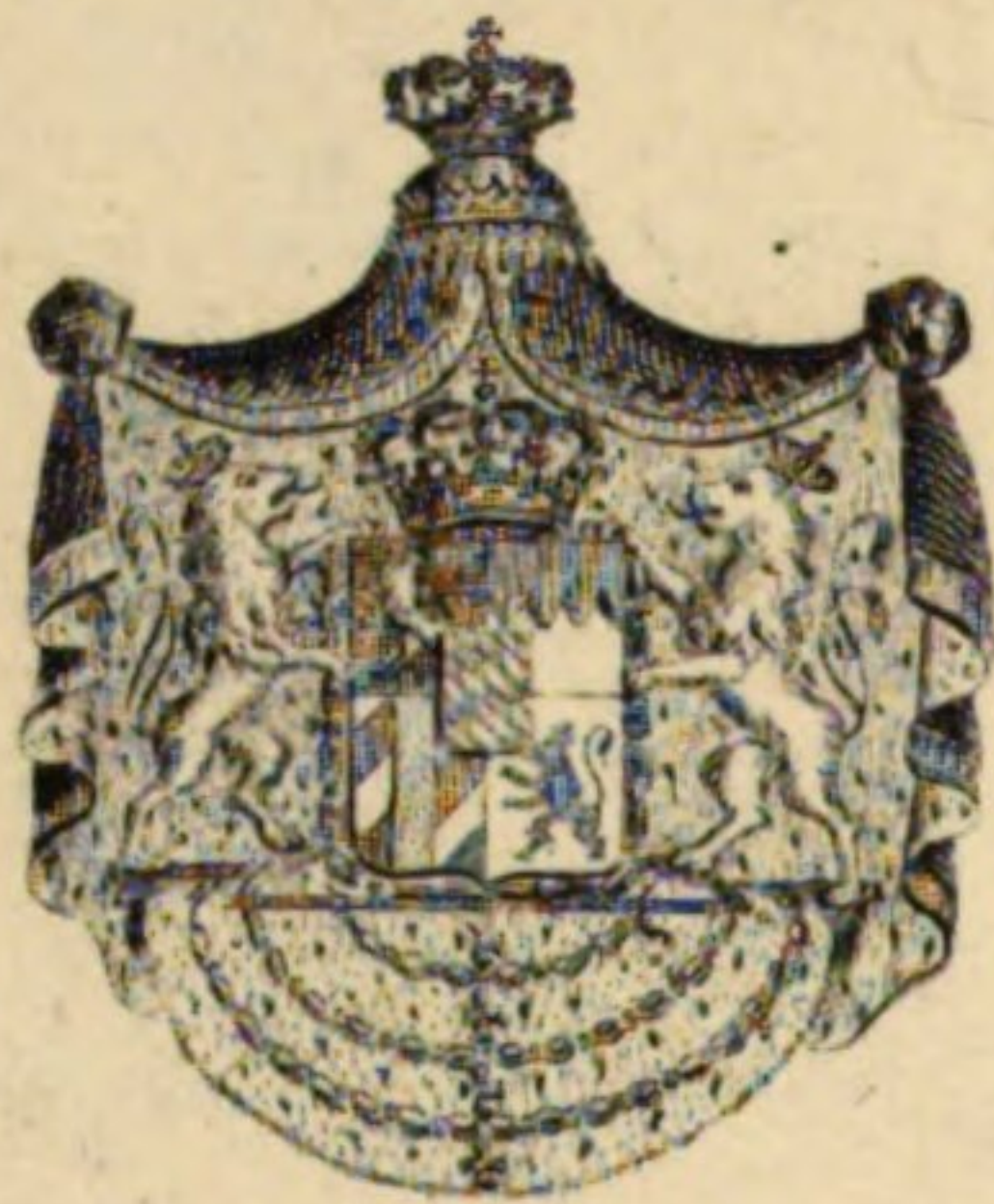




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THE ARCHBISHOP'S PALACE OF ARMAGH.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS
OF THE
CITY OF ARMAGH,
FOR A PERIOD OF 1373 YEARS,
COMPRISING
A CONSIDERABLE PORTION
OF THE
GENERAL HISTORY OF IRELAND;
A
REFUTATION
OF
THE OPINIONS OF DR. LEDWICH,
RESPECTING THE
Non-Existence of St. Patrick;
AND
AN APPENDIX,
ON THE
LEARNING, ANTIQUITIES, AND RELIGION OF THE
IRISH NATION.

——
BY JAMES STUART, A. B.
——

"NESCIO QUA NATALE SOLUM DULCEDINE CUNCTOS.

"DUCIT ET IMMEMORES NON SINIT ESSE SUI."—*Ovid. de Ponto.*

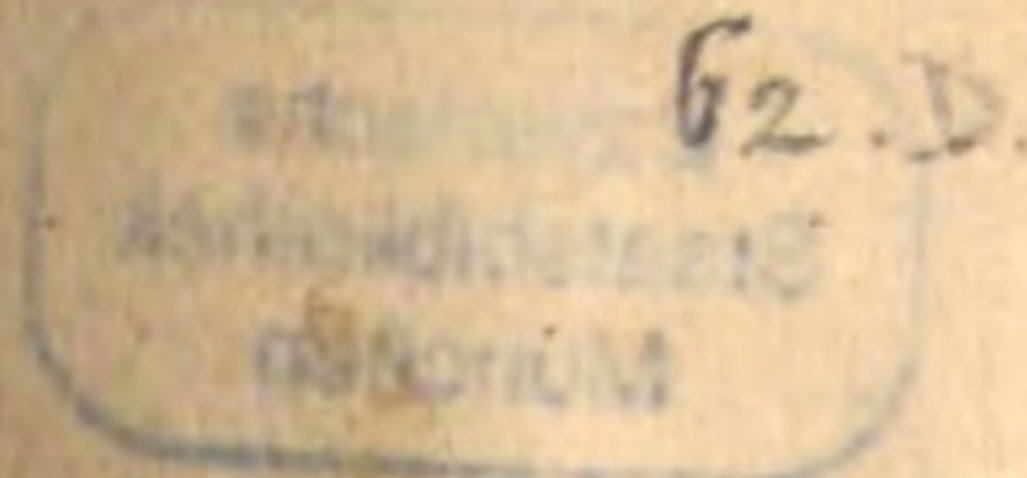
—
"FORSAN HÆC OLIM MEMINISSE JUVABIT."—*Virgil.*

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—
1819.



HISTORICAL MEMOIRS
OF THE
CITY OF ARMAUGH
FOR A SERIES OF YEARS

THIS WORK CONTAINS OF 18 VOLUMES
FOLLOWING IMPORTANT CONTENTS—
DESCRIPTION

IN THE HISTORY OF ARMAUGH, WITH A
THE HISTORY OF THE CITY OF ARMAUGH
AND THE HISTORY OF THE CITY OF ARMAUGH

THE HISTORY OF THE CITY OF ARMAUGH
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München

PREFACE.

THIS work will be found to comprise the following important objects:—

1st, Historical Memoirs of Armagh, with a statistical account of that city.

2d, Biographical sketches of the various prelates who presided, in succession, over the see of Armagh, from the year 445 till the reformation.

3d, A biographical account of the Protestant archbishops of Armagh, primates of all Ireland, from the period of the reformation till the year 1818.

4th, A similar account of the lives of the Roman Catholic archbishops of Armagh, or titular primates of all Ireland.

5th, A narrative of various important events in the general history of Ireland, in which the

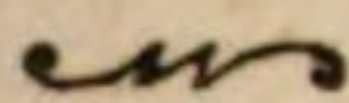
archbishops of Armagh, and the church of Ireland, were either directly or indirectly concerned.

6th, An account of the establishment of Presbyterian congregations, and of other religious societies in the city of Armagh; with biographical sketches of the Presbyterian ministers in regular order.

7th, Various matters relating to the trade, manufactures, antiquities, manners, customs, learning and religion of the country, &c. which are either interspersed through the work, or subjoined in appendices.

In giving a biographical account of the Roman Catholic archbishops of Armagh, subsequent to the reformation, and in discussing many other topics comprised in these Memoirs, the author has attempted to elucidate subjects hitherto untouched.—It would be presumptuous in him to assert that he has successfully perfected his intended outline; but he is conscious of having written without prejudice, and of having aimed solely at the establishment of truth. The duties of a laborious avocation have, indeed, materially impeded the progress of his researches. Yet he

fondly hopes a discerning public will do him the justice to believe, that he has bestowed a considerable share of attention on these Memoirs, and he humbly conceives that he has thrown some additional light on a very interesting portion of Irish history. To the judgment of that tribunal, he submits his work, with the most respectful deference.



The author had intended to annex a view of the Sessions-house, lately built in the city of Armagh, to these Memoirs. He finds, however, that the engraving cannot be executed in time for the publication of his work, and he has, therefore, substituted a view of the Classical School or College, in its place.

fondly hopes a discerning public will do him the justice to believe, that he has bestowed a considerable share of attention on these Memoirs, and he humbly conceives that he has thrown some additional light on a very interesting portion of Irish history. To the judgment of that tribunal, he submits his work, with the most respectful deference.

ERRATA.

Page 38, line 24, after *Amelarius*, insert "since the days of St. Peter."
 Page 90, line 12, for *mansion-house* read *church*. Page 95, line 6, after *August*, add "778." Page 113, line 31, for *six*, read *four*. Page 125, line 21, for *1st of September*, read *29th of August*—line 29, for *Domnach*, read *Domnald*. Page 188, last line, for 29, read 26.
 Page 203, line 14, for *same*, read *following*. Page 361, line 1, for *surrounded*, read *surveyed*. Page 362, line 20, for *surrounded* read *surveyed*.
 Page 505, line 3, for *habits*, read *modes*...line 1, in the note, after *Colgan*, add *from Cambrensis*, and for "1630," read "1185"...line 10, after *Irish fensts*, insert *such as those*.—Page 517, line 1, for *outports*, read *outvoices*.
 Page 559, line 15, before *Messrs.* insert "Robert Livingston, Esq." Page 566, line 24, for *sua* read *sui*.—See also last page annexed to the Index.

INTRODUCTION.

INTRODUCTION

IN WHICH THE PROPERTIES AND VARIOUS

USAGES OF THE SAME ARE EXPLAINED

AND THE SEVERAL KINDS OF THE SAME

INTRODUCTION

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE SEVERAL

KINDS OF THE SAME IS EXPLAINED

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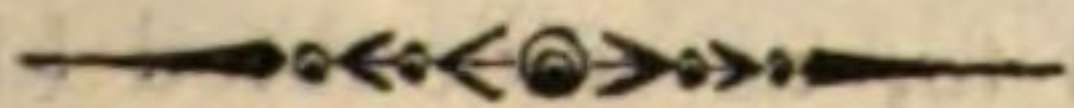
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INTRODUCTION ;

IN WHICH THE ARGUMENTS ADDUCED BY EDWARD
LEDWICH, LL. D. TO PROVE THAT SAINT PATRICK
NEVER EXISTED, ARE EXAMINED AND REFUTED



THE conversion of the IRISH NATION to Christianity, has been attributed to Saint Patrick, by every historian who has discussed this highly interesting subject. That illustrious person is also esteemed the founder of the city of Armagh, the ecclesiastical metropolis of Ireland. The concurrent opinion of literary men, on these points, is powerfully corroborated by the uniform tradition of the country : yet the very existence of the Hibernian apostle has been doubted by Dr. Ryves, and absolutely denied by Dr. Ledwich. If this antiquary may be credited, he is merely a creature of the imagination, a saintly phantom conjured up, during the darkness of the ninth century, by the fertile and wonder-working fancy of visionary monks. In his treatise on the


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*Dr. Ledwich produces evidence*  
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“Antiquities of Ireland,” Dr. Ledwich details, at considerable length, the reasons on which this novel and extraordinary opinion is founded. To examine these reasons, and to ascertain whether they be sufficient to overthrow the testimony of ages, shall be the object of the present Introduction.

“The Irish themselves,” says Dr. Ledwich, “are the best evidences of the origin of their faith.”* Again, in page 57, he, without the smallest hesitation, admits, “that the existence of St. Patrick, and his conversion of the Irish, are points, not only *firmly believed* by the Irish, but referred to, as undoubted historic facts, by every writer who has treated of the civil and ecclesiastical history of this country.”

Thus, Dr. Ledwich has not only told us where “the best evidences,” on this important question, may be found, but he has given us a brief, though comprehensive and just account of their testimony. Yet, in direct opposition to their unanimous declarations, and to the recorded opinions of every writer who has treated of the civil and ecclesiastical history of Ireland, he ventures, in unqualified terms, to pronounce that St. Patrick is an imaginary saint, nay, “that it is absolutely asserting meridional light to be nocturnal darkness, to maintain his existence, mission, or primacy.”†

* Ant. page 54, 2d edit.

† Ant. page 79, 2d edit.


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*which contradicts his own statement.*  
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The witnesses, whom he has thus brought before the bar of the public, are clearly at issue with their principal, and he is left to his own resources and ingenuity, to support and prove his paradoxical case, in despite of their opposing testimony.

Our learned antiquary deduces a negative argument against the existence of St. Patrick, from the silence of contemporary writers on the subject. "It is," says he, "an undoubted fact, that Saint Patrick is not mentioned by any author of veracity, in the fifth, sixth, seventh, or eighth centuries."* This is a very hazardous assertion indeed. Has Dr. Ledwich carefully perused the works of every writer of the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries? He himself would scarcely venture to answer in the affirmative. But, if he has not minutely examined all these works, by what supernatural pre-science is he able to decide, so positively, that they are wholly silent with respect to Saint Patrick? If a single volume, written during that long period, have escaped the microscopic eye of our learned antiquary, his assertion must be liable to doubt, and his argument invalid.

But it requires no very deep research to discover, that long before the ninth century, various authors had spoken explicitly of St. Patrick. Cumian, abbot of Hy


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*Adamnan and Cumian*  
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or Iona, who wrote about the year 650, styles Saint Patrick “the first apostle of Ireland,”* in the very commencement of his *Life of Columba*. Adamnan (or Adomnan,) also, in his second preface, prefixed to his life of the same saint, makes express mention of Saint Patrick. That author lived in the seventh century, and is universally deemed a man of learning, integrity and talents. Ussher quotes his writings as credible authority, in various parts of his works.† Of Cumian’s abilities and literary attainments, Dr. Ledwich himself repeatedly speaks in very honourable terms.‡

The venerable Bede says, that Adomnan was “a wise and good man, deeply learned in the Holy Scriptures, and greatly studious of peace and unity.” The same writer, highly commends his geographical account of the Holy Land, from which he makes extracts that occupy two chapters of his work.§

Dr. Smith, in his *Life of Columba*, speaks, in terms of high approbation, of the knowledge and talents of his successors. “How well,” he says, “they studied the languages, appears from the excellent Latin of Cumin, and of Adomnan, who discovers also his knowledge of Greek and Hebrew, and wrote a geography of the Holy Land.”||

* *Tria Thaum.* p. 325. † *Brit. Eccl. Ant.* p. 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 367, 371, 372, ‡ *Ant.* p. 107, 108, 109, 354, 355. § *Brit. Eccl. Lib.* 5, c. 15, 16. || *Life of Columba*, p. 84, n.

Speak of Saint Patrick.

It is a curious fact, that Dr. Ledwich quotes the second preface to the Life of Saint Columba, as the known work of Adamnan. In pages 104 and 105, he discusses the meaning of the word Hy or Iona, which (as he hints,) was a compound of the word *Ai* or *Ei*, oval, and the Pictish term *Onas*. He then tells us, that “this accidental compound, which, in Hebrew, signifies a dove, as *columba* does in Latin, did not escape the notice of the learned in Hi, ADAMNAN, one of its abbots, remarked it, and, from what he says on the occasion, there is reason to believe, that Greek and Oriental literature was not unknown in that seminary.” He then subjoins, verbatim, the three first lines of this very preface, in proof of his assertion. Now, in Adamnan’s work, a few lines below the passage thus quoted by the learned doctor, distinct mention is made of Saint Patrick and his episcopal office. That this circumstance should have escaped his observation is truly astonishing. Surely—

“Some drop serene had quenched his visual orb,

“Or dim suffusion veiled,——”

else he must have perceived a passage visible, on the slightest glance, to the most inadvertent reader.

Again, in page 106, our antiquary refers his readers to another part of Adamnan’s Life of Columba, to prove that the saint had paid respect to a bishop at the


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*Bede and Tirechan.*  
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consecration of the eucharistic elements; and he cites the same author to shew that Columbanus was styled "Episcopus Lagenensis," bishop of Leinster.* In page 103, he quotes "Adamnan's Vita Columbæ, passim."

In Adamnan, therefore, we have the authority of a writer who is praised by Bede, quoted liberally by Ussher, approved of by Ware and Harris, and appealed to by Dr. Ledwich himself.

Bishop Tirechan wrote two books of "The Acts of Saint Patrick," an account of which, he says, he received from the mouth, or the book of his preceptor, bishop Ultan. His work was extant in Ware's† time, and Ussher, in whose possession it probably was, quotes many passages from it, in his treatise "De Prim. Eccl. Brit.‡ and "Brit. Eccl. Ant.§ Tirechan wrote about the year 650, and his master Ultan died in 655.

Express mention is also made of Patrick in the Martyrology of the venerable Bede, who died in the year 735.|| Dr. Ledwich, however, endeavours to invalidate this testimony, in the following curious manner:—"Saint Patrick is, says the doctor, "in Bede's Martyrology. Whether he ever composed such

* Page 106. † Ware's writers (Harris's edit.) p. 30. ‡ Page 829, 835, 848, 853, 887, 899. § Page 435, 492, 460. || 16 Kal, Ap. in Martyr. Bedæ.


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 *speak of St. Patrick.*   
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such a work is very doubtful, as he barely *hints* at it, in one of his compositions. Cave's opinion of that passing under his name, is by no means in its favour."* A singular argument truly! Bede hints at a Martyrology which bears his name; therefore it is doubtful whether he ever composed such a work! But let us examine the passage to which, probably, our antiquary alludes, and which he chooses to style a hint. Bede,† in a retrospective discussion, entitled "*Recapitulatio Chronica totius operis, et de persona auctoris,*" enumerates the volumes he had written, and amongst these, his Martyrology, in the following specific manner:—"*Martyrologium de natalitiis sanctorum martyrum diebus, in quo omnes quos invenire potui, non solum qua die, verum quo genere certaminis vel sub quo iudice, mundum vicerint, diligenter adnotare studui.*"—"A Martyrology of the natal days of sainted martyrs, in which I have diligently studied to note down, not only on what day, but in what kind of contest, or under what judge, all whom I could find, were able to overcome the world."—A pretty broad hint this, indeed! Bede says, *totidem verbis*, that he wrote a Martyrology; therefore "it is doubtful whether he ever composed such a work!" Yet he praises God for having permitted him to finish the series of writings which he recapitulates, and amongst these, he accurately describes and enumerates his Martyrology.†

* Ant. page 60.

† Lib. 5, cap. 24. et sequent.

‡ Dr. Ledwich gives no reference to the place where this *hint* may be found—a very judicious omission.


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*Dr. Ledwich's argument*  
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Cave writes thus concerning Bede's Martyrology:—
 “*Martyrologium.*—*Quale opus a Beda compositum fuisse, fidem facit in appendice ad Historiam Ecclesiast.*”*—
 “*Martyrology.*—*That such a work was composed by Bede, he assures us in an appendix to his Ecclesiastical History.*”—Cave indeed alleges that the text in common use is interpolated; but he by no means classes the passage respecting Saint Patrick, (of whose existence he entertained no doubt,) amongst such interpolations. Yet, relying on that writer's *dictum*, and on Bede's singular *hint*, Dr. Ledwich boldly asserts, “that St. Patrick was not heard of when Bede died, in 735.”†

If the mere assertion of an individual, that a book, generally deemed genuine in the literary world, had been interpolated, ought to be received as proof that it was not written by the author whose name it bears, we must lose all confidence in the most valuable works of antiquity. Nay, we must reject the Scriptures themselves. Dr. Priestly and others assert that they are interpolated in sundry places. Shall we, therefore, deny their authority? No, nor even admit that these writings *are* interpolated, until better proof shall have been advanced than the mere *dictum* of that philosopher. Let Dr. Ledwich shew, by just reasoning grounded on probability, that the particular passage relative to Saint Patrick, as it stands in Bede's Martyrology, is an

* Cave's Hist. Lit. vol. i. p. 613.

† Page 67, 2d edit.


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*relative to Bede, examined.*  
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interpolation. Then, and not till then, will his argument be valid.

Bede was born at Weremouth, in Northumberland, in the year 672, and educated at the monastery founded by the famous Benedict Biscop. In him, therefore, we have a credible voucher, who lived in part of the seventh and eighth centuries, for the existence of Saint Patrick.* In the ninth century, Nennius makes explicit mention of our Irish apostle. In the intermediate time betwixt Bede and that author, there were very few, if any, historic writers in Great-Britain. Milton, in his "History of England to the Norman Conquest,"† complains, that "after Bede had surceased to write," the historian becomes destitute of materials, and is left to "obscure and blockish chronicles," which he thinks Malmesbury and Huntingdon "interlined with surmises and conjectures of their own." And William of Malmesbury himself says, that "the death of Bede was fatal to learning, and particularly to *history*, in England. The knowledge of past events was buried in the same grave with him, and has thus continued, even till our times." It is not, therefore, at all surprising, that little, if any, notice has been taken of Saint Patrick, by Saxon writers, betwixt the days of Bede and Nennius.‡

* Bed. ad fin, Epitom. Hist. Eccl. et in Vita Weremouth. † Page 47.
 edit. London, 1706. ‡ W. Malms. l. 1, c. 3.


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*Nennius, Prosper and Benin*  
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It is assumed above, on the authority of Ussher and Camden, that Nennius lived in the ninth century. But Mr. Gale, the last learned editor of his works, states that he flourished about the year 620, “Claruit Nennius anno post Christum, 620.” Nennius himself relies on the most learned of the Scoto-Hibernians, in his narrative of Irish affairs and in his account of Saint Patrick, some of whose works he mentions by name :* a plain proof that the history of our pious missionary had not been invented by the British historian, but written prior to his time.

St. Prosper, of Aquitain, a contemporary of Saint Patrick, speaking of Pope Celestine, uses the following remarkable expressions. “Ordinato Scotis episcopo, dum Romam insulam studet servare Catholicam, fecit etiam barbaram Christianam.”—“Having ordained a bishop for the Scots, whilst he studied to preserve the *Roman Island* (Britain) Catholic, he also made the barbarous island (Ireland) Christian.” It is evident that in this passage, Prosper did not allude to Palladius, who is

* Nennius speaks of the “abjectoria” of Saint Patrick. Bayle classes these (which he styles abjectoria) amongst his works. Bishop Tirechan alludes to them, in the following terms :—“St. Patrick baptized men daily, and taught them letters and abjectoriæ.” Nennius probably borrowed his account of the matter from Ultan’s book—the source from which Tirechan had derived his information. He draws a parallel betwixt Moses and Saint Patrick, in nearly the very words of Tirechan.—See *Usser. Brit. Eccl. Ant.* p. 640, and *Nenn. Hist. Brit.* c. 59, 60, 61. *apud Gale*, p. 613.


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 *speak of Saint Patrick.*   
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mentioned as having been sent to this country, a little before, by Pope Celestine, and as having *failed* in his efforts to convert the Irish nation. It is applicable only to Saint Patrick, for we have no account whatever, of any other successful missionary deputed, by Pope Celestine, to the kingdom of Ireland.

Nennius's account of this matter corresponds exactly with that given by Prosper. From him we learn that Palladius had been sent by Celestine to convert the Scots, *i. e.* the Irish, but he was unsuccessful in his mission, left Ireland (Hibernia), and came to Great Britain, where he died in the land of the Picts. Celestine having heard of his decease, deputed St. Patrick to complete the work which Palladius had merely commenced.*

A life of the Irish apostle was written by his contemporary, Patrick the younger, and another by Saint Benin or Benignus, about the end of the 5th century. The third Life, (printed in the *Tria. Thaum.* and attributed, by Colgan, to Benignus,) contains various passages which were used by Jocelyn in his biographical account of Patrick. This writer enumerates Benignus amongst the four authors from whom he borrowed the materials of his work.

* Nenn. c. 54, 55, 56. Usser, Prim. p. 812, 839.


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*Objections against Saint Fiech's*  
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There is yet extant an Irish hymn, composed by Saint Fiech, bishop of Sletty, a contemporary of Saint Patrick, and a disciple of Saint Dubtach. A Latin translation of this work is annexed, by Colgan, to the original Irish, and neither Ussher, Ware, nor Harris have expressed any doubt of its authenticity. Dr. Ledwich, however, asserts that it is spurious, because the poet, he says, appeals to "*old histories*."* Now this is either a mere misrepresentation of the original text, or, rather, perhaps, a perversion of the Latin translation. Saint Patrick's nativity had taken place in a foreign country, long before the birth of Saint Fiech, who was an Irishman. The hymnist, therefore, in speaking of his family and his birth, of which he could have had no personal knowledge, refers to the narratives, reports, or stories, already circulated on these subjects. Not a word is said, in the hymn, concerning *old histories*, as is roundly asserted by Dr. Ledwich.

The ancient Irish word, *skelaiv*, used, on this occasion, by Fiech, may denote either oral or written narratives. The Latin translator of the hymn probably adopted the latter meaning, in his version, "*Ut refertur in historiis*." Dr. Ledwich, however, not content with this version, makes a bold addition to the text, and turns it into English, as if it had been written *antiquis*

Hymn examined.

historiis, *old histories*. The hymnist is thus represented as appealing to writings of indefinite antiquity, for the truth of facts which had taken place, about forty-four years prior to the period of his own birth. He is then, by a kind of *coup de main*, prostrated in an instant, and dismissed from existence.*

Various histories of Saint Patrick were written during the life of that holy man, and if it even were conceded that Fiech had appealed to other biographers, in support of any part of his statement, there would be nothing extraordinary or absurd in the matter. Yet on this circumstance *alone*, has Dr. Ledwich rejected his testimony, as spurious and unworthy of the smallest credit.

Saint Aileran, who died in 664, was one of Saint Patrick's biographers. His work on the typical signification of the genealogy of Christ, is yet extant in Sedulius, who styles the writer the wisest of the Scots. Ussher says this was the only monument of Aileran, remaining in his time.

Probus, an author who, according to the learned Bollandus, lived in the seventh century, wrote a *Life of Saint Patrick*, which is yet extant. Dr. Milner remarks

* Lynch's Translation of Fiech's Hymn, in the *Life of Saint Patrick*, p. 326.


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*Probus speaks of Saint Patrick.*  
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that "those writers who, with Bishop Nicholson, bring Saint Patrick's biographer down to the tenth century, are presumed to be ignorant, that he is named among the respectable authors whose works were in the library of York cathedral, in the eighth century, by the celebrated Alcuin.*

Adamnan, who wrote in the seventh century, makes explicit mention (as we have already remarked) of Saint Patrick. Cumian, also, abbot of Hy, who wrote about the year 648, or 650, speaks of him in distinct terms.

Dr. Ledwich† adverts to these writers, and asks the following question:—"If," says he, "Saint Patrick received his mission from Pope Celestine, his orders in the church of Rome, was graced with the archiepiscopal dignity, formed an hierarchy and established rites and ceremonies from Roman originals, as all his biographers boast, can the utmost stretch of human ingenuity assign a reason, why Cogitosus, Adamnan, Cumian and Bede have passed over these interesting particulars unnoticed?"

Now, whatever negative argument against the *episcopal dignity* of Saint Patrick, may be deduced from the silence of Adamnan, Cumian and Bede, on *that subject*; surely their explicit mention of his name affords

* Milner's Inquiry, additional note to page 94: See also *de Pontif*, and *Sanct. Eborac.* apud Gale.

† Pape 62.

Dr. Ledwich's argument inconclusive.

us a much stronger, (nay, a conclusive,) proof that such a person really existed, which is the chief point at issue. The matters, however, discussed by these writers, did not naturally lead them to treat of the clerical degrees which had been conferred on Saint Patrick. Bede's work was written on the ecclesiastical history of the English, not of the Irish nation. Ireland was then no integral part of the British territories; nor was her church comprehended in that of England. Bede, therefore, had no occasion to speak of the episcopal honours of Saint Patrick. In his Martyrology, he has distinctly mentioned our saint, for he was led to speak of him by the nature of the subject discussed in that work.

A similar observation may be made relative to Adamnan. If that writer, in treating of other matters, were, in reality, silent with regard to the episcopal degrees of Saint Patrick, how would such omission prove that he had never been a bishop? The Rev. Samuel Burdy, in his biographical account of Philip Skelton, does not, I believe, inform us, whether John Wesley, the friend of that divine, had ever received deacon's or priest's orders. Shall we, therefore, conclude that the founder of Methodism was never ordained? The same reasoning is applicable to the silence of Cumian and Cogitosus, as well as of Adamnan and Bede, on the episcopal honours granted to St. Patrick.


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*Various Martyrologies speak of Saint Patrick.*  
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But, how really stands the case? Why truly, Adamnan states explicitly that Saint Patrick was a bishop. He speaks of him in the following terms:—"Nam quidam proselytus Brito, homo sanctus, *sancti Patricii Episcopi* discipulus, Manctaneus nomine," &c.* And Cumian styles him, "the first apostle of Ireland," and compares him, when in the act of granting a benediction, to the Patriarch Jacob.†

I have already said that Ussher speaks of Adamnan's *Life of Columba*, in terms of respect. He even quotes the very passage which is alluded to above, as the undoubted production of that author,‡ and, in page 363, he tells us that great confidence may be reposed in Adamnan, especially in matters relating to Columba.

It is needless to recite the various other authors who have treated of Saint Patrick, before the ninth century. Above sixty lives of our Irish apostle, had been written prior to that compiled, in the twelfth century, by Jocelyn, who, however, made particular use of only four, contemporaries of the saint himself, viz. Luman, Mœl, Benignus, and Patrick, junior.

We find Saint Patrick's name in the Martyrology of Bede, in the Roman, in those of Usuard, Rhabanus and

* *Vita Columbæ secunda præf.*

† *Tris Thaum.* p. 325.

‡ *Brit. Eccl. Ant.* p. 445.


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*Dr. Ledwich allows Saint Patrick an occasional existence.*  
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Notker, in the Chronicle of Sigebert, in the Saxon Chronicle, in that of Addo, in the works of Saint Bernard, those of Eric of Auxerre, Giraldus Cambrensis, William of Malmesbury, Marianus Scotus and a great number of other ancient writers, from the eighth till the twelfth century.*

In more modern times, Mosheim styles Saint Patrick "the apostle of the Irish"—"the founder of the archbishoprick of Armagh."† Fleury, Cave, Nicholson, Tillemont, Ussher, Camden, Ware, Bollandus, Baronius, Spelman, Bale, Stillingfleet, Harris, &c. all coincide in their belief of his existence. Dr. Ledwich alone disclaims our revered saint.

Yet our antiquary seems willing to confer on Saint Patrick, an occasional existence, and even to admit that he had performed the functions of a real human being, provided his actions tend to prove the truth of any position which he is peculiarly anxious to maintain. When this object is effected, he annihilates him with the most perfect *sang froid*. Thus, when he wishes to shew that wooden edifices were in use, at an early period, in Ireland, our saint ceases to be a nonentity, and becomes a real and active personage. "The year after," says Dr. Ledwich, "Saint Patrick erected the

* Milner's Inquiry, p. 94.

† MacLaine's Mosh, p. 9, vol. 2.


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*The various accounts of Saint Patrick's birth*  
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church of Saul, in the county of Down. It was called *Sgibol Phadruig*, or Patrick's Barn,* &c. Does the learned doctor believe that Saint Patrick really built this church? If he does, why then has he ventured to affirm, that "it is absolutely asserting meridional light to be nocturnal darkness, to maintain the existence, mission, or primacy of Saint Patrick?" But, if he does not believe that he founded the building, then the passage is a mere waste of words—*Vox et preterea nihil*.

Two more of the doctor's annihilating arguments are drawn from the absurd miracles related of the Irish apostle, by his biographers, and from the various and discordant accounts, given by them, of the place of his nativity.†

Now, if we were to argue thus, "The histories of Greece and Rome and of the lives of the Grecian and Roman warriors, are filled with accounts of prodigies and miracles, therefore, those states and these warriors never existed," Dr. Ledwich himself would smile at the conclusion. It is uncertain whether Dr. Jonathan Swift was born at Leicester, in England, or in Hoey's-court, in Dublin. Seven cities contended about the nativity of Homer, and the question is yet undecided. Shall we, therefore, infer that Swift had never been born, and that

* Ant. 2d edit. p. 79, 140.

† Page 62, 64, 2d edit.


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*furnish no proof of his nonentity.*  
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Homer was an imaginary bard? St. Bernard, in his Life of Malachy Morgair, asserts that various miracles were wrought by that pious prelate, of whom he was the intimate friend and biographer. If Dr. Ledwich were consistent with himself, he would deny the existence of Primate Malachy, on account of those preternatural events blended with the history of his life. Nay, he is bound to reject the history of St. Bernard himself, as a mere fable, notwithstanding the great mass of his literary works, which have descended to the present age: for to him, also, various miracles are attributed by his biographer. St. Columba, too, must vanish into thin air, if his entity, or nonentity is to be tried by this new criterion, this singular historic canon, enacted by Dr. Ledwich. Yet our antiquary has written much concerning the acts of Columba and Malachy, and he has quoted the works of St. Bernard, most liberally. This rule, then, seems to be a kind of accommodating *ex post facto* law, adapted only to a single case, and a particular person. If, by its means, St. Patrick shall be deprived of his merited fame, Dr. Ledwich is willing to exercise his dispensing power, in favour of less obnoxious saints.

Ancient history is every where interspersed with tales of fabulous miracles. It is the business of the judicious critic, to separate the absurdly marvellous and the impossible, from that which is consonant to nature and to truth; to reject the one, and to retain the other.

INTRODUCTION.

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*Inapplicable quotations made by Dr. Ledwich.*  
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Dr. Ledwich, in his efforts to prove that the principal events of our saint's life are absolutely false, remarks, "that he is said to have been a *North-Briton*, born at Kilpatrick, A. D. 372; his father was Calphurnius, a *deacon*, the son of Potitus, a *priest*, &c." He adds, "that Bede has declared, that the *Southern Scots* did not receive the faith, till 412, nor the *Northern* before 565, so that Calphurnius and Potitus were Christian priests, in Scotland, long before it was evangelized."*

This shadowy semblance of an argument vanishes at the first glance of rational inquiry. Kilpatrick was *not* deemed, in the year 372, a part of Scotland. The inhabitants of that district were, at that period, neither Picts nor Scots, but *Britons*. The quotation, therefore, from Bede, relative to the *Southern* and the *Northern Scots*, is utterly inapplicable to the question. Kilpatrick was *then* within the precincts of BRITAIN, whose people had long before been converted to Christianity. The confusion introduced, by Dr. Ledwich, into the subject, by styling the inhabitants of this place *Southern Scots* was necessary to give his argument some appearance of reason, and must, therefore, be viewed with pity. Our antiquary refers us to Ware's Bishops, by Harris, for proof, that Saint Patrick was born a *North-Briton*, *i. e.* as he chooses to explain it, a *Southern Scot*. Now

He appeals to evidence which contradicts himself.

the very words of that author are these :—" He was born in the *extreme bounds of Britain*, (in that part of it which is *now comprehended* within the limits of *modern Scotland*,) at a village called Banaven, &c."* It is almost impossible that Dr. Ledwich could have mistaken the meaning of this author to whom he so confidently refers; for, in the same page, it is distinctly stated, that "Dunbritton, near which Saint Patrick was born, though it be *now* a part of modern Scotland, yet, *in his time*, it was *within the British territories*." Ussher, also, decides that he was a Briton, born at Kirk-Patrick, or Kil-Patrick, between the castle of Dunbritton and the city of Glasgow, where the rampart which separated the barbarians from the Romans, terminated.† Jocelyn says, that Dunbritton signified the fort of the Britons.

But, further, we know from Tertullian, that even in the second century, the Gospel had reached those parts of Britain, where the Roman arms had never penetrated:‡ and it is stated by Xiphilin, out of Dio, that the old Britons occupied a portion of the country even on the north side of the Roman wall. "The Britons," says that author, "were divided into two sorts, the Mæatae and the Caledonii. The former dwelled by the wall, and the latter beyond them."§

* Ware's Bishops, by Harris, p. 5. † Prim. p. 812. ‡ Tert. cont. Judæos. c. 7. § Xiphilin in Sever. citante Stillingfleet, p. 52. Ant. Brit. church,


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*Christianity introduced into Britain at an early period.*  
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These extra-provincial, or Albanian Britons, were, according to Joh. Fordon, quite distinct from the Picts and Scots.* Indeed, from an ancient distich contained in the writings of that author, as well as in those of Joh. Major, it might be inferred that Christianity had been introduced into that country, at least as early as the year 203.† Be this as it may, we have the authority of Eusebius, that some of the Apostles themselves had preached the Gospel in the British isles.‡

After all, it is more probable, as shall be shewn hereafter, that Saint Patrick was born at Tours, where Saint Martin resided, than in any part of the British isles.

If Dr. Ledwich had been able to prove, satisfactorily, that Saint Patrick had never been born, he would, in all probability, have terminated the discussion, and triumphed in his victory. But he proceeds with vigour, and it may therefore be fairly inferred, that his arguments, heretofore, had not appeared conclusive, even to himself. Let us follow him in his winding course.

In page 65, he remarks that Saint Patrick “was consecrated bishop by Amatus, or Pope Celestine, who granted him the dignity of *Archbishop*. Here all his

* Fordon, Scotichron. lib. 2, c. 31, 32, 33, 36, et sequent. Lib. 3, c. 36.

† Fordon, lib. 2, c. 35. apud Gale, p. 606. Major de Gest. Scot. lib. 1, c. 14.

‡ Euseb. demons. Evang. lib. 3, c. 7, p. 115.


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*Strange assertions made by Dr. Ledwich.*  
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biographers, ancient and modern, discover their ignorance of ecclesiastical history. On the establishment of Christianity, to preserve to the bishop of the metropolis, his rank, the title of *Archbishop* was invented. At the Ephesine Council, in 431, Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, and Celestine, bishop of Rome, were publickly honoured with this style. Before Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, enjoyed this title, in 673, it was *unknown in Britain. &c.*"

The want of information displayed in this extraordinary passage, and the confidence with which it is uttered, are equally astonishing.

The title of Archbishop was unknown in Britain, says Dr. Ledwich, before the year 673. Now we have the express authority of Bede himself, that Augustine was consecrated archbishop of the English nation, by Ætherius, bishop of Arles, under the directions of Pope Gregory, in the year 597. That author, in his *Eccl. History*, writes thus :—*

"D,XCVII. } Interea vir Domini AUGUSTINUS venit
 Augustini } ARELAS, et ab Archiepiscopo ejusdem
 Ordinatio. } civitatis, AETHERIO juxta quæ jussa,
 sancti patris GREGORII acceperat, ARCHIEPISCOPUS

* *Eccl. Hist. lib: 1, c. 27.*


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*Testimony of Bede, Polydore Virgil, Milton, and*  
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genti ANGLORUM ordinatus est reversusque Britanniam misit continuo Romam Laurentium Presbyterum, &c. &c.”*

We know, also, from the same authority, that his successor, Laurentius, was an archbishop. In his second book, cap. 4, under the year DCV, Bede expressly says, “*Laurentius Archiepiscopi gradu potitus*,” *Laurentius* enjoyed the rank of *Archbishop*.”

So also in book the second, cap. 17, he testifies that Paulinus received the metropolitan pall from Pope Honorius.† Justus, also, who died in the year 633, and his successor, Honorius, were archbishops of Canterbury.‡

Milton, (no favourer of bishops,) in his learned “*History of England to the Norman conquest*,” (page 58,)§ plainly says, that “*Austin, or Augustin, was exalted to Archiepiscopal authority, and dedicated a Christian church, in Canterbury, and, adjoining to it, built a seat for himself and his successors:*” and, that Ethelbert, at his motion, built Saint Peter’s, and enriched it with great endowments, to be a burial place, for the *archbishops* and kings of Kent.

* See also c. 24, and Cressilis l. 13, c. 5. † See also book 3, c. 25.

‡ Lib. 11, c. 18. § See also to the same effect, Holland’s Camden, article Kent, p. 337, 338.

Camden in direct contradiction to Dr. Ledwich

Mosheim states that Augustin received episcopal ordination from the primate of Arles, and was archbishop of Canterbury.* Camden (after Bede,) says the words "Archiepiscopus Dorovernensis," were on his tomb. But Polydore Virgil asserts that the archiepiscopal dignity was known in England, long before the days of Augustine. He tells us that that missionary influenced Gregory to change the archiepiscopal see from London, where it had remained since the first establishment of Christianity in the island, to Dorovernia, that is, to Canterbury.† So also Geoffry of Monmouth says, that a change was effected in the chief sees of the kingdom, and that the dignity of London adorned Dorovernia.‡ And the same writer, probably relying on the authority of Gildas, states, that in lieu of the Heathen Flamens and Archflamens, Christian bishops and archbishops were originally established in Britain.§

The number of these prelates is thus expressed by the poet who assumed the name of Gildas:—

Assignant urbes viginti octoque sacratis

Præsulibus totidem ; sed submittunt tribus illos

Archipræsulibus, pars subjacet Eboracensi

Cum sibi submissis populis, pars Londoniensi

Pars Legionensi. ||

* Eccl. Hist. vol. 2, p. 97, Maclaine's translation: † Polyd. Vir. Ang. Hist. l. 4. ‡ Galf. Monemuth, Hist. Brit. lib. 7, cap. 3, edit. Heidelberg. lib 4, fol. 52. edit. Paris. an. 1517. § Ibid. l. 2. cap. 1, edit. Ascensian, vel l. 4, cap. 19, edit. Heidelberg. || Usser. Brit. Eccl. Ant. p. 32.


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*Testimony of Cambrensis, Hume, William of Malmsbury*  
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The Belgic Chronicle of John of Leyden, corroborates these statements, to which effect it quotes the words of Martinus Polonus.*

But passing by these matters of more remote antiquity, as in some degree uncertain, and liable to objections; it is beyond all doubt, that Giraldus Cambrensis and William of Malmsbury coincide with the venerable Bede, in assigning archiepiscopal honours to Augustine and his successors.†

Hume says, that “Augustine was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, was endowed by Gregory with authority over all the British churches, and received the pall, a badge of ecclesiastical honour, from Rome;”‡ and Henry styles his successors, Laurentius, (who died in 619,) Mellitus, (who died about 625) and Justus, (who died in 633) archbishops of Canterbury.§

What shall we say now of Dr. Ledwich’s bold assertion, that the title of *Archbishop* was unknown in England before the year 673? Shall we maintain with that learned antiquary, that, on this point, all Saint Patrick’s biographers, ancient and modern, “discover their ignorance of ecclesiastical history?” Or shall we

* John a Leid. lib. 2. cap. 1. † Girald. dialog. de eccles. Menevens. distinct. 2. Guil. Malm. de gestis Pontif. lib. 1, p. 208, 209, edit. Francofurt. ‡ Hist. of England, vol. 1, p. 36. § Hist. Brit. vol 2, 126, 127.


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*and Henry, in direct opposition to Dr. Ledwich.*  
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merely conclude that their accuser, or rather defamer, has involved himself in unaccountable and inexplicable error; that he is bold in assertion—impotent in proof.

If the reader wish for more accurate information relative to the establishment of the archiepiscopal degree, than that with which Dr. Ledwich has favoured the public, in the above quotation, he will find it in the first volume of Maclaine's Mosheim, page 349.

Dr. Ledwich deduces another proof of Saint Patrick's nonentity from his alleged residence amongst the canons of the Lateran. This he deems devoid of truth. For, says he, "Onuphrius assures us, from the archives of that church, that Pope Gelasius, was the first who placed canons there, and he was raised to the pontificate, A. D. 492, one year before the death of Saint Patrick."* This argument rests, in the first instance, on the authority of Onuphrius, a modern commentator, on a modern author, Platina, and in the second, on the equivocal meaning of a word. Dr. Milner observes, that for several ages after the death of Saint Patrick, the secular clergy were denominated *Canonici*, because they adopted the canons as their rule of life, in contradistinction to the *Monachi*, &c. who professed to follow the rule of Saint Benedict, or some other monastic rule.†

* Ant. p. 65, 2d edit. † See Concil. Bern. A. D. 755, Can. 2. Concil. Aquisgran. cap. 115. See Van. Espin. tom. 1, de *Canonicis*. Milner's Inquiry, p. 114.

Strange anachronism of Dr. Ledwich.

Again, he objects to the account given of Saint Patrick's reception of the pall, and of the legateship of Ireland, conferred on him by Pope Hilary. (Page 65.) There were no legates a latere, he says, until the year 787, and palls were not bestowed, in Ireland, before the year 1152.

These are, truly frivolous objections; they can neither tend to prove nor disprove the existence of Saint Patrick. Suppose it were even conceded to Dr. Ledwich, that Jocelyn, a British writer of the twelfth century, a mere compiler of our Saint's history from the works of other men, had been mistaken in his opinion on the subject of the pall, said by him to have been presented to Saint Patrick, will that circumstance demonstrate the nonentity of our Irish apostle? Let us try how this species of reasoning would operate in similar cases. Dr. Ledwich has very gravely stated, in a very elaborate disquisition, that Alexander the Great was refused permission to enter as a candidate for victory, in the Olympic games, because, as was alleged, he was not a Greek. In support of this most marvellous assertion, he quotes, in due and solemn form, a passage in the historical works of Herodotus, who died many years before the Macedonian hero was born. Here is a mistake ten times greater than that committed by Jocelyn, if he committed any; for every schoolboy knows that about the time of Alexander's nativity, the racehorse of his father Philip was victorious in the Olympic games.


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*Misquotations by Dr. Ledwich.*  
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Shall we, therefore, conclude that Alexander the Great was an imaginary being, a phantom hero; or, that Herodotus was gifted with second-sight, and that future scenes were pictured by the hand of Anticipation, on the mirror of his mind? No; we can only infer that our antiquary quotes at random, and seems utterly regardless of that accuracy and that critical research which ought to characterize men of letters.*

Again, Dr. Ledwich refers to Ware's Bishops, page 58, to prove that palls were not bestowed, in Ireland, before the year 1152. Now, there is no such assertion in that page; but we shall not dwell on this inaccuracy, since palls were originally no necessary adjunct to either primatial or archiepiscopal rights, which existed in full perfection without such symbolic honors. For ample proof of this, we refer the reader to the *Jus Primatiale Armacanum* of Primate Mac Mahon, by whom the authorities which elucidate this point are given in copious detail.† However, in the page of Ware cited

* See *Anthologia Hibernica*, vol. 1, p. 114.

The curious passage in *Anth. Hib.* to which we have above alluded, runs thus—"When Iphitus restored the Olympic Games, 884 years before Christ, it was determined that none should assemble or contend in them that was not a Greek. About 400 years after this era, Alexander the Great appeared at those games, as a competitor, and was refused admission into the lists, because, as was alleged, they were designed not for Barbarians, but Grecians." In support of this absurd assertion relative to the Macedonian hero, Dr. Ledwich quotes Herodotus *Terpsichore*, c. 22.

† *Jus Prim. Armacan*, c. 231, 232, 233, 234 ad 244, 372, 373.


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*Frivolous observations made by Dr. Ledwich.*  
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by Dr. Ledwich is the following passage :—"When *Gelasius* was *archbishop*, John Paparo, cardinal priest, under the title of Cardinal St. Laurence, in Damaso, was, in 1152, sent legate into Ireland, by Pope Eugene III, and brought with him four palls, which, in a synod held in March, he distributed amongst four archbishops." &c. On this passage we may remark—1st, That it does not assert that palls had never before been brought to Ireland—2d, That it speaks of *Gelasius* as an *archbishop* prior to the arrival of the pope's nuntio.

And that there were archbishops in Ireland, long before Cardinal Paparo had arrived there with the four palls is clear from an epistle written A. D. 1085, by Pope Gregory VII. and addressed "to Terdelvach, (or Turlogh) the illustrious king of Ireland, and to the *archbishops*, bishops, abbots, peers, and all Christians inhabiting Ireland."*

In page 63, Dr. Ledwich remarks that, in the year 630, "the Roman clergy addressed an epistle (to be seen in Bede) to four Irish bishops and five presbyters on the Paschal festival. In this, (he adds,) Saint Patrick might be very properly and advantageously introduced, and his own as well as his successors' practice in the see of Armagh, but nothing to this purpose occurs in our ecclesiastical historian," &c.

* Usser. Syllog. veter. Hibern. p. 76.


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*Strange deductions from fragments of letters.*  
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On this subject, it may be remarked: *First*, That Bede gives only *a part* of this letter, and that portion of it which is omitted and lost, may or may not have mentioned Saint Patrick. *Second*, The subject on which it was written, (the Paschal supper and the Pelagian heresy,) had no necessary connexion with our national saint. *Third*, Unless the time and manner of keeping Easter, in this country, had been different, in the days of Saint Patrick, from that in use in the year 639,* (when the letter appears really to have been written) a reference to the opinions and actions of that saint, would have injured, instead of served, the cause which the Roman clergy were advocating; and Dr. Ledwich, himself, maintains that, in the fifth century, the practice of the Irish church was not coincident with that of Rome.

We may remark, *en passant*, that, in this letter, precedence is given to the prelate Thomian, of Armagh, who is spoken of before the other bishops, Columbanus, Chromanus, Dimaus and Baithanus.

In the Antiquities, page 62, we find the following remark:—"About the year 604, Laurence, bishop of Canterbury, and two other prelates, writing to the bishops and abbots of Ireland, have these remarkable words:—"When the Apostolic See sent us to these

* Epist. Hibern. Syll. Usser. p. 22.


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*Strange deductions from fragments of letters.*  
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western parts, to preach to Pagan nations, and we happened to come into the island of Britain, we much esteemed the holiness of the Britons and Irish, before we knew them, believing they proceeded according to the custom of the universal church; but we have been informed that the Scots do not differ in religious sentiments from the Britons, for Bishop Dagan coming to us, not only refused to eat with us, but even to take any repast in the same house.' " Dr. Ledwich calls upon the advocates of the existence of Saint Patrick, to "consider well this citation." He adds that the saint was then dead but one hundred years, and asks whether Bishop Laurence "would have neglected to upbraid them, (the Irish clergy,) with ingratitude to their apostle, and a dereliction of his doctrines." He infers, also, in page 63, from Dagan's refusing to eat with the Roman missionaries, that they were under excommunication.

The reasoning adduced by our learned doctor, on this occasion, is equally absurd and disingenuous. He certainly had read all that remains of the letter in question, for he gives a translation, (an incorrect one indeed,) of its contents from the original Latin. He studiously refrains from informing his readers, that the remainder of the epistle is lost, and that, of course, no deduction can be made against the existence of Saint Patrick, from the omission of his name, in the small fragment which has reached the present age.*

* Usser. Veter. Epist. Hibern. Syllog. p. 18, 19,


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*Erroneous conclusion drawn from Gillebert's letter.*  
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But Laurence, says the Doctor, was excommunicated, for, "we must know that a person whose company was thus rejected, was under excommunication, for so it is expressed in ancient Irish canons." For proof of this, he refers to the "works of Saint Patrick"!!! Now, either these writings and canons attributed to Saint Patrick existed at the period when Laurence indited his letter, or, they did not. If they did exist, the entity of our Irish apostle is proved by them, for they distinctly mention his name. If they did not exist, then how can it be shewn from them that Laurence was excommunicated?

Dr. Ledwich also expatiates, at some length, on a letter addressed to the Irish clergy, in the year 1090, by Gillebert, bishop of Limerick, the Pope's legate. "There are," says he, (page 126) "many things in this epistle deserving notice. I shall only touch on a few. It is addressed to the *dissident* bishops and presbyters of Ireland, for it had been an insult to the Romish ecclesiastics, to have sent to them, as if novices, an elementary work. Throughout this long letter, there is not a tittle of Saint Patrick, his archiepiscopal or primatial see or right, or, the doctrine he delivered to the Irish church, &c. &c."

Now, if the reader will take the trouble of consulting the letter itself, he will find, in the first instance, that

Erroneous conclusion drawn from Gillebert's letter.

it is *not* addressed to the *dissident* bishops and presbyters of Ireland, but, simply, "Episcopis et Presbyteris totius Hiberniæ," to the bishops and presbyters of *all* Ireland." *Secondly*, he will be convinced that the mention of Saint Patrick would have been unnecessary, and altogether foreign from the matter discussed in Gillebert's epistle. The letter had been written at the request of the Irish clergy, and contained an elaborate disquisition on the canonical orders and dignitaries of the church. It describes the powers and the duties of the priest, the deacon, the sub-deacon, bishop, archbishop, patriarch, &c. &c. in general terms, and lays down what Gillebert deemed to be the true scheme or state of the Catholic church. But whilst it scientifically explains and defines the nature of the various ranks in the church, it by no means gives the name of any individual who had possessed those ranks. The functions of the abbots, bishops, primates, &c. are, indeed, specified, but no individual bishop, abbot, or primate is named. It is idle to expect, in a disquisition of such a nature, any discussion on Saint Patrick.

But, *thirdly*, so closely does this letter adhere to the subject of which it treats, that there is but one individual, (Amelarius) mentioned in it, by name, from beginning to end. Even that individual is quoted, merely because he had himself written something on the matter in question.

Whimsical conjectures made by Dr. Ledwich.

Fourthly, The letter, or treatise itself, had been preceded by an introductory epistle, to which its author had annexed a picture or painting emblematic of the world. This was represented as in an ark, with three chambers, In the upper part were birds emblematic of the angels in the heavens. In the middle part were men (as Noah and his family,) as on the earth. In the lower part were animals and reptiles representing souls in the infernal regions. In the subsequent letter, (to which Dr. Ledwich alludes,) "*De Statu Ecclesiæ*," a more particular explanation was given of this fanciful representation of the universe. Surely, here was no proper place for a discussion on Saint Patrick.

Fifthly, The letter was written near the beginning of the twelfth century, when even Dr. Ledwich admits the history of Saint Patrick was well known, and he was deemed the apostle of the Irish. The argument, drawn from this letter, against the existence and primacy of Saint Patrick, is, of course, very frivolous and inconclusive.*

If Dr. Ledwich had succeeded in his attempt to prove the nonentity of Saint Patrick, a new and very important subject of inquiry would have naturally presented itself

* Usser. Vet. Epist. Hib. Syll. p. 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, et ad 88.

It may be necessary here to remark that the edition of Ussher's Sylloge which I have used was printed in Dublin, A. D. 1632.

Whimsical assertions made by Dr. Ledwich.

for investigation, viz.—“where—when—by whom, and for what end was the fable of this imaginary apostle invented?”

On this subject, our learned antiquary institutes a curious inquiry (page 66, 67,) and gives a truly astonishing solution of the difficulty.

We are informed by him, that Saint Patrick was dubbed the Patron-Saint of Ireland, in the ninth century. This age, “famous,” he says, “for reviving and incorporating Pagan practices with the Christian ritual, observing that Rome had her Mars, Athens her Minerva, Carthage her Juno, and every country and city her proper and peculiar deity, whose guardian care was its greatest protection and security, conceived it a very becoming employment for Christian saints to assume the patronage of a Christian people, and to interest them the more in this new occupation, they brought their bones or relics wherever laid, and deposited them in the principal church of the metropolis.” (Page 66.)

And again, “If the Irish had no other examples, France was sufficient for their imitation, in constituting a tutelary deity for their isle. France was the asylum of the learned Irish, in the ninth age, from the Danish tyranny.” (Page 67.)

Refutation of these assertions.

Thus we find our national saint annihilated, and one of the wildest theories that ever floated across the human imagination substituted in his stead. The mind of our antiquary, possessed with a kind of credulous scepticism, a sort of dogmatizing doubt, rejects the probable and implicitly believes in the impossible. We proceed to refute him, (no difficult task,) from his own words and arguments.

Dr. Ledwich says, *that, in the sixth century, "the religion of the Irish kept them from mental degradation, the sure consequence of superstition. Instead of compiling pious fictions and lying miracles of imaginary saints, they were exercising their genius in acquiring languages, ecclesiastical history and the liberal arts."

Admitting this to be a fact, it is to be presumed, that, in this inquiring age, the Irish, thus occupied with ecclesiastical history, had a perfect knowledge of every thing that related to their own conversion.

In the succeeding century, (the seventh,) the Irish were still more learned. "It was now," says Bede, (as quoted by Dr. Ledwich himself, page 355,) "that many noble English and others of inferior rank, leaving their native country, withdrew to Ireland, to cultivate

* Page 352, 2d edit.

Refutation of Dr. Ledwich's assertions.

letters, or lead a life of greater purity. Some became monks, others attended the lectures of celebrated preachers. These the Irish most cheerfully received, and supplied, without any recompense, with food, books and instruction." "This disinterested love of learning is unparalleled" says Dr. Ledwich, "in the annals of the world." Now, surely, in this age, (the seventh), the natives of this country must not only have retained the knowledge of ecclesiastical history, transmitted to them from the last century, but they must have communicated it to their foreign guests and pupils whom they so greatly delighted to instruct.

In the eighth century, the learning of the Irish was still more remarkable. To Ireland Charles the Great looked for literary aid, in his efforts to promote the diffusion of scientific knowledge through his vast dominions. Dr. Ledwich himself notices this circumstance, (page 360,) and in pages 357, 358, 359, he gives ample proof of the philosophic attainments of the Irish, their profound knowledge of Greek, their skill in the dialectic art, &c. &c.

It is clear then that in this age, (the eighth,) the stock of knowledge derived from the two preceding centuries, must have been increased, not lost or diminished.


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*Dr. Ledwich refuted from his own premises.*  
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Dr. Ledwich, in support of the very positions relative to Irish literature, which we have now stated, quotes from Eric of Auxerre, the following remarkable passage.

"Why should I mention Ireland? Almost the whole nation, despising the dangers of the sea, resort to our courts with a numerous train of philosophers, of whom the most learned enjoin themselves a voluntary banishment, to be in the service of our most wise Solomon."

"The prince here meant," adds our antiquary, "was Charles the Bald, who, like his predecessor, flattered the Hibernian literati to his court." (Page 360.)

Again, page 362. "It is observed," says Dr. Ledwich, "by William of Malmesbury, that the loss of libraries, in England, in the ninth century, drew after it that of learning, and mental darkness diffused itself over all the inhabitants of the isle." "Such a consequence did not follow the Danish invasion. The flourishing state of letters here, for many centuries, had greatly multiplied books on every art and science then known: numbers of these were carried to the continent, and more were secreted by the clergy in their devious retreats."

Here we have plain proof from Dr. Ledwich's own words and quotations, that, in the ninth century, the Irish literati had neither lost their science nor their books.

The argument continued.

But, further, Dr. Ledwich (page 358,) quotes from the learned Mosheim the following passages :—

“That the Hibernians were lovers of learning, and distinguished themselves, in those times of ignorance, by the culture of the sciences, beyond all other European nations, travelling the most distant lands with a view to improve and to communicate their knowledge, is a fact with which I have been long acquainted, as we see them in the *most authentic records of antiquity*, discharging with the highest reputation and applause, the functions of doctors in France, Germany and Italy, both in this and the following century. But that these Hibernians were the first teachers of Scholastic theology in Europe, and so early as the eighth century, illustrated the doctrines of religion by philosophy, I learned but lately from the testimony of Benedict, abbot of Aniam, in the province of Languedoc, who lived in that period. &c.”

And again, Mosheim adds, says Dr. Ledwich, (page 359,) that “the Irish, who, in the eighth century, were known by the name of Scots, were the only divines who refused to dishonour their reason by submitting it implicitly to the dictates of authority. Naturally subtle and sagacious, they applied their philosophy to the illustration of the truths and doctrines of religion; a method

The argument continued.

which was almost generally abhorred and exploded by all other nations."

We have here a description of a body of learned divines who disdained to submit their reason to the trammels of human authority, and its truth is admitted by Dr. Ledwich himself.

Now from all this it is manifest, that from the sixth till the very end of the ninth century, no mental darkness had overshadowed the literati of Ireland. In the sixth century "they were devoid of superstition," compiled "no pious fictions and lying miracles of imaginary saints," but addicted themselves to the study of ecclesiastical affairs. In the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries, they improved in philosophic and religious knowledge, and they disdained to submit implicitly to human authority. Reasoning then with our antiquary on his own principles, it may be fairly asked, how it happened that the Irish literati of the ninth century, possessed, as they were of acute and independent minds stored with ecclesiastic and historic knowledge, permitted feigned legends of an imaginary saint to be obtruded into the annals of their native country? Why did not some one of these philosophers expose such a gross and audacious falsehood? Why did they not deny this Pseudo-Apostle, and announce the name of the real missionary by whom Ireland had been Christianized. Their acquiescence in this historic fraud could not, if we credit Dr.


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*The argument continued.*  
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Ledwich, have proceeded from a desire to gratify the Papal See, whose authority, he says, the Irish church did not then acknowledge. Erigena, a learned Hibernian divine of the ninth century, wrote an elaborate controversial disquisition on the eucharist, in which he strenuously maintained that the sacrament of the altar is not the real body and blood of Christ. Whether this opinion was right or wrong is not now the point at issue; but would such a man have permitted, in compliment to Rome, so gross a fable as the one in question, to have superseded the real history of the conversion of Ireland? Mosheim says, that this Erigena, who was the friend of Charles the Bald, "dared to think for himself, and to pursue truth without any other guide than his own reason."* Would the two learned friends, Albin and Clement,† one of whom presided over the university of

* Maclaine's Mosheim, vol. 2, p. 293.

† That Clement and Albin were both Irishmen may be proved, by a passage in the works of Notker Balbulus their contemporary. That author calls them "two Scots of Ireland," ("duos Scotos de Hibernia") and informs us that "they were incomparably skilled in human and divine learning." He says they landed on the coast of France, at a period when learning was almost every where lost, through the dominions of Charles I. That emperor, he adds, received them with joy, and placed Albin over "the monastery of Augustine, in Ticinum, in Italy, that as many as pleased, might resort thither to him for instruction" At the same time he settled Clement in France, and to his tuition committed a vast number of youths of all degrees and qualities. *Antiq. Lect. Tom. 1, p. 360, Vincent. Specul. Hist. lib. 23, c. 173. et Antonin. chron: lib. 14 c. 4. § 12. Usser. præf. vel. Epist. Hib. Syll.*

That Erigena was an Irishman, his very name affords strong presumptive proof, "Scotus Erigena," a Scot born in Ireland. Burton, Conringius and Mosheim say expressly that he was an *Hibernian*, and he is styled by his contemporary Anastasius, librarian of the Roman see, *Scotigena*, at a period


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*Dr. Ledwich attributes fraud to the Irish Literati.*  
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Paris, the other over that of Pavia, have suffered the annals of their country to be thus corrupted? Certainly not. The same question may be asked with regard to Claude, Dungal, Donat, Mac Criathan, Moengal, Macarius, &c.

But Dr. Ledwich (page 67) very plainly insinuates that the Irish literati themselves were the inventors of this strange fable. This position is altogether untenable. For, in the first place, it is quite inconsistent with the character he himself gives them, on full proof and due consideration. Philosophers of independent minds, who rejected human authority, and sought for truth by the exercise of reason, are represented as gravely fabricating a very foolish and very incredible fiction. *Cui bono* did these sages act thus? Truly, if we credit Dr. Ledwich, that Ireland might have her Patrick, as Carthage had her Juno! "For it was a very becoming employment," he says, "for Christian saints to assume the patronage of Christian people"! If such a protector were thought honourable, why did they not rather assign the office to the person who really had converted the Irish? But, secondly, if these men of veracity, who were, according to Mosheim,* perfectly well entitled to

when Ireland was styled Scotia. *Conring. Antiq. Acad. Supp.* 31. *Burton His. Gr. L.* p. 53. *Usser Syl.* p. 65. *MacLaine's Mosheim*, 2d vol. p. 292. Dr. Ledwich himself admits that Erigena, Clement and Albin were Irishmen.

* Vol 2. p. 92.


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*This charge against the Irish*  
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the character of philosophers, had really debased themselves by the promulgation of such a despicable falsehood, they would have required the aid of miraculous powers to persuade the world of its truth. Divested of such supernatural assistance, they would have stood before the tribunal of the public, detected and despised impostors, in all the naked turpitude of fraud and folly.

It is clear that the Irish literati, their predecessors, who had visited the continent during the seventh and eighth centuries, or had settled there, must have already given a far different account of the conversion of their countrymen. Such foreigners also as had been educated in the Irish academies, must have listened to the idle stories of this new saint with incredulity and scorn.

The venerable Bede testifies that multitudes of the ancient Saxons flocked from Britain to Ireland, to be instructed in religion and letters. This is corroborated, in later times, by Camden, Spencer, Hanmer, Llhuid, &c.*

We know that multitudes of students flocked to the college of Lismore, from all parts of Europe. Even so early as the time of the famous Irish scholar Catald, its reputation is believed to have been firmly established.

* Bed, Hist. Eccl. Brit, l. 3. c. 27, Camd, Brit. Spenc, dial. Han.
 chron. Llhuid arch,


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*Literati proved to be absurd.*  
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That philosopher presided over the academy; and many of the Gauls, the English, the Teutones, and other nations attended his lectures.* How highly honourable to the Irish philosopher and his school are the following beautiful lines, written by Bonaventura Moronus, a Tarentine by birth:—

Spargitur occiduas sensim vaga fama per urbes.
 Huic juveni primis tantum conatibus omnes
 Concessisse viros, eadem quos edidit ætas,
 Quantum ignes superat Phœbe jam plena minores.
 Undique conveniunt proceres; quos dulce trahebat
 Discendi studium, major num cognita virtus.
 An laudata foret, Celeres vastissima Rheni
 Jam vada Teutonici, jam deseruere Sicambri:
 Mittit ab extremo gelidos Aquilone Boemos
 Albis, et Arverni coeunt, Batavique frequentes,
 Et quicunque colunt alta sub rupe Gebennas.
 Non omnes prospectat Arar, Rhodanique fluenta
 Helvetios: multos desiderat ultima Thule.
 Certatim hi properant diverso tramite ad urbem
 Lesmoriam, juvenis primos ubi transigit annos
 Mirantur tandem cuncti, quod cognitus heros
 Spe major, fama melior, præconia laudum
 Exuperet, nullumque parem ferat æmula virtus.

Et postea:

Cataldus, plebi juvenis sat notus Ibernæ,
 Quis referat quanta hic edat miracula, quales
 Hinc abigat pestes, quantorum corda virorum
 Instruat exemplo, quot mulceat ore diserto?

* Rom, offic. apud Usser. Brit. Eccl. Ant. p. 394.


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*The same subject continued.*  
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Jam videas populos, quos abluit advena Rhenus,

Quosque sub occiduo collustrat cardine Mundi

Phœbus, Lesmoriâ venisse; ut jura docentis

Ediscant titulisque sacrent melioribus aras.*

From these classic lines we learn that multitudes from all the nations who inhabited the borders of the Rhine and Elbe; that the Teutonici, the people of Guelderland, the Bohemians, the Arverni, the Batavians, as well as the Genevese, the Helvetians, the Scottish Islanders, &c. flocked to Lismore, to study under Catald.

Now can it be presumed that the various foreign students who had been educated in Ireland, were totally unacquainted with the history of the country where they had imbibed their love of letters? And is it credible that they had, as with one accord, neglected to transmit their knowledge of that subject to posterity? The supposition is preposterous in the extreme.

The ancient French historian Mezeray, bears honourable testimony to the piety, the talents and the useful labours of the Irish ecclesiastics, and of the Albanian Scots, who, in the sixth and seventh centuries had visited and resided in France. After having mentioned the Irishman Columbanus, who founded the abbey of Luxenville,† and his countryman Gall, who built the

* Bon. Mor. Cataldiados lib. 1. † Tom. 1, p. 174, Abrege chronologique de l'histoire de France, edit. Amster. 1688,


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*Mezeray's testimony concerning the Irish Literati.*  
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monastery at Stinaha, now Stinace,* and other devout men, he proceeds thus:—

“It must be admitted that these troops of pious men were most useful to France, even in her temporal concerns. For the prolonged irruptions of the barbarians, having totally desolated the country, it was even yet in many places covered with thickets and with woods, and, in the low grounds, inundated with marshes. These benevolent religious, who had not devoted themselves to God, merely to lead a life of slothful indolence, laboured with their own hands, to grub up, to drain, to till, to plant and to build, not so much for themselves, who lived in the strictest frugality, but to support and nourish (*pour nourir*) the poor. So that uncultivated and frightful deserts were converted into agreeable and very fertile tracts. Heaven seemed to favour with its kindest influence, a country managed by hands so pure and disinterested. *I shall say nothing of their having preserved to us, almost all that remains of the history of those ages.*”†

Now can we suppose that these men who had preserved the history of other nations had neglected that of their own country?

* Ware's Writers, p. 27. † Vide Abrege Chron. Tom. 1. p. 174—176
 Edit. Ams. A. D. 1688, or p. 330, 332, 333. Tom 3. Edit. Ams. 1755.


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*The argument continued.*  
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It is unquestionably certain that the opinion of the continental literati of the ninth century, relative to the conversion of the Irish, must have been originally derived from the ecclesiastical writers of Ireland. What that opinion was we may learn from Eric of Auxerre, (Henricus Antissiodorensis) who, speaking of Pope Celestine, says, "As the glory of a father shines in the government of his sons; out of the many disciples in religion, who are reputed to have been his sons in Christ, suffice it briefly to mention *by far the most famous*, as the series of his actions shews, PATRICK, the particular Apostle of Ireland, &c."*

Now, here is the opinion of a continental writer of the ninth century, who speaks of Saint Patrick as not only the known Apostle of Ireland, but as the most famous of all Pope Celestine's sons in Christ, on that very account. Would he have ventured to write thus of a person who had never been heard of, before the very period in which he was then sounding his praises? The supposition is most preposterous. Eric was not a man of weak and credulous mind, liable to be imposed upon by an idle story, first obtruded on the world by some of his own contemporaries. Mosheim speaks of him in the following terms:—Eric made likewise an eminent figure amongst the learned of this age, (the

* Eric de vita et miraculis S. Germani lib. 1, ms. in Bib. Bad. et Sarisburensi, Usser. Brit. Eccl. Ant. c. 17, p. 436.

The argument continued.

ninth.) He was a man of uncommon sagacity, endowed with a great and aspiring genius, and is said, in many things, to have anticipated the famous Descartes in the manner of investigating truth.*

Now, let us suppose all these obstacles surmounted, the people of the continent deceived, and the Irish literati favourable to the deception, still an insuperable difficulty remains.

By what superhuman means, was the whole Irish nation induced to believe in the existence of this saintly phantom? In the ninth century, when, according to Dr. Ledwich, the legend of Saint Patrick was devised, the churches, the towns, the harbours, &c. which now bear his name, must have been known by some other denominations. The Hibernians of that age must have drunk deep of the river Lethe, if they at once forgot the appellations, by which they had recognised those places, from the earliest period of their infancy. The real history of their ancestors' conversion to Christianity must have descended to them, from age to age. Yet contrary to those rational principles which determine the belief of other human beings, they are supposed to have rejected a known truth, and to have substituted a false legend in its place. It is no easy matter to change

* Mosheim l. 2. chap. 1. p. 294.

Dr. Ledwich asserts that the Ostmen

the names of well known places, and still more difficult to alter or destroy received traditions of great and interesting national events.

Dr. Ledwich, in page 67, had, as already stated, accused the Irish literati of having forged the fable of Saint Patrick. In a very short time, however, he forgets this charge and attributes the literary fraud to the Danes! "The adoration," says the Doctor, (page 80,) of reliques gave rise to sacred structures for their reception, and, in Ireland, to our cryptical chapels. 'These were the works of the Ostmen, in the ninth century, after their conversion to Christianity. At this very time, the name of Saint Patrick first appeared, and, at this time, the Ostmen were in possession of Ireland and of Armagh, in particular, and now his reliques were placed there. These facts and dates most exactly agree, and I think, on good grounds, that the Christian Ostmen who seized the Culdean abbey, at Armagh, in imitation of others of that age, procured reliques and fixed on Saint Patrick as their owner; then had a flaming legend composed, setting forth the wonderful life, actions and miracles of the new saint." What an admirable flight of fancy! If the Danes had invented this "flaming legend," by what necromantic power did they compel the banished literati of Ireland to credit and to propagate the fable? How did they persuade the whole Irish nation to receive, as their tutelary saint,

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invented the story of Saint Patrick.
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this Pseudo-Apostle, from the hands of their most abhorred enemies and tyrants, and to transmit his name, with veneration and love, to their posterity? How was the rest of Europe induced to believe so strange a falsehood? Where is the "flaming legend" to be found, of which Dr. Ledwich speaks? If it were composed by the Ostmen, they, probably, wrote it in their vernacular tongue. Amongst the relicks, why had these foreigners no bones to exhibit, as those of the pretended Patrick, since Dr. Ledwich says (page 66,) that the bones of the saints were placed in the principal church of the metropolis? Why was it asserted and believed that he was buried at Down and not at Armagh? And why did the Ostmen, so often, destroy the cathedral dedicated to this holy spectre of their own creation? Possibly the fertile brain of Shakespeare may have furnished Dr. Ledwich with the idea that our national apostle owes his imaginary existence to the Ostmen. Hamlet, the Dane, swears lustily by Saint Patrick, a proof that his countrymen held him in great respect.

It is impossible for any rational being to adopt any of these wild and crude conjectures of Dr. Ledwich, which even Credulity herself, greedy as she is of absurd novelty, cannot digest.

Dr. Ledwich, in his zeal to prove the nonentity of Saint Patrick, endeavours to destroy or weaken the

Observations

credit of every author who has expressed a belief in his existence. Sometimes he quotes passages from Ware, Harris, Ussher, &c. in support of his own arguments, as if they were writers of known credibility. On other occasions, he rejects their testimony, as unworthy of belief. Ussher was one of the most learned and correct authors of whom the British Isles can boast. But our antiquary vainly labours to turn even the candour of that illustrious man, against himself. "Archbishop Usher," says he, "confesses his Antiquities of the British Isles contains many things frivolous, doubtful, and false. Even from these, he remarks, an historian may reap considerable advantages. But, when, in his other writings, he alleges these as direct and positive proofs of transactions and doctrines in early times, he betrays a want of recollection, if not of prudence." (page 350.)

This conclusion rests upon an unjustifiable assumption, viz. that Ussher relied upon those passages as authorities, which he had himself pronounced to be frivolous, doubtful, or false. It would have been more candid to have inferred that he had exercised his discriminating powers, rejected the spurious parts, and referred only to those of whose truth he entertained no doubt. The passage, to which Dr. Ledwich alludes, will best explain itself. The following is a literal translation of that passage from the original Latin.

relative to Dr. Ussher.

“But if any other should here object, that some frivolous, many doubtful and not a few false things have been related, let him receive this reply, as to the frivolous matter, from Flavius Vopiscus in his Aurelian. ‘Perhaps these things may likewise appear too light and frivolous to some other, but curiosity rejects nothing.’ As to the doubtful things, he may receive this answer from the Manilians of the illustrious Junius; ‘That I do not believe many things of this sort, nor do I obtrude them as credible on any man, but to be selected and approved of by deliberate judgment. Let him know that this sentence of Euripides pleases me very much:—

Σωφρονος δ' απιστίας

Οὐκ ἔστιν ἕδεν χρησιμώτερον βρωτοῖς.

Nothing is more useful to mortals than the incredulity of a prudent man.

“As to what is manifestly false, I thought that this also would be interesting, in no small degree, to the reader, who might, from that specimen, perceive how a former age had contaminated the lives of the saints, and the whole history of the church, with vile follies.” Ussher also remarks that it is one thing to write history and another to collect materials for the use of the historian.*

* Præf. Usser, Brit. Eccl. Ant. p. 3.

Observations relative to Dr. Hugh Mac Mahon.

The authority of so very candid a man is not to be shaken by the light and random observations of Dr. Ledwich.

Our learned antiquary endeavours, also, (page 65) to invalidate the authority of Dr. Hugh Mac Mahon, the Roman Catholic archbishop of Armagh, a most strenuous and able advocate for the primacy of Saint Patrick. This prelate had, with much learning and talent, refuted a book written by Dr. Talbot, titular archbishop of Dublin, in which he had maintained the preeminence of his own see over that of Armagh. Dr. Ledwich, however, decides in favour of Talbot, whose work, he says, "exhibits strong good sense and liberality," and he speaks of his opponent as "relying on silly legends." In support of this opinion, he quotes and combines two passages which Mac Mahon had selected from his antagonist's book, for the purpose of refuting them.

Now it seems highly probable that our antiquary knew little of Talbot's book: *First*, because he does not refer to *it*, for the quoted sentences, but to the "*Jus Prim. Armac.*" of Dr. Mac Mahon, where they are inserted and refuted. *Secondly*, because he most strangely terms the "*Jus Prim. Armac.*" every word of which was written by Mac Mahon, "a controversial work, wherein the right of Dublin or Armagh to the Primacy, is discussed, by *Talbot*, on the one side, and Mac Mahon, on the other, A. D. 1724."


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*Same subject continued.*  
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Now Dr. Talbot died in the year 1680, *forty-eight years before Dr. Mac Mahon wrote the "*Jus Prim. Armac.*" His own book, which was printed during his life, bore quite another title, and was an answer to a disquisition, written by Dr. Oliver Plunket, styled "*Jus Primatiale.*" Mac Mahon refuted this answer, in the work in question, which was not printed, as Dr. Ledwich asserts, in 1724, but in 1728.† From all these circumstances it is pretty clear that our antiquary knew very little indeed of Talbot's "*Primatus Dubliniensis,*" of which he speaks in such favourable and decisive terms.

If the reader be curious to see the principal passage to which Dr. Ledwich alludes, and of which he gives a garbled quotation, he will find it c. 228, p. 133, of the *Jus. Prim. Armac.* "It asserts, *inter alia*, that Saint Patrick's pall was chimerical, wretched, a vague individual, woven from goat's wool, suspended and flying through the air, stitched to the relics of Stephen the Proto-martyr." Such trifling, in a Catholic prelate, is justly styled by Dr. Mac Mahon, "*cachinnatio*," giggling chatter. Has it acquired any dignity or force by Dr. Ledwich's repetition? No; its echo is still but *cachinnatio*.

Our antiquary's quotations should be received and credited with extreme caution. We have already seen

* Ware's writers, p. 193.

† Title page, *Jus Prim. Armac.*


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*Strange misquotation of*  
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him conjuring up the ghost of Herodotus and compelling him to bear testimony, in the spirit, of things which he had not known in the flesh, that he might barbarize Alexander the Great. We have witnessed his misquotations and his perversions of Ware, and of other authors, that he might be the better enabled to destroy the glory of the more illustrious Patrick. At present, it may suffice, if we adduce another instance of still more extraordinary misquotation, which his rage for modernizing the antiquities of Ireland, has induced him to hazard.

“It is noticed,” says Dr. Ledwich, “that in 1145, Gelasius, archbishop of Armagh, made a limekiln, *seven yards* in diameter. Would this be told if the calcination of lime was then generally practised? For there is nothing extraordinary in the size of the kiln.” The conclusion he wishes his readers to draw from this circumstance is, that stone and lime buildings were little used in Ireland, before that period. In support of the passage, he refers to Ware’s bishops, page 57. The reader will be astonished when he consults that author, to find the following words:—“In 1145, he (Gelasius) set strenuously about building and *repairing* the cathedral of Armagh and other religious houses adjoining to it, and for that end, is said to have erected a limekiln of such an enormous size, as to exceed sixty feet in dimensions, every way.” There is nothing remarkable in the size of


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*a passage in Ware.*  
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the kiln, says Dr. Ledwich—The size of the kiln was *enormous*, says the author of the passage to which he refers as his authority! It was twenty-one feet, in breadth, says Dr. Ledwich—It was sixty feet, in breadth, says Harris's Ware!

Colgan, on whom Harris, in his edition of Ware, relies, in his account of this kiln, writes thus:—"Gelasius cogitans, de Ardmachana basilica aliisque sacris ædibus adhærentibus reparandis, extruxit pro calce et cœmento in hunc finem excoquendo, ingentis molis fornacem, cujus latitudo, ab omni parte, erat *sexaginta pedes protensa*," "Gelasius studious of *repairing* the Armagh cathedral, and other sacred edifices adjoining to it, for this purpose, constructed a kiln (or furnace) of vast magnitude, for preparing (or coking) lime and cement, whose breadth, in every direction, extended sixty feet."*

Thus the breadth of the kiln was twenty yards, instead of twenty-one feet. It was probably of a rectangular or square figure. Similar kilns, and perhaps of even greater dimensions, exist, at this moment, (I believe) in Scotland and in Sweden. It appears to have been constructed, not for the purpose of preparing cement for *new* stone and lime edifices, but for the *repair* of *old* ones,

* Colgan Trea. Tham. vii, Appen, p. 305.

Other inaccurate references and

then in a state of dilapidation. The quotation, therefore, is, in every point of view, most inapplicable to the purpose for which our antiquary has brought it forward. Yet he seems so preposterously fond of the erroneous deduction which he draws from it, that he repeats it in the twelfth page of the "Introduction to ancient Irish Architecture," prefixed to the second volume of a work which he has dignified with the title of "The Antiquities of Ireland by Francis Grose, &c." He there says, "It is recorded as a memorable fact, the building of a lime kiln seven yards, in diameter, by Gelasius, archbishop of Armagh."

The following passage will furnish the reader with another instance of Dr. Ledwich's incautious assertions and inaccurate references. In page 354, he says, that Columbanus, "in his letter to Pope Boniface the third, charges him with heresy, and suspects his church to be in error. In another letter, he tells the Pope that he had written to his predecessor Gregory, concerning the differences between the Irish and Roman churches, and entreated to be permitted to retain his national customs, &c." and again, "but clerical resentment is not soon appeased, our missionary was expelled his abbey, after which he returned to Bobbio, and erected a monastery there." The gross errors contained in this passage, are pointed out in Dr. Milner's Inquiry, and, on his authority, I now state some of them to my readers.

groundless assertions made by Dr. Ledwich.

"The letter was not addressed to *Pope Boniface the Third, but to Boniface the Fourth. It was not in this, but a former letter to the Pope, that Columban requested to be left to his national observance of Easter; a singular petition this from a pious abbot to an heretical prelate, with whom he is supposed to break off communion! The letter in question was not written from Luxieu, in Burgundy, but from Bobbio, in Italy.† Saint Columban was not expelled from the former place in consequence of the freedom of his letter to the Pope, or of any other kind of clerical resentment,‡ but, in consequence of the resentment of a libidinous king, Theodoric, and an ambitious princess, Brunehault, whose crimes he was obliged to reprove.§" Dr. Milner also says that, in the letter in question, Columban declared, "that he himself continued indivisibly attached to the Chair of Saint Peter."||

The arguments urged by Dr. Ledwich to prove the nonentity of Saint Patrick, are merely negative, and of the most unsatisfactory and inconclusive nature. On the

* Dom. Cellier Hist. des Auteurs sacr. Tom. xvii, p. 489.

† Ibid.

‡ I hope the Rev. Dr. Ledwich will not manifest any of this 'clerical resentment,' at the present exposure of his numerous gross errors.

§ Mabillon Annal. Bened. t. 11."

|| See Milner's Inquiry, p. 139, who, besides the above references, quotes Bibliotheca Petrum tom. xii. in support of Columban's adherence to the church of Rome.


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Positive evidence in  
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contrary the positive evidence which may be adduced in proof of his entity is irresistible. For, *first*, he is mentioned by various contemporary authors who had expressly written his life, and whose works are yet extant. He is also plainly though incidentally spoken of, or alluded to, by others, as Prosper of Aquitain, &c.

Secondly, He is distinctly mentioned by a succession of writers who flourished in the three centuries immediately succeeding that in which his original biographers lived. Such were Tirechan, Cumian, (or Cumin,) Adamnan, Bede, Probus, Nennius,* and others. In the following ages, he is spoken of by such a multitude of authors, that to enumerate them would be a mere waste of time and space.

* We have already stated that Gale, the erudite and accurate editor of Nennius, asserts that he flourished in the year 620. His words, through an error in transcribing, were inaccurately quoted in page xiv of this introduction. They are as follow :—

“Claruit Nennius, anno Salutis per Christum, 620.” Nennius flourished in the year of our salvation through Christ, 620.—*Præfatio ad lectorem, Hist. Brit. Ang. Sax. Dan. &c. apud Gale, edit, Oxon. 1791.*

Thus, if Gale's opinion be correct, Nennius lived nearly about the same time with Tirechan, and it seems manifest from the coincidence which we have already remarked betwixt these two writers, that one of them had attentively perused the works of the other, or that both of them had borrowed some of their materials from the same source, probably from Ultan's life of Saint Patrick. Nennius informs us that he obtained his information relative to Ireland, from the most skilful, or learned of the Scots, (*peritissimi Scotorum*,)—*Hist. Brit. c. 9, p. 100.*—a nation which, he says, settled in Hibernia, in the fourth age of the world;—*Idem cap. 10.* Again, in his 60th


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*proof of the entity of Saint Patrick.*  
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Dr. Milner remarks, that Probus's work, spoken of above, is mentioned, by Alcuin, as having been extant in the eighth century. Alcuin, himself, lived in that period, and was one of the most learned men in Europe. I have examined the passage in his poem, to which Dr. Milner refers. It runs thus:—

“ Quæ Maro Virgilius, Statius, Lucanus et Auctor
 Artis Grammaticæ, vel quid scripsere Magistri :
 Quid PROBUS, atque Focas, Donatus, Priscianusve,
 Servius, Euticius, Pompeius, Comminianus.”*

Probus wrote the life of Saint Patrick in two books, which are to be found in the third tome of Bede's works, and have been often attributed to that author. But the writer himself, in a short address to his friend Paulinus, puts the question out of doubt, by plainly mentioning his own name. This Paulinus seems to have been mistaken by various authors for Mel Paulinus, bishop and abbot of Indon, who died A. D. 920, and hence Probus has been erroneously deemed, by them, a writer of the tenth century. I find, however, that Alcuin mentions

chapter, Nennius appeals to the Scots, *i. e.* the Irish, as the original reporters of some information relative to Saint Patrick, which he there lays before his readers. In his 59th chapter, he speaks of some of that Saint's writings. Candour, however, requires me to say that a calculation which he makes in his 11th chapter, seems to be more favourable to the opinion of Ussher, than to that of Bollandus and Gale, as to the period in which he flourished.

* Flacc. Alc. de Pont. et Sanct. Eocl. Ebor. apud Gale, p. 730.


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*Same subject continued.*  
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Paulinus, in his poem, four lines only above the passage in which he speaks of Probus.* Alcuin, himself, flourished about the year 780.† It cannot be of Probus, the grammarian, of whom he speaks, if we credit Caspar Barthius, who states (from the epistles of Lupus of Ferrara,) that he flourished A. D. 840.‡

Thirdly, We have literary works which bear Saint Patrick's name, some of which are admitted to have been his productions, by the most competent judges. Besides this, the acts of the councils which he held are still extant. He is also recognised by the Brehon laws, and acknowledged as the Apostle of Ireland, by the whole Christian Church.

But, (as is well urged by Dr. Milner,) “there are not only written documents which prove the existence of Saint Patrick, but, likewise, all other kinds of monuments by which the memory of personages who heretofore lived, can be recorded. The churches which he built, the diocesses which he formed, the monasteries which he founded, the havens where he landed, the

* Flacc. Alc. de Pont, et Sanct. Eccl. Ebor. apud Gale. p. 730. In Probus's work the word Normanniam occurs, probably through the mistake of some transcriber. For, first, no other biographer of Saint Patrick, as far as I can learn, speaks of his having baptized any person in Normandy, nor of his having converted any Normans. Secondly, Normandy was not so called till after the period in which Alcuin, and even Probus, the grammarian lived.

† Præfatio Gale ad lect.
 apud Ware's writers, p. 64:

‡ Casp. Barthius advers. lib. 48, cap. 16

Negative proofs.

places in which he dwelled, (most of which places and edifices have preserved his name, from time immemorial,) the very conversion of the Irish nation, and the universal tradition, not only of our island, but also of the whole Christian continent, are all so many monuments of our illustrious saint, and have preserved his memory fresh and untainted, till the very hour in which Dr. Ledwich wrote his book, as he himself acknowledges.”*

A multitude of negative proofs, to the same effect, might also be adduced. Let two suffice:—

First, No other rational account has ever been given, or can now be given of the conversion of the Irish to Christianity, than that which assigns this pious office to Saint Patrick.

Secondly, If any solid argument, in proof of the non-entity of Saint Patrick, could have been discovered, it is almost impossible that it should have escaped the minute research and prying eye of so learned and so indefatigable a writer as Dr. Ledwich. But we find that acute antiquary driven to the necessity of perverting the meaning, or misquoting the words of almost every author to whom he appeals, in support of his paradoxical opinions.

* Milner's Inquiry, p. 96.

The necessity for the present

We find him giving various and contradictory accounts of the persons, by whom the pretended fable of Saint Patrick was invented. Nay, he is compelled to draw deductions from assumed premises, which, if admitted to their full extent, would totally destroy the credibility of all ancient history. A series of negative arguments, similar to those on which our antiquary relies, might be adduced to prove that there were no such persons as Semiramis, Cambyzes, Romulus and Remus. Nay, on his principles, Shem, Ham and Japhet would vanish from the page of history, and the whole world would be left in total ignorance, as to the common ancestors of the human race.

Dr. Ledwich's arguments may, perhaps, appear to some of my readers, unworthy of the minute attention which has been bestowed upon them, in this introductory discussion. It ought, however, to be remembered that Saint Patrick was the reputed founder of the city of ARMAGH; and that his name and actions are intimately connected with the subject of this present work.

But, further, the positive and unqualified assertions of our antiquary seem to have misled subsequent writers, who, relying on his presumed accuracy, have implicitly adopted his erroneous opinions. Thus, (*exempli gratia*,) we find that the Reverend James Gordon, in his late History of Ireland, uses the following remarkable expressions:—

investigation pointed out.

"We find the names, most probably fictitious, of Albe, Declan, Ibar, and Kieran, mentioned as precursors of Saint Patrick, who has been supposed the great Apostle of the Irish, to have come among them in the year 432, and to have effected the great work of their conversion." He then alleges, that the stories related of this Apostle are "legendary tales, or theological romances, fabricated four centuries after his imaginary existence. He is mentioned in no writing, of authentic date, anterior to the ninth century, a period replete with forged lives of saints; while beside the persuasive silence of other documents, he is quite unnoticed by Beda, Cogitosus, Adamnan, and Cumian, ecclesiastic writers of the intermediate time, who could not have omitted the name of so great a missionary, if it had ever reached them."*

Now, these extraordinary passages seem to be merely the echo of Dr. Ledwich's absurd paradoxes. They certainly are not the result of any accurate research into the works of the authors, to whom they so confidently refer. Cumian, for instance, has not only spoken explicitly of Albe and Kieran, but deemed it necessary to inquire, most minutely, into the nature of their opinions, on certain subjects discussed in his far-famed and very learned treatise on the Paschal controversy. On this point, he says, he interrogated the fathers and the elders of the church, who, having assembled

* Rev. James Gordon's Hist, of Ireland, vol. 1, c. 3, p. 28, 29;

Conclusion.

together, gave him the information which he required. Cumian flourished about the year 650, and was abbot of Hy, according to Ussher, in 657. Here then we have the unquestionable testimony of one of the most learned and sagacious men in Europe, as to the existence of Albe and Kieran.*

We have already seen that Adamnan, Cumian, Bede, and others, mention Saint Patrick. On what authority, then, has Mr. Gordon spoken of "the persuasive silence" of these authors? It is to be feared that he relied solely on the *ipse dixit* of Dr. Ledwich. Musgrave also, and various other writers seem to have been misled by this erring guide. It was, therefore, a duty incumbent upon us, to expose his egregious mistatements to the literary world, and to disentangle a highly important and interesting portion of our national history, from the ridiculous perplexities, in which it had been so industriously and so artfully involved.

* See the Treatise itself in Usser. vet. epist. Hib. Syll. p. 24—33, 54.

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together, gave him the information which he required.
Cowan furnished about the year 1850, and was about 65.
He, according to Usher, in 1851, then we have
the unquestionable testimony of one of the most learned
and experienced men in Europe, as to the existence of
Albo and Einar.

We have already seen that Adamson, Cowan, Usher,
and others, mention Saint Patrick. On what author
they rely, however, is not stated.

Historical Memoirs

of these authors, it is to be feared that he
relied solely on the word of St. Patrick. This
also, and various other errors, have been pointed
out by this critic. It was therefore, a duty incumbent
upon us to expose his errors, and to point out the
mistakes in the

THE CITY OF ARMAGH.

and interesting portion of our national history, and the
attention of the public to which it has been so long
neglected, and so ably investigated.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS.

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HISTORICAL MEMOIRS. CHAPTER I.

From the birth of Saint Patrick, A.D. 372, till the
death of King James, A.D. 1601.

THE CITY OF ARARON is situated in latitude 51° 25' north, and longitude 0° 25' west from the meridian of Greenwich. It is the capital of the county of Limerick, in the province of Munster, and the ecclesiastical metropolis of Ireland. The river Callan flows in its vicinity, and in some parts of its meandering course, approaches within less than a quarter of a mile of the city. The surrounding country is highly cultivated, generally divided into small fields and dale, and rich with rural scenery, pleasant perspective and varied.

* The longitude and latitude given above, are those of the cathedral, as found by very accurate observations, made by the Reverend Robert Lloyd, deputy astronomer to the Astronomical Observatory. The observatory itself is situated in latitude 51° 25' north, and longitude 0° 25' west from the meridian of the royal observatory at Greenwich.

By Geo. S. P. 1791.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS,

&c. &c.

CHAPTER I.

From the birth of Saint Patrick, A. D. 373, till the death of Nial Caille.

THE CITY OF ARMAGH is situated in latitude $54^{\circ} 20' 55''$ north, and longitude $6^{\circ} 37' 57''$ west, from the meridian of the royal observatory, at Greenwich.* It is the capital of the county of †Armagh, in the province of Ulster, and the ecclesiastical metropolis of Ireland. The river Callan flows in its vicinity, and, in some parts of its meandering course, approaches within less than a quarter of a mile of the city. The surrounding country is highly cultivated, agreeably diversified with hill and dale, and rich with rural scenery, pleasing, picturesque and varied.

* The longitude and latitude given above, are those of the cathedral, as found by very accurate observations, made by the Reverend Robert Hogg, deputy astronomer to the Armagh observatory.

The observatory itself is situated in latitude $54^{\circ} 21' 15''$ north, and longitude $6^{\circ} 37' 30''$ west, from the meridian of the royal observatory at Greenwich.

† See Appendix, No. I.

Armagh, situated on the sloping sides of a gently-ascending hill, and adorned with many public edifices built in a simple but correct and striking style of architecture, is probably the most beautiful inland town in Ireland.

The ground, on which this city was built, was originally denominated *Druimsailech*, the hill of sallows. "Afterwards," says Colgan, "it was styled *Altitudo Sailech*, or *Ardsailech*, the height of sallows. Then it obtained the name of *Ardmacha*, from *Eamhuin Macha*, the regal seat of the kings of Ultonia,* which had been situated in its neighbourhood; or, at least, from *Macha*, queen of Ireland, who had built that seat."†

Keating asserts that it was called *Ardmacha*, because *Macha*, the wife of Nemedius, or Nevy, was buried there.‡

Bede speaks of a place called "*Dearmach*," the field of oaks, and Camden, who quotes that ancient author, thinks that he had intended, by this name, to designate Armagh. But Bede, himself, says, that Dearmach was a monastery founded by Columba, and Adamnan states that it was situated in the midland parts of Ireland. In fact, it was the Augustinian monastery now called Durragh, in the King's county.§

The true meaning of the word seems to be that adopted by Ussher, Ware and Harris, *Ardmacha*, the high place or field, which is perfectly descriptive of the ground on which the city stands.

In acts of parliament it is sometimes called *Armachanen*,|| and sometimes *Ardmagh*.¶ King Henry VIII.

* See Appendix. No. II. † *Tria Thaum.* p. 289. ‡ O'Connor's *Keating*, vol. 1, p. 50, 51. § *Bed. eccl. hist. gen. Ang. lib. 3, c. 4. Adamn. vita Columb. l. 1, c. 3.*

A book of the four Evangelists and Saint Hierom's translation, which was kept in this abbey was extant in Ware's time. It was adorned with silver ornaments, and the inscription states that it was written by Columba's own hand in the space of twelve days. *Ware's Ant. p. 84, edit. Dublin, 1705.*

|| *Rot. Parl. cap. 5, 12° Eliz cap. 5. Vesey's stat. vol. 1, p. 36.* ¶ *Ib. p. 389.*

styles it *Armachan*, in a letter written from Greenwich, in 1542, relative to Primate Dowdall.*

In the charter, by which King James I. incorporated the inhabitants of the city into a borough, it is denominated *Ardmagh*. At present, the word is generally written *Armagh*.

This city, venerable for its antiquity, and famous in the annals of our country, owes its origin and its ecclesiastical preeminence, to Saint Patrick, the acknowledged Apostle of Ireland.† By this pious and indefatigable Christian missionary, it was built in the year 445, on a hill then called *Druimsailech*, distant about two miles from the ruined palace of *Eamhain*.‡ Our biographical sketch of the bishops of Armagh must, of course, commence with the founder of the see.

SAINT PATRICK, the founder of Armagh, was probably born at Tours, a city which seems to have been denominated by his contemporary, Saint Fiech,§ “*Nem Tur*,” Holy Tours. This city has been celebrated as the residence of Saint Gregory, Saint Martin and many other illustrious men.||

Our Irish Apostle was the lineal descendant of a respectable family. His father, Calphurnius, was a deacon; his grandfather, Potitus,¶ a presbyter. His mother, Conchessa, was a near relative (the sister, or, more probably, the niece) of Saint Martin, bishop of Tours. It appears from the names of his father and grandfather, and from the genealogical account of his descent, given by Colgan,** that his family was either of Roman origin, or had assumed Roman titles. The ancient scholiast on Saint Fiech’s hymn, asserts, that he had five sisters, Lupita, Tigrida, Liemania, Darerca, and Cinenum, and

* Rot. Pa. 32° 33° Hen. 8, 1ma pars dors. memb. 9. † Sanct. Fiech. hym. ver. 22, 25. ‡ See Appendix. No. III. § Sanct. Fiech. hym. ver. 1. || See Appendix, No. IV. ¶ Confess. p. 1. Tria Thaum. p. 51, 117, 65. Brit. eccl. ant. 428, 429. ** Tria Thaum. p. 224.

one brother, the deacon Sananus.* Jocelyn affirms that he had but three sisters, Lupita, Darerca and Tigrida. He was born on Wednesday, the fifth of April, A. D. 373, (or 372.)† At his birth he was called *Succoth*, which the old scholiast on Saint Fiech's hymn, interprets "valiant in war."‡

In the sixteenth year of his age, SAINT PATRICK was seized by some adventurers, who had invaded Armoric Gaul, and having been ultimately carried into Ireland, remained there, in captivity, for six years.§ It is a point not well ascertained, by whom he was thus violently torn from his friends and kindred, and compelled to submit to the miseries of an ignominious slavery. The Irish, themselves, carried on, at that period, a predatory warfare on the coasts of Britain, and Niall the Great is said, by our historians, to have invaded the Roman provinces of Armoric Gaul. Of the Irish adventurers, who, even subsequent to that time, made incursions into Britain, Gildas writes thus:—"Hiberni grassatores post non longum tempus, reversuri." Hibernian marauders who after no long time will return.||

SAINT PATRICK was sold, in Ireland, to four masters or co-partners, viz. to Milcho-Huanan, a prince of Dalaradia,¶ and his three brothers.** Hence he obtained a new name, viz. Cothraig, or Ceathir-Tigh, in allusion to the nature of his fourfold servitude, for *Ceathir* means four, and *Tigh* a house. The attention, vigilance and usefulness of the boy, induced Milcho to make him his sole property, by purchase from his brothers. After this, he was employed in feeding hogs,†† on Sliabh-Mis, a mountain in Dalariada, in the county of Antrim.

* Tria. Thaum. p. 4. † Brit. Eccl. ant. p. 426—429. Harris's Ware, p. 7. See also the Irish book of Sligo, apud Usser. prim. p. 882. ‡ Colgan p. 4: Tria. Thaum. § Sanct. Fiech. hym, vers. 3. Confes. p. 1—6. ¶ Gildas c. 19. ¶ Nennius cap. 54. ** Tria Thaum, p. 12. †† Nennius Hist. Brit. c. 54. Confes. p. 6.

There he spent his time in communing with his own heart, deeply meditating on sacred things and addressing himself, in frequent and earnest prayer to the God of the universe.* There, also, he perfected himself in a knowledge of the Irish language, and became acquainted with the manners, temper, habits and dispositions of the people, amongst whom he was soon to undertake a sacred and successful mission. Meanwhile SAINT PATRICK's sister, Lupita, who, also had been violently dragged into captivity, had been sold to an inhabitant of Conal-Muirthemne, a district of Ulster, which comprises the present county of Louth.

In the seventh year of his exile, he was either manumitted from his captivity, according to the Mosaic law, which seems to have been imitated by Gentile nations;† or, more probably, gained his liberty by flight.§

In his efforts to return to his native country, our Saint experienced much difficulty and misfortune. The master of the ship, to whom he applied for a passage, refused him admission into his vessel, because he was utterly unable to pay down the usual fare.|| Thus repulsed, he withdrew to seek an asylum in some neighbouring cottage; but, the sailors, probably pitying his forlorn situation, sent for him, received him on board, and put to sea. New misfortunes, however, pursued him, as if to inure his mind to the vicissitudes of life, and to prepare him for the execution of important undertakings. The voyage seems to have been unfavourable and stormy; and, after he had landed, he spent nearly a month in travelling, before he reached his parents' residence. Subsequent to this event, he was again made a prisoner, and endured two months captivity.¶

Once more released from slavery, he continued two years with his parents, who were exceedingly solicitous

* Confes. p. 6. † Nennius hist. Brit. c. 54. ‡ Tria. Thaum. p. 12.
§ Confes. p. 7. || Probus, l. 1, c. 4. ¶ Confess. p. 8. Joce. c. 20, Patr.
Decas, l. 1, c. 3. Usser. Index. Chron. ad an. 397,

that he should remain with them during the rest of their lives.* But, he seems to have been strongly impressed with an idea of his future grand destination; and his waking meditations may, probably, have powerfully influenced his nocturnal dreams. For, in a work attributed to him, he tells us, that in a vision or dream, he saw a man named Victoricius, coming to him as if from Ireland, with many letters. One of these which he gave him to read, contained these words: "Vox Hibernigenarum," The voice of the Hibernian race," &c. &c.†

This call, whether it were the effect of an enthusiastic fancy or of divine inspiration, seems to have remained indelibly impressed on his memory: and, therefore, that he might be fully prepared to execute the high mission which he deemed himself elected to fulfil, he laboured incessantly to enrich his mind with literary information and evangelic knowledge. Saint Martin, bishop of Tours, who chiefly directed his studies, constituted him a deacon, and he was afterwards ordained a presbyter, by German bishop of Auxerre, who styled him Magonius. Much of his time was spent in travelling from country to country, and in investigating the manners, habits, customs and scientific attainments of various nations.‡ He studied, also, for a considerable time, in the Lateran church, at Rome, and, having stored his mind with intellectual treasure from such various sources, he, at last, prepared to execute the pious design which seemed to have been the grand object of his existence.§

Prior to SAINT PATRICK'S mission to Ireland,|| Palladius had attempted to convert the nation to Christianity, but his efforts had proved unavailing. Opposed by

* Confess. p. 8. † Ibid. p. 9. Brit. Eccl. Ant. p. 433. ‡ Tirechan vit. Pat. apud Usser. Brit. Eccl. Ant. p. 435. § Tria. Thaum. p. 241,—244, et sequent. || Prosper, Nennius cap. 44, 45. Marianus Scotus in Chron. 432. Sigibert in Chron. 432. Mathæus Florilegius. Joan Capgra, in vit. S. Pat. Nicolaus Harpsfel in Histor. Eccl. Ang. l. 1, c. 21.

Nathi,* the son of Garchon an Irish prince, he left the kingdom despairing of success, and died, amongst the Picts, on the 15th of December, 431. Pope Celestine, having determined that another and more effectual effort should be made to Christianize Ireland, ordained Magonius, (or Maun,)+ a bishop, and deputed him on that important mission.‡ On this occasion, he dignified the Hibernian Apostle with the honourable Roman title, "PATRICIUS," father of the people," a denomination by which he will be known to posterity, and enrolled amongst the benefactors of mankind, as long as the annals of the world shall endure. At the time of his consecration, Auxilius was ordained a priest, Iserninus,§ a deacon and, with some other holy men, were appointed his coadjutors and fellow labourers, in the glorious work|| which he had undertaken.¶ With twenty disciples, eminent for piety and wisdom, he arrived in Britain,** preached in Cornwall, and having there increased his attendants to the number of thirty-four,†† sailed for Ireland,‡‡ and, in the year 432, landed at Inbher Dea, at the entrance of the river Dea, now the port of Wicklow. §§

He was now mature in wisdom and in age, for he had attained his sixtieth year; yet time had not abated his energies nor diminished his fortitude. He had scarcely landed, when he converted and baptized Sinnell,||| a man of considerable note in that country, the grandson of Finchad, and the eighth in lineal descent, from Cormac king of Leinster.¶¶ In vain did Nathi, who had terrified Palladius*** from the Irish coast,

* Brit. Eccl. Ant. p. 440. † Nennius Hist. Brit. c. 55, 56. ‡ Schol. vet. in Fiech, Florent. Wigorn. Chron. ad an. secundum Dion. 372. § Nennius Hist. Brit. c. 56. || Officium Canonic. Lateran. Mart. 16, edit. Venetis apud Juntas, an. 1586. ¶ Prim. p. 842. Vincent. Spec. Hist. l. 20, c. 23. Flor. ad an. 491. ** Mathæi Flor. Hist, an. 491, †† Johan. Tin. vit. Dav. ‡‡ Jocel. c. 26. §§ Harris's Ware's bishops, p. 11, 12. || Primord. p. 846. ¶¶ Tria Thaum. vita 2da n, 35. Menel. geneal. c. 20, *** Brit. Eccl. Ant. p. 423,

menace his more resolute successor.* The pious man, in despite of his opposition, persisted in fulfilling the duties of his office. Yet, having proceeded to Rath-Inbher, near the mouth of the river Bray, the Pagans of the adjacent district, drove him forcibly to his ship, and he was necessitated to depart from that inhospitable country.†

From thence he proceeded to an island called after him, at this day, Holm-Patrick, or Inis-Phadruig,‡ on the coast of the county of Dublin; and, having rested here a short time, he sailed to Ullidia, or Ullagh, which comprises the county of Down, and a portion of the S. S. E. parts of the county of Antrim. Here he landed at the bay of Dundrum, called then Inbher-Slaing-Bay. Dichu, the son of Trichan, prince of the country, came forth with his troops to murder the holy man, but when he saw his venerable aspect and heard the words of truth which flowed from his lips, inspired with awe and reverence he listened, believed and was baptized.§ This new convert dedicated to God, the land in which he had first embraced Christianity: and, here, a church, called "*Sgibol*," or, "*Sabhall-Phadruigh*," Patrick's Barn, was erected, which was afterwards converted into a monastery. The building, contrary to the usual form of churches, extended from north to south.||

In the year 433, SAINT PATRICK made a fruitless effort to convert his old master, Milcho, but it is stated by the author of "*The Tripartite life*," that his son Guasact and two of his daughters, believed and were baptized. Milcho,¶ is said to have consumed himself and his house with fire, and this suicidal act excited the most poignant anguish in the bosom of his faithful servant. Shortly after this period, SAINT PATRICK was hospitably received by Sesgnen,** in Meath, whose whole family he

* Brit. Eccl. Ant. 440. † Ware's bishops, p. 12. ‡ Brit Eccl. Ant. p. 440. § Tria Thaum. p. 18, 39. Probus, c. 28. || Brit. Eccl. Ant. p. 440. ¶ Ussher Ind. Chron. p. 517. Brit. Eccl. Ant. 441. ** Tir. apud Usser Brit. Eccl. Ant. p. 441, 442. Joce, c. 39.

converted and baptized.* Amongst these was his son Beneen,† or Benignus who was afterwards successor to his pious preceptor, in the see of Armagh. He preached also at Tarah, before King Leogaire, monarch of Ireland.‡ Here Dubtach, the laureat-bard, Fiech, a young poet, his pupil, and Fingar, the son of Clito a nobleman, became the disciples of our Irish Apostle.§ The queen, also, was converted, and the king himself, who for a long time had resisted the eloquent exhortations and entreaties of the saint, was at last baptized. The conversion of these royal personages was followed by that of Connall, (the brother of Leogaire, great grandfather of Columba;) and of Ethne the Fair and Fedeline the Ruddy, daughters of the Irish monarch.||

Having diffused the light of the Gospel through Meath and Louth, and having appropriated a portion of his time to devotion, on a mountain near the western coast of Connaught called Cruachan-Aickle now Croagh-Patrick, he proceeded on his mission, and founded a church, named Achad Fobhair, in Umalia, a district in the south west of the county of Mayo. This he consigned to the pastoral care of his disciple Senach.¶

In Tir-Amalgaid, now the barony of Tyrawly, in the county of Mayo, he baptized the seven sons of King Amalgaid,** who had been bitterly contending about the succession to their father's throne. Many thousands of the people were also converted at the same time.†† Here he erected a church, and consigned it to his disciple Mansenus, a devout and zealous Christian.‡‡

In the year 441, he founded, in Connaught, the town and church of Cassiol-Irra, now called Cashel, and, having appointed Saint Bron its bishop,||| he proceeded to the southern parts of Tyrconnel, in Ulster, where he

* Ware's bishops, p. 13. † Brit. Eccl. Ant, p. 441, 442, 443. ‡ Ibid. Passio Sancti Scripta Anselmo, apud Mess. p. 211. Prob. c. 26: || Ware's bishops, p. 14. ¶ Ibid. p. 15—17. ** Nennius Hist. Brit. c. 59. †† Usser Ind. Chron. p. 517. ‡‡ Ware's bishops, p. 17, Vita Trip: l. 2, c. 87. ||| Tria Thaum. p. 271.

built the great church of Magh-Ean, in the south of the county of Donegal. At Ailech Neid, one of the seats of the northern kings, situated in the peninsula of Innis-Eoghain, or Innis-Owen, about three miles north of Derry, he converted the reigning king, Owen Nial, with all his family. In the neighbourhood of the river Fochmuine, or Faughan, in the barony of Tirekerin, county of Derry, he founded seven churches; and having returned to the vicinity of Innis-Eoghain, he built the church of Domnach-Bile near the river Bredach.*

To him also the church of Dun-Cruthen, now Dun-boo, in the barony of Coleraine and county of Derry, owed its origin; and, in his progress through that country, he converted Sedna son of Trena, and all his sept.†

In the year, 443,‡ SAINT PATRICK spent a portion of his time at Ard-Patrick, situated eastward of the town of Louth. Having left that district, he founded a church and bishop's see at Clogher, on the river Launy. Here, in the days of paganism, oracular responses were said to be delivered from a stone; a circumstance from which the place had derived its name. Thus on a spot which superstition had appropriated to the worship of inanimate things, he dedicated a temple to the living God of the universe.§

And, now, after thirteen years of incessant labour, having Christianized a vast multitude of the Irish nation, he proceeded, in the year 445, to found the CITY OF ARMAGH, in which he built a cathedral, and some other religious edifices. This city he is said to have constituted the mistress and metropolis of Ireland, appointing it the Primatial see; of which he is himself generally deemed the first archbishop.||

The hill upon which the city was built, was formerly called "*Druim-Sailech*," the hill of sallows. It was

* Ware's bishop p. 18. † Ibid. ‡ Usser Ind. Chron. p. 517.
§ Ibid. p. 517, || Ibid. p. 518. Jocel, c. 65, 165, Prob, 1, 2, c. 7.

the gift of Daire, a prince of the country. From him also he received a grant of a small tract adjacent to it, on the eastern side, called Na Fearta. Here SAINT PATRICK resided with his family, prior to the building of Armagh.*

In the year 447, he visited Britain,† in order to obtain coadjutors in the great and laborious work which he had so happily commenced. Most of his original friends had been placed in various churches, and the new religious establishments which he was every day creating, required pastors of acknowledged experience, talents, learning and Christian virtues. In Britain, he consecrated thirty bishops, and on his passage to Ireland, from that country, he visited and materially edified the inhabitants of Mona, or the Isle of Man, and established prelates in many other islands.‡

In 448, he is said to have held a synod at Armagh, in which pious labour, he was aided§ by Auxilius and Isserninus. The canons, passed at that synod, are yet in existence.|| After this period, he passed through Leinster and Meath,¶ and having crossed the Finglass river, arrived at Dublin, then called "*Bally-ath-Cliath*," a term denoting a town on the ford of hurdles. Here, he converted King Alphin, the son of Eochaid, and his people, who received baptism at a fountain afterwards called Saint Patrick's well, south of the city. Near this spot he built a church, on whose site the famous cathedral which bears his name now stands. We learn from the erudite Ussher, that he had himself seen the fountain, which was enclosed within a private house, in the year 1639.**

When by his eloquence and indefatigable zeal, our Irish Apostle had established Christianity in Dublin,

* Usser. Brit. Eccl. Ant. p. 446. † Joc. c. 92. ‡ Usser. Ind. Chron. p. 518. Ware's bishops, p. 20. § Usser. Ind. Chron. p. 518. Brit. Eccl. Ant. p. 479, 488. || Op. S. Pat. apud Ware. Spelman's British Councils. ¶ Usser. Ind. Chron. p. 518. ** Usser Prim. p. 865

he settled bishops in various parts of Leinster, and in the year 448, proceeded to Munster, and there converted and baptized Ængus, the son of Naitfrach,* the king of that province.† The monarch himself conducted him to Cashel, where he treated him in the most respectful and dignified manner. Ailbe, Declan, Kieran and Ibar,‡ who had preceded SAINT PATRICK in his mission, felt some reluctance in submitting to his authority. The three first, however, did not long persist in their opposition, and Ibar, after a more protracted contest, yielded, at last, to the venerable man.§ Ailbe was then settled at Emly, Declan at Ardmore, Kieran at Sageir, and Ibar at Beg-Eri. They had previously held a synod together, and made various ecclesiastical constitutions.||

In 454, SAINT PATRICK, having built the church of Ardagh, in the county of Longford, of which he consecrated his nephew, Saint Mœl, bishop and abbot, proceeded from that place through Leinster, and forward to the inhabitants of the more northern parts of Ulster, whom he completely Christianized, in the six succeeding years.¶

In 455, he resigned the bishoprick of Armagh, to Saint Binen, probably perceiving that the general state of the Irish church, and the formation of new establishments, required his whole attention.**

In 461, he visited Rome, where he was honourably received by Pope Hilarius, as the successful Apostle of the Irish nation. On his return to Ireland, in 463, he was accompanied by a number of bishops and other holy men, who came to witness the happy fruits of his mission and to aid his future efforts for the permanent establishment of the Hibernian church.††

* Usser Ind. Chron. p. 519. † Joc. c. 74. ‡ Vita Declan, apud Usser. § Primord. 801, Ind. Chron. p. 519. || Usser Prim. p. 86. Vita Ailbe apud Usser. ¶ Joce. c. 96. ** Ware's Bishops, p. 21, †† Joce. c. 166. Brit. Ecc. Ant. p. 453. Ind. Chron. p. 522.

The remainder of SAINT PATRICK'S life was spent partly in devising and establishing rules in synodical councils for the regulation of the church,* and partly in retirement and contemplation. After having established three hundred and sixty-five churches,† ordained a like number of bishops, and three thousand presbyters, he died in the abbey of Saul, or, Sabhal, on the seventeenth of March 493, at the patriarchal age of one hundred and twenty years.‡ He was buried at Downpatrick, and, here, his remains were found, with those of Saints Bridget and Columba, by De Courcey, conqueror of Ulidia, in the year 1186, and translated to the cathedral in that town, which now bears his name. We learn from Cambrensis, that the monument of these pious missionaries was adorned with the following inscription, in monkish verse:—

“Hi tres in Duno, tumulo tumulaptur in uno,
Brigida, Patricius atque Columba pius.”§

Various works attributed to SAINT PATRICK, and generally received as his composition, are yet extant. He wrote “Confessionem suam,” by some styled “Itinerarium Confessionis,” “Epistolam commonitoriam ad Coroticum,” *alias* “Cereticum,” published by Ware, “Regulam Monasticam:” “Proverbiorum, Lib. 1.” in Irish: “De suis propriis gestis et vita:” “The canons of a synod convened by him, and of another convened by him, Auxilius and Isserninus,” are in Spelman's British councils: “Abjectoria numero 366,” called, by Nennius, “Abjetoria 365, and more,” with some other works of which the reader may find a catalogue, in Ware's writers, apud Harris, p. 307, 308, 309.

* Brit. Ecc. Ant. p. 454. Ind. Chron. Usser. p. 522. † Nennius Hist. Brit. cap. 59. ‡ Usser Ind. Chron. p. 524. Brit. Eccl. Ant. p. 382, 427, 456, 460. See also Beda in Martyr. Notker Balbulus in Martyr. ad XVI. Calend. April. Martyr. Usuardi. Rabani. Adonis ad XVI, Cal. April, § Topog. Hist. dist. 3, c. 3, 5, 18.

It is stated by the four masters and by other Irish writers, that, about the year 438, SAINT PATRICK had assisted in the great national Senate called the Fes of Teamor, or, Tara. On this occasion, he was nominated a member of a committee of nine studious persons, appointed to revise the ancient civil history of Ireland. This literary work, which has been entitled "*Seanachas-More*," The Great Antiquity, is said to have been executed with ability and zeal. Few, if any fragments of it have, I believe, escaped the ravages of the Norman war, and descended to the present age.*

SAINT PATRICK had, in the course of his missionary labours, determined to adopt the most effectual means for transmitting to posterity the doctrines which he had so sedulously taught. Under this impression, he founded at Armagh, a school, or college which, in process of time became famous through all Europe.†

About the same period, he built an abbey in that city, which he dedicated to Saint Peter and Saint Paul, Here, during many centuries, a convent of regular canons of the order of Saint Augustin, continued to flourish. The abbots of this convent, many of whom were famous for their sanctity and knowledge, presided over the academy, with great reputation to themselves, and advantage to Christianity and the republic of letters. In the year 1126 it was repaired, and the church annexed to it, rebuilt by Imar O Hædhagain the learned preceptor of primate Malachy Morgair. It maintained its high character till the very commencement of the reformation.‡ SAINT PATRICK also founded the "*Temple Na Feartha*," or, Church of the Miracles, and Temple Brigid.§

* Annals of the four masters ad annum, 438. † Ware's Ant. 241, Vita Trip. Tria Thaum. p. 291. Usser Brit. Eccl. Ant. p. 447. Jus Prim. Armac. No. 2, 13, 131, 179, 378, 380. ‡ See Appendix No. V. § See Appendix No. VI.

The district, Na Fearta, sometimes called "*Suidhe Padruic*," Sessio Patricii, or Patrick's Seat, is said, by Ussher, and by the ancient author of "*The Tripartite Life of SAINT PATRICK*," (c. 84,) to have been situated to the eastward of the city. This place had been granted by King Daire, to our Irish Apostle before the building of Armagh. In the year 443, Lupita, the sister of SAINT PATRICK, was buried there, and a nunnery was afterwards erected on the spot, in honour of her memory.*

This pious woman was, probably, the first person inhumed at the ancient abbey of Na Fearta.

It is said that the body of a female was dug up nearly two centuries ago, in the ruins of Lupita's nunnery. The corse was in an erect position, with two crosses placed before and behind. It was generally believed to have been Lupita, but it is difficult to assign any rational grounds for so improbable an assumption†

We are, however, informed by Colgan, that about the year 1633, the corse of Lupita was found in the cemetery, where it had been inhumed in the neighbourhood of Armagh. The body was "entire, but" as he gravely adds, "crumbled into dust, when touched by prophane hands." This story, he informs us, was communicated to him by many persons who had heard it narrated by those who had raised Lupita from the grave.‡

Various other religious houses were, afterwards annexed, or affiliated to those established in Armagh, by our indefatigable missionary and his successors. Amongst these may be classed the priory on the island of St. Dubiac, or Avoc, in Loch Derg. This, in the

* Usser Ind. Chron. ad an. 443. Primord. p. 814, 858. Brit. Eccl. Ant. p. 429, 446. Vit. Trip. S. P. Vard. p. 184. Tria Thaum, p. 11, 16, 21, 126. † Arch. Monast. Hib. p. 32. See Appendix VII. ‡ Quint. Appen. Tria Thaum. p. 226. See also for more information about Lupita. Vit. Trip. pars 1, c. 16, pars 2. c. 29, and p. 3, passim. Sec. Vita S. P. apud Tria Thaum. c. 1, et sequent. Tertia Vit. c. 1.

register of Dr. John Bole, one of the Primates of Armagh, is called "the filial place of the monasteries of the Apostles Saint Peter and Saint Paul, at Armagh."

Of this description, also, was another religious establishment, named the Black Cell, in the Daire Colgac, Londonderry.* Thus a Christian unity and intimate brotherhood of love was preserved amongst the newly established churches of the kingdom.

An ancient writer, quoted by Ussher,† says that the first order of Catholic saints was established in the time of SAINT PATRICK. The members of this order were, he asserts, "all bishops, illustrious, pure, filled with the Holy Spirit, in number, 350, and the founders of many churches. They had one head CHRIST, one leader, PATRICK, one mass, one form of celebration, one tonsure, from ear to ear. They celebrated one Pasch, the fourteenth of the moon, after the vernal equinox, and whatever was excommunicated or anathematized by one church, all the others also excommunicated. They did not reject the aid and company of women, because, being founded on the rock of Christ, they feared not the wind of temptation. This order flourished during four reigns, viz. those of Leogaire, Ail Muilt, Lugad, the son of Leogaire, and Tuathil. All these bishops were sprung from Romans, Franks, Britons and Scots," *i. e.* Hibernians.

They were succeeded by a "second order of Catholic Presbyters. In this were few bishops, but many presbyters, in number, 300. They had one head, the LORD. They celebrated various masses, and adopted various rules. They kept one Pasch, the fourteenth day of the moon after the equinox, had one tonsure from ear to ear, refused the assistance of women, and separated them from the monasteries. This order continued during four reigns, viz. from the end of the reign of Tuathil, through the

* Ware's Ant. p. 97, Edit. 1705, Dublin.

† Brit. Eccl. Ant. p. 473.

entire reigns of Diermot, and of the two grandsons of Muiredach as well as that of Aid, the son of Ainme-rech. They received the mass from Bishop David, Gilla and Docus, Britons. Of this class were the two Finians, the two Brendans, Jairlaith Tuam, Comgall, Coemgenus, Ciaran, Columba, Caineceus, &c.”*

The third order of saints was composed of “holy presbyters and a few bishops, in number, 100. These inhabited desert places, living on herbs, water and alms. They had no private property, and they had various rules, masses and tonsure. Some had their hair shaven in form of a crown, others suffered it to remain in a bushy tuft. They varied as to the celebration of the Pasch, some holding it on the fourteenth, others on the sixteenth day of the moon, with great strictness. These continued during four reigns,” &c.

“The first order was styled *Sanctissimus*, most holy; the second *Sanctior*, the third *Sanctus*. The first is said to have been resplendent as the sun, the second as the moon, the third as the stars.”†

These pious men seem to have been bound by vows to cultivate the deserts in which they lived, for the use of the poor.‡ Their successors probably gave up the reclaimed land for the joint benefit of the indigent. Hence we find so many commons in the neighbourhood of ancient monasteries.

The mandates of SAINT PATRICK were received, with the utmost awe by the people, and most implicitly obeyed by his disciples. For proof of this assertion, let one example suffice.

In the year 445, our Irish Apostle, had, for some particular reason, commanded a number of his disciples to abstain from drinking till the time of Vespers. Colman, one of that number, had been occupied with harvest labour, in certain lands called Trian Conchobhair. Ex-

* Brit. Eccl. Ant, p, 474.
sequen.

† Ibid.

‡ Prim, Eccl. Brit. p. 513, et

hausted with fatigue, he was afflicted with intolerable thirst; yet he determined to obey the injunctions of his revered preceptor, to the very letter, and refrained from indulging himself, even with a draught of water. Sickness ensued, and he fell the victim of a too scrupulous and excessive piety. From the singular mode of his death, Colman obtained the name of "*Itadhach*," or, Colmanus Sitiens. He was the first person inhumed in the burial ground of Armagh cathedral, where his tomb was placed contiguous to a cross which had been erected on the northern side of the edifice, opposite SAINT PATRICK's mansion house.*

SAINT PATRICK was succeeded in the see of Armagh, in the year 455, by his disciple SAINT BINEN, or BENIGNUS,† the son of Sesgnen, a chieftain in Meath, of whom a short but sufficiently comprehensive account has been already given in this work. On his conversion and baptism, he received from his kind preceptor, the name of BINEN expressive of his mild disposition and noble qualities. This youth was so firmly attached to SAINT PATRICK, that he became his inseparable companion, and, as their mutual friendship and esteem were every day strengthened by reciprocal acts of kindness and attention, he followed his master from his father's house. Instructed by our Apostle in learning and religion, he became eminent for knowledge and piety, and was therefore deemed worthy to succeed him in the see of Armagh. In the year 465, he resigned his bishopric and died, at Armagh, on the ninth of November, 468.‡

Our Apostle, who seems to have exercised a kind of paternal or patriarchal authority over the infant Irish church, had appointed JARLATH, the son of 'Trena, to succeed SAINT BINEN.§ The father of this pious divine,

* Vita Trip. pars tertia, c. 77. 80. Tria Thaum. p. 311. † Uss. Ind. Chron. p. 520. Tirechan apud Usser, Brit. Eccl. Ant. p. 455. ‡ Ware's Bishops, p. 35. § Usser Ind. Chron. p. 522. Brit. Eccl. Ant. 454. Act. Sanct. p. 507. l. 5.

who was a chieftain of Mudhorn, or Mourne, and of the royal family of the Dalriatacians or Dynast of Hy-Bressail, or East Ulster, had obstinately rejected the truths of the Gospel, and remained inflexibly attached to Paganism: yet his two sons, Jarlath and Sedna, were not only the disciples of SAINT PATRICK, but became emulous of his Christian virtues. The progress of JARLATH, in particular, was remarkably rapid, and though many of the Irish converts were his seniors, yet in wisdom and piety he excelled them all. He, therefore, was nominated the successor of BINEN, and died, according to the Ulster annals, in 482, being the eighteenth year of his primacy.*

In the same year, CORMAC, the nephew of King Leogaire,† succeeded JARLATH, by the appointment of the venerable PATRICK, by whom he had been baptized.‡ He survived SAINT PATRICK, died on the seventeenth of February, 497, and was buried at Trim.

The writer of "The Tripartite Life of SAINT PATRICK," states that Primate Cormac was educated in the district of Crich, in Artich, in Connaught, by Bishops Domnal, Comitius, Connetus and Darbon. Afterwards, when he visited Connaught, in the exercise of his Primatial power, each of them presented him with a heifer, through respect and reverence to SAINT PATRICK, who had committed his education to their care. These donations served as an example to the succeeding bishops, and grew into a custom, so that the successors of CORMAC, received similar gifts annually from the Connacian prelates. Primate Nuad, however, released them from such contributions about the year, 810.§

CORMAC was succeeded by DUBTACH,|| who, in the life of Saint Tigernach, is called "the venerable Duach, the famous archbishop of SAINT PATRICK'S

* Usser Ind. Chron. p. 523. Brit. Eccl. Ant. p. 454, 455. Ware's Bishops. p. 36. † Ibid. ‡ Act. Sanct. p. 358. Usser Ind. Chron. p. 524. Brit. Eccl. Ant. 454. § Tria. Thaum. p. 131, 132, || Usser Ind. Chron. p. 524. Brit. Eccl. Ant. p. 454,

see." It is uncertain whether he attained this dignity by the election of the clergy, the nomination of his predecessor, or the appointment of the monarch. He died in the year 513,* and was succeeded by AILILD, (or AILIL, son of Trichen, prince of Hy-Bressail or East Ulster, and of blood-royal descent. This prelate was the second of the same sept, who had ruled the see. From this circumstance, we may infer that even in the infancy of the church, efforts were made to render the primatial dignity and its emoluments, a kind of hereditary property in the royal family. AILILD and his five brothers were disciples of SAINT PATRICK. He himself was a married man at the period of his conversion.† On the 13th of January 526, he departed this life, and was succeeded by AILILD, II.‡ who was descended from the same illustrious stock. This prelate having ruled the church for ten years died on the 1st of July, 536.§

DUBTACH II. a linea! descendant of the royal stock of Colla Huais, succeeded AILILD, in the year 536, and died in 548.||

The following prelates in the order below succeeded DUBTACH.

	Succeeded A. D.	Died A. D.
DAVID MAC-GUAIRE-HUA-FARANNAN,	548	551
FEIDLIMID FIN, of Hy-Nellan,.....	551	578
CAIRLAN, of Hy-Nielan,.....	578	588
ECHAD MAC DERMOT,.....	588	598
SENACH,.....	598	610
MAC-LAISIR,¶.....	610	623

THOMIAN or TOMIAN MAC RONAN, a man of illustrious descent, succeeded MAC LAISIR, in the year 623.

* Usser. Index. Chron. p. 526. Brit. Eccl. Ant. 454. † Ware's Bishops p. 37. ‡ Usser Ind. Chron. p. 528. Brit. Eccl. Ant. p. 454. § Usser Ind. Chron. 529. || Ware's Bishops, p. 38, 39. ¶ Ibid.

The primacy was justly due to his superior learning and piety. Bede has preserved a fragment of a letter written by the Roman clergy, in the year 639, to this prelate and the other bishops, priests and abbots of Ireland. This epistle related to the Pelagian heresy and to the celebration of Easter, and seems to have been a reply to some questions propounded by the Irish clergy, on the proper time of celebrating that festival.*

THOMIAN died on the 10th of January 661, and was immediately succeeded by Segene. In the days of this prelate, Armagh was twice consumed by accidental fire, viz. In the years 670 and 687.†

We learn from the Ulster annals, (whose testimony is corroborated by that of the venerable Bede,) that in the years 664 and 665, the nation was afflicted with a dreadful pestilence. These annals state that there was an eclipse of the sun, (*tenebræ*), on the ninth hour of the kalends of May, A. D. 664. In the course of the summer,‡ the sky seemed to be on fire, and, in August, an awful mortality swept off multitudes of the people. Two thirds of the inhabitants of Ireland are said to have perished during the pestilence.§

Bede, also, asserts that in the year 664, an eclipse of the sun took place, on the 3d of May, at the tenth hour. This was followed by a sudden pestilence which depopulated the southern parts of England, as well as the province of Northumberland, and dreadfully afflicted Ireland.||

The reader will perceive that our Irish records agree with the English historian, as to the facts of the darkness and the pestilence. They, however, do not coincide with him, as to the exact time of the eclipse. Primate Ussher finds by astronomical calculation that Bede is in

* Bede Eccl. Hist. l. 2, c. 19. Vet. Epis. Hib. Syll. p. 22, 23. Ware's Bishops, p. 39, 40. † Tria Thaum. p. 294. ‡ Usser Brit. Eccl. Ant. p. 491. § See Scriptor vitæ Geraldî Saxonis apud Usser. Ind. Chron. p. 539. || Bede l. 5, c. 27, Hist. Eccl.

error, and that the Ulster annals are perfectly correct. It is highly honourable to our national records, that whilst they are corroborated in their statement of historic facts, by the most celebrated writer of the age in which he lived, they correct that writer in matters of science.* SEGENE died on the 24th of May, 688.

FLAN-FEBLA, a lineal descendant of the regal family of Colla-Dacrioch, succeeded SEGENE in the primacy.

This prelate assisted by Killene Mac Lubney, abbot of Sayghir, and forty other bishops, held a synod in the year 695, whose canons were extant in the seventeenth century, and in possession of Colgan.†

FLAN-FEBLA died on the 24th of April, 715, and was succeeded by SUIBHNEY MAC CRONUMAIL, who governed the see fifteen years, and died on the 21st of June, 730.‡

His successor CONGUSA, who was both a poet and a divine, was consecrated in 730, and died in 750. In his time Aid Ronan king of Ultonia, pillaged some churches in the diocess of Armagh.§

In the days of this primate, King Flathbert abdicated his sceptre, and embraced a monastic life at Armagh, in the year 734. He died there in 760.||

	Succeeded	Died
	A. D.	A. D.
CELE PETER.....	750	758
FERDACHRY.....	758	768
		Resigned
FÆNDALOGH.....	768	771

Contests concerning the primacy seem to have originated betwixt FÆNDALOGH and the next in succession, Dubdalethy, and another claimant Gormgall. He is said to have died in the year 794.¶

* Usser Brit. Eccl. Ant. p. 490, 491. See Appendix, No. VIJJ.
 ‡ Act. Sanct. p. 473. Ware's Bishops, p. 40. † Ware, vol. 1, p. 40.
 § Tria Thaum. p. 294. || Ware vol: 1, p. 40. 41. Tria Thaum, p. 294.
 ¶ Ibid.

Meanwhile the see, thus warmly contested, probably remained in a kind of abeyance, till the year 778, when DUBDALETHY, the son of Sinach, was consecrated bishop. He died in 793.*

A. D. 770, Armagh was consumed with fire, and again on Saturday the 2d of August, a conflagration was kindled in the city, by lightning, and infinite damage ensued.†

In the seventh century, a Culdean monastery and church were built in Armagh, probably by some of Columba's successors in the famous establishment at Hi. In 779, Cearnach, the prior of the Armagh Culdees, died and was buried in that city.‡

In process of time the city was adorned with many other edifices, built by devout men, and appropriated to the worship of God. As I cannot discover the exact period when some of these were erected, so as to reduce the whole to chronological order, I will here briefly recite the public religious buildings of Armagh.

Cathedralis, vel Summum Templum—The Cathedral, built by SAINT PARICK on the summit of the hill.‡

Basilica Petri et Pauli—The Church of Saints Peter and Paul, which, with the monastery and academy annexed to it, was founded by SAINT PATRICK,|| near his own mansion-house. These edifices were rebuilt by Imar O Hædhagain. Some parts of them still exist, and were lately inhabited by Mr. John Richardson. The materials of the remainder were used in the year 1722, in building the Presbyterian Meeting-house.

Basilica Saballensis—Church of Sabhal.¶

Basilica Toensis.** Of these buildings I can find no trace.

Basilica Vetus Concionatoria—The Old Preaching Church.††

* Ware, vol. 1, p. 42. † Tria. Thaum. p. 294. ‡ Ibid. p. 294.
§ Ibid. 293 See Appendix, No IX. || Ware's Mon. 293. Burk. App.
Mon. p. 730. ¶ Tria. Thaum. p. 298. Vita Trip. S. P. pars 3. c. 71.
** Tria Thaum, ut supra. †† Tria. Thaum. p. 298.
*

Templum Na Fearta, or church of the Miracles, built (according to the author of "The Tripartite Life,") by SAINT PATRICK.*

Templum Brigidis—Temple Brigid built by SAINT PATRICK; not very remote from the spot where the Roman-Catholic Chapel now stands.†

Templum Columbæ.‡ It is traditionarily said, that this church stood in Abbey-street, where Rocque has marked it in his map of the city, and it is believed that the late Dr. Grueber's school-house was part of the edifice:§ But as the Culdee tenements were chiefly situated in Castle-street, it is more likely that Columba's original monastery was erected near the site of the old Vicars'-hall.

A Dominican Friary.||

A Franciscan Friary, built by Primate O Scanlain, in 1263, according to Ware; but Wadding says it was founded in 1291.¶

The *Basilica Vetus Concionatoria* was probably used, in later times, as the parish church, of which there only remains a very small fragment contiguous to the front gable of the eastern aisle of the cathedral; and here, since the destruction of the building, the rectors of Armagh have (generally speaking) been inducted, on their respective promotions.

	Succeeded	Died
	A. D.	A. D.
AFFIAT	793	794
CUDINISCUS	794	798
CONMACH	798	807
TORBAC MAC GORMAN**	807	808

* Ware's Mon. p. 269. Burk app. Mon. 736.

† Ibid.—Temple Breed and Temple Na Fearta were granted to Francis Annesley, Esq. on the 9th of January, 1618.—*Lodge*, vol. 1, p. 274.

‡ Tria. Thaum. p. 309. Charter of King Charles to the Vicars Choral.

§ Many human skeletons were lately found in the rear of these premises, which was used till after the reformation as a cemetery. Tobacco pipes, and copper coins bearing the imprimatur of Michael Wilson, were also dug up, some of which are now in the possession of Mr. Bell, landscape painter.

|| Burk, 339. ¶ Burk App. Mon. Wad. apud All. Ware's Mon. p. 278. ** Ware's Bishops, p. 42.

Prior to the year 799, the primate of Armagh, and his suffragan bishops were necessitated to attend the royal army of the king of Ireland, when that monarch proceeded on any warlike expedition, CONMACH deemed it indecorous and improper that the ministers of peace should be compelled to witness the horrors of war. At his request the abbot Fothad drew up a remonstrance styled "*Opuscula pro Cleri Defensione et immunitate*," which was presented to the king. In consequence of this work, the bishop and his clergy were exempted from this uncanonical duty.*

TORBACH was immediately succeeded by NUAD, the son of Segene, abbot of a convent near a lake in Brefny, county of Cavan, called "*Lough Vamba*," Lake of the Cave," from which it is said to flow. This prelate who was an anchorite, had reluctantly accepted the abbatial and primatial dignities. He made a visitorial circuit in Connaught, and was the first bishop of Armagh, who since the days of CORMAC, the third in succession after SAINT PATRICK, had visited that province, as patriarch of the kingdom. He died on the 19th of February, 812, or according to Colgan, 811.†

FLANGUSS MAC LOINGLE, succeeded in 812, and died in 822.

ARTRIGE was consecrated in 822, and in the same year visited the whole province of Munster. He was probably the first archbishop who, since the days of SAINT PATRICK, had exercised his primatial rights in that district, by visitorial circuit. In 824 he also visited Connaught.

The Ulster annals state that about this period, the law of SAINT PATRICK was propagated through Munster, by Felim Mac Crimthan, its monarch, and ARTRIGE bishop of Armagh. Ussher thought that this law was a monastic rule,‡ but Colgan conceived that it related to the metropolitan jurisdiction, and the power of visiting

* Act. Sanct. Hib. p. 581, 583. O'Halloran vol. 2. p. 153. † Ware, vol. 1, p. 43. Tria Thaum. p. 294. ‡ Primord. p. 1050.

and exacting certain provisions and dues from the provinces.* The same law was subsequently established in Connaught.†

Shortly before this period the Ostmen had made frequent hostile incursions into Ireland. The annals of Ulster assert that about the year 795, the isle of Rechrin to the north of the county of Antrim, was pillaged by pirates. These mauraunders are said by Ussher to have been Danes or Normans. They wasted a part of Ireland, and made captives of Findan and his sister.‡

The piratical tribes by which Ireland was so dreadfully infested in the ninth century seem to have been a mixed crew of Danes, Frisians, Norwegians, Swedes and Livonians. Of these, one tribe were styled Leth-manni, whom Ussher and other writers deem Livonians, whose country was named Letten or Letta. One sept was called by the Irish, "*Fion-Gail*, or *Fingal*," the White Strangers, and another "*Dubh-Gail*," the Black Strangers, from the colour of their hair. Other generic terms were applied to these northern invaders, such as *Loch-lans*" pirates; "*Dubh-Loch-Lannice*," and *Fion-Loch-Lannice*." *Loch-Lonnach* or *Lannice* denotes powerful at sea. In the ancient Welsh language, *Lychnnyan* signifies a Norwegian. The adjectives *Dubh* black, and *Fion* or *Fin* white prefixed by the Irish, were indicative of the relative complexion of these tribes or rather of the colour of their hair. Fingal was probably a settlement of the Fair-haired Strangers; Donegall or *Dubh-Gail* of those of darker hue.§ The more general denomination was *Danfhir*, *i. e.* bold men. These Danfhirs or Danes after they had settled in Ireland, were distinguished by the countries or districts in which they resided. Thus we read of the Danes of Lecale, the Danes of Loch-Foyle, the Danes of Dublin, &c. By the English, whom these adventurers molested exceedingly, they were denominated Oestmen and Danes.

* Tria Thaum. p. 294. † Keating part 2nd, p. 42, 47. ‡ Brit. Eccl. Ant, p. 496. Ind. Chron. p. 542. Chron. Camb. Caradoci Lancarv. apud Usser Brit. Eccl. Ant. p. 496. § So O'Halloran says; but, more probably "*Dun-na-Gail*" The strong Hold of the Strangers.

In France they were styled Normans. After various predatory irruptions into that kingdom, they formed a powerful settlement there, in the beginning of the tenth century. Finally, under William Duke of Normandy, they conquered England in the year 1066.

In the year 812, a fleet of Normans, appeared off the Irish coasts, but was defeated by the Scoto-Hibernians, with vast slaughter*

About the year 815, a formidable body of Ostmen arrived on the western coasts of Munster, with sixty ships of war. They landed but were valiantly assailed by Airtre, king of that country who having slain four hundred and sixteen of the invaders, compelled the remainder to take refuge in their vessels, and to abandon their enterprise.†

A second attempt on Munster was repelled by King Feidlime, after the Danes had with fire and sword carried havock and devastation through a considerable portion of his territory.

Another army of these restless northerns landed in Ulster, destroyed the famous abbey of Benchoir, and put nine hundred monks to the sword.‡ A few years after this period, a formidable Danish fleet appeared off the northern coast. The troops landed but were spiritedly attacked and completely defeated by the Ultionians. A second army of Danes which had disembarked at a place named "*Inbher Chinn Tragha*," the River at the head of the Strand," subsequently called "*Na Yur*," or Newry, was for a time more successful. This body of daring adventurers marched from Newry towards Armagh, and miserably wasted the country, in every direction. The city which Colgan says had never before been occupied by strangers was taken by storm, and here

* Eginbard Annal. apud Usser, Brit. Eccl. Ant. p. 382. Ind. Chron. p. 542. † Mac Curtin, p. 171. ‡ Usser Ind. Chron. p. 542.

the Danes and Norwegians established their head quarters for the space of a month in the year 830.*

During this period, the inhabitants suffered every species of indignity, and endured every kind of misery, which victorious barbarians, inured to blood and unrestrained by moral feeling or religious principle, delight to inflict on the vanquished. At last the invaders were driven back to their ships by the irritated people. In their retreat, they robbed the inhabitants and set fire to the city itself.

Some authors state that in the year 832, the Danes took Armagh, and pillaged it thrice, in a single month. When they withdrew, they carried with them the sacred relicks, with various highly esteemed treasures, and compelled the abbot of Saint Peter and Saint Paul's to seek an asylum in Munster.†

Primate ARTRIGE died in the year 833, and was immediately succeeded by EUGENE or EOGAIN, who died in the following year.

After his decease, FARANAN (or FORANAN and DERMOT O TIGHERNAC contended for the see, and each assumed and exercised the episcopal functions. In the year 835, DERMOT was driven from the bishoprick, but proceeded in a visitorial circuit through Connaught, to establish there SAINT PATICK's law.‡ At the same period, Fethlim the son of Crimthan, seized upon the abbot of Armagh, in the church of the abbey of Kildare, and carried him and his clergy into captivity.§

In the year 836, the Normans again pillaged and burned the city with the Cathedral and the other sacred edifices. In fact, whilst the country had been agitated by various factions, and the rival prelates, FARANAN and DERMOT had been contending for the see of Armagh, Turgesius (or Thorgis,) a very valiant, but fierce and barbarous Dane, had wasted Connaught, and a

* Ware vol. 1, p. 44. Tria Thaum. p. 295. Annal. Ult. p. 43. Ann. Innisfal. Arch; Monas. Hib. † Ogygia, p. 43. Ann. Innisfal. Arch; Monas. Hib. ‡ Tria Thaum. 295. § Ibid. O'Flaherty, p. 43.

great part of Meath and Leinster, at the head of his Norwegian troops. Flushed with victory and confident of success, this active chieftain had marched northward with a numerous body of his ferocious adherents, to the conquest of Ulster.

In less than three years he had made himself master by force of arms of almost all the country round Lough Neagh. Wherever he advanced, rapine and devastation marked his progress. In Munster also, the Norwegians and Easterlings swept the land with such an irresistible force, that they soon became the acknowledged masters of the country.

And now Turgesius, whom his victorious army had proclaimed king of Ireland, marched against the city of Armagh, which probably weakened by intestine division and not yet recovered from the effects of its late capture, was altogether unable to resist his progress.

As he advanced, the Danish sovereign waged an unrelenting war against Christianity and its meek teachers. He levelled the churches to the earth, and treated the clergy with wanton insult and inhuman barbarity. When, therefore, this merciless Pagan had seized upon Armagh, he expelled its bishop FARANAN, with all the students of the college, and the whole body of religious devotees from the city. The bishop and such of the clergy as escaped his rage, fled to Cashel. Here however they were pursued by the emissaries of the inexorable Turgesius, and compelled with the clergy of that place to lurk for years in obscure woods, bogs and subterraneous caves.*

Meanwhile Turgesius had established amongst the conquered people, a species of systematic slavery and oppression intolerable to human nature.†

* M'Curtin, p. 180. † Colgan says that in 843, Faranan, with his family and the sacred relics, was taken prisoner by the Normans, and sent to their navy at Limerick; but Florence Mac Carthy, asserts that he was expelled with all the students, and the religious of the city: and Ussher also in his Chronological Index, A. D. 848, says that he was expelled by Turgesius, who then occupied Armagh.—*Primor.* 860. *Ind. Chron.* p. 543. *Tria Thaum.* p. 295.

Every cantred of ground was placed under the jurisdiction of a Danish prince; every Tuath or seigniory under a chieftain. Sergeants presided despotically over towns and villages, and every private *Buanna* or soldier was absolute master of the house in which he was quartered. The abbeyes, churches and monasteries were placed at the disposal of the Danish heathen priests, and the edifices originally dedicated to the worship of God, resounded with the praises of Odin, Thor and Friga.

If any man concealed his cattle from the voracious Buannas, or secreted food for the use of his children, he was, on detection, fettered, chained and imprisoned, until he had made ample satisfaction to the proud Dane, whose wants he was bound by the Turgesian edict to supply.

The inexorable tyrant established also a most oppressive law, by which every head of a family was compelled to pay into the Danish treasury an ounce of gold annually.*

He who failed either through poverty or any other cause to pay this tribute of the "*Uinge Oir*" or ounce of gold, was liable to a punishment of a most cruel and degrading nature. His nose was publicly cut off, and he was thus subjected, as an object of scorn, to the continual scoffs of his inhuman tyrants. Hence this tax was denominated Nose-Rent, and by the Irish, *Airgiod-Sron*, and *Cioss-Sron*.†

The oppressed natives were also prohibited by law, from entering any school, monastery, church or chapel, and none were allowed to employ any clergyman, lawyer, philosopher, bard, or even artist of any kind. Every manuscript which the most minute search of the Danes could discover, was instantly consumed with fire. All social intercourse between families was interdicted, and even the nobility of the land were limited as to diet, to the leavings and offals of their tyrants' tables.‡

* Keating, vol. 2, p. 176 et seq. Vide lib. *Coga Gall le Gaoidheal* apud Mae Curtin, p. 181. † Ibid. p. 182. See Appendix No, X. ‡ Mac Curt.

The despotism of Turgesius and the subordinate ministers of his barbarities extended even to the bridal bed. On the solemnization of every marriage, the Danish captain of the precinct was entitled by law to defile the bride. If he disliked the woman, or chose to wave his claim, he commuted it with the unfortunate husband for a tax in money, which he was by the despotic law of the Danes, entitled to levy.*

Let it not be imagined that our Irish annalists have drawn an exaggerated picture of Danish barbarities. The English historians portray their cruelties in equally strong colours. The cruel Gutrum, (says one of these historians,) arrived in England, A. D. 878, with an army of heathenish Danes, equally cruel as himself, who, like barbarous savages, destroyed all before them with fire and sword, involving cities, towns and villages with their inhabitants in devouring flames, and cutting those in pieces with their battle-axes who attempted to escape from their burning houses. And again, hoary-headed old men were seen lying with their throats cut before their own doors, the streets covered with the bodies of young men and children without heads, hands, or feet, and of matrons and virgins who had been first publicly dishonoured, and then put to death, and indecently exposed to public gaze.†

These barbarians, say the English writers, were accustomed to tear babes from the bosoms of their mothers, toss them up into the air, and catch them in their descent, on the points of their spears, as if cruelty and infanticide were sports congenial to their souls.‡

Scalping was practised by these inhuman warriors. We learn from an ancient historian, that Earl Godwin having intercepted Prince Alfred at Gilford, in his way to London, defeated his companions and seized his person. Some of the guards he enchained, some he sold

* Keating, vol 2, p. 176 et sequentia. Vide lib. Coga Gall. Le Gaoidheal apud Mac Curtin, p. 181. † See J. Wallingford apud Gale, p. 536. ‡ Anglia Sacra, t. 2. p. 155.

for slaves, some he blinded by putting out their eyes some he maimed by cutting off their hands and feet and some he tortured by tearing the skin off their heads.*

Thus much I have thought necessary to say, as a proof that the ancient English writers corroborate the statements of our Irish historians, with respect to the habitual barbarity of the Danes and Ostmen.

It might be supposed that the havock committed by the Danes, in almost every part of Ireland, must have united the oppressed people against the common enemy. Far from it. The energies of the nation were wasted in petty broils. Hugh Dorndighe, king of Ireland, instead of forming a general league amongst the subordinate princes of the kingdom, for their mutual protection, carried on a predatory system of hostilities against the people of Leinster, thus exciting the flames of civil war, instead of repressing the inroads of the common enemy.

His successor, Concobar or Connor, the son of Donough, acted a more manly part and in the plain of Tailtean, gained a complete victory over a large Danish force. Shortly after this event, a sanguinary battle was fought at Druimconla, in which the people of Leinster were routed by the Danes with immense slaughter.

During these transactions in the south of the kingdom, Danish troops still kept possession of Ulster, where the provincial king was utterly unable to resist their arms. Armagh was again plundered as well as Finne-Ceanachta, and Lismore.

Mental anguish and bodily fatigue sank the gallant Concobar prematurely to the grave, in the twelfth year of his reign. He was succeeded by Nial III. who from subsequent events is known to posterity by the name of Nial Caille.

During the reign of this monarch, many battles were fought betwixt the people of Meath, Leinster, Munster, &c. and the Danes, with various success. To narrate

*Hist. Elicn, apud Gale, l. 2, c. 32, p. 508, 509.

the particulars of these conflicts is foreign to my present subject. I must rest satisfied with briefly stating, that Nial, king of Ireland, found himself sufficiently powerful to invade the territories conquered by the Danes in Ulster. Having overthrown the Ostmen in a pitched battle in Tirconnel,* he marched against Armagh, the head-quarters of his savage enemies. The Danes confident of victory, met his troops in their advance, and the adverse hosts closed spear to spear, man to man. The troops of Niall, thirsting for vengeance, and contending *pro aris et focis*, fought with a desperate valour which rendered them irresistible. The Danes were completely overthrown, and in the universal rout were slaughtered without mercy, by the victorious Irish. Those who survived the battle fled precipitately and in total confusion, towards the river Callan, probably to gain a temporary refuge in the Navan fort, and in the long series of raths which in that quarter crossed the country. The conqueror eager to annihilate the miserable remnant of the Danes, pursued the fugitive enemy, and the work of havock was continued till the darkness of night screened them from his vengeance.

Meanwhile a torrent of rain had fallen, and a sudden flood having descended from the mountain-lakes near Keady, which are the sources of the Callan, the swollen river burst its usual bounds,† and interrupted the march of the victorious army in their progress to Armagh. At the foot of Tullachmore hill which the river divides from Umgola, Nial halted the troops, who immediately accompanied his person. At his command, one of his warriors endeavoured to pass the ford on horseback, but was instantly hurried from his steed, by the impetuosity of the waters. Nial who with strong emotions of pity, saw him struggling for life, commanded his guard to make every effort for his preservation. In vain was the command. Terror fixed them to the spot immoveable.

* O Connor's Dissert. p. 226.

† Appendix No. XI.

The magnanimous king then dashed forward with a generous resolution to save his friend, or perish in the attempt. As he approached the brink of the river, the ground,* undermined by the torrent, sank beneath his horse's feet—the monarch was precipitated into the flood, where death closed at once his career of victory and his life. He died A. D. 846, aged 55.†

His body was deposited with all due respect, in a grave dug in Tullachmore, on the banks of the Callan, where he had prematurely perished. A simple mound of earth, which tradition has from generation to generation denominated "Nial's Mound," lately marked the spot where the sovereign of Ireland lies in the silence of death. I have seen it—it is fresh in the memory of all my contemporary fellow-citizens, but the tumulus itself is now no more.

* Keating, vol. 9, p. 163, 169, 1735.

† Ware's Ant. p. 14, Edit. Dublin,

CHAPTER II.

From the death of Nial Caille till the death of Thorgils.

IN 849, measures were adopted to stop the further progress of the northern invaders. Public comitiæ were held at Armagh, by Malachy (the son of Malrone or Malruan) king of Ireland, attended by the peers of Lethcuin; and Madagan, king of Ultonia, accompanied by the nobles of that territory. Dermot and Feithgna with the clergy of Saint Patrick, *i. e.* of Armagh, and Suarlech Indedhin, with those of Meath, were also present at the meeting.* After due deliberation on the state of the country, it was determined that the most vigorous offensive measures should be adopted against the Danes. Accordingly the monarch, in person, assailed the enemy in Meath, defeated them in a pitched battle, and slew seven hundred of their choicest troops. At Ardbreacan, a multitude of them were hewn to pieces by the Dalgais; and near Esmadh the people of Tirconnell gave them a signal overthrow. Soon after this event, Malachy, in conjunction with the Lagenians, routed the Danes at Glas-Glean, where the enemy lost one thousand seven hundred men, amongst whom fell Saxolb, a commander of considerable reputation.†

The success thus gained by the Irish monarch, was but of a temporary nature. The Danes concentrated their troops, and having been reinforced from their native country, were again enabled to take the field, and act vigorously on the offensive. In 850, the Normans of Linduachuel, marched against Armagh, which they stormed and despoiled on the Sunday after Easter.‡ The annals of Ulster state this event to have taken place in 851. Those of Innisfallen, in 852. Ussher also coincides in the latter opinion, and says that in this year,

* Tria Thaum. p. 295. † O'Halloran, vol. 2, p 162. ‡ Tria Thaum, p. 295.

both the rival bishops FARANAN and DERMOD died.*

Primate DERMOD O TIGERNAC is denominated by our historians, "the wisest of the doctors of Europe." He had returned to Armagh, when Christianity had begun to revive after the defeat of the Normans by Nial Caille. But he had scarcely revisited his see, when he was compelled to behold the ruin of his metropolis. Mourning over the miseries of his country, he fell the victim of mental anguish, before the termination of the year, in which the city had been stormed.

The fate of the Danish chieftain Turgesius, who had so often wasted Armagh with fire and sword, merits a distinct recital in this history.

That tyrant had castellated the conquered country,† and thus secured his troops from any sudden attack which might have been meditated by his discontented Irish subjects. He had erected a habitation for himself near the residence of Maolseachluin, (Melachlin or Malachy,) king of Meath, and condescended to honour that sovereign though his tributary and vassal, with frequent visits.

Heaven had blessed the Irish prince, with a daughter whose features and whose form are said to have been as lovely as her mind was pure, her judgment correct and her taste elegant. The amorous Dane saw this princess, whose personal charms and mental accomplishments were capable of exciting the most refined admiration and love, in bosoms susceptible of the tender passion. In his breast they awoke only the impure flame of sensual desire. With an insulting brutality characteristic of his nature, he demanded her from her father, as a concubine. Nay, it appears probable, that he wished to contaminate the princess in his very residence, regardless of the infamy to which he would thus have subjected the intended victim of his insatiate passions and her royal parent.

Melachlin dissembled the indignation which fired his soul, and submissively entreated the despot, whose power he could not resist, that he would not make the intrigue

* Usser Ind. Chron. A. D. 852, p. 543.
deni libt 1, apud Gale, p. 181.

† Polychron. Ranulph Hig-

he meditated with his daughter, thus publickly known. This, he said, would render it impossible for him ever after, to form for her a matrimonial connexion suitable to her accomplishments, dignity and station. He therefore offered to send her secretly to Turgesius's residence, where his desires might be privately gratified. He added that fifteen of the most beautiful ladies of his court should accompany her, probably that the princess might feel less reluctance at leaving her father's palace and entering that of the Danish prince.

Turgesius acquiesced in this proposal, the conversation became of a more general nature, and Melachlin propounded to the despot the following apparently simple but important question. "How," said he, "shall we most effectually clear the country, of a parcel of foreign birds, of a most mischievous nature, which have lately arrived amongst us?" Turgesius, not aware of the real tendency of the question, replied, "If they build nests, you can never expect to exterminate them till you every where destroy those nests." Melachlin treasured in his memory, this oracular response, which he determined to fulfil as soon as possible, by pulling down the strong holds and castles of the Danes.*

As soon as this interesting conversation had terminated, Turgesius withdrew and impatiently awaited the arrival of the appointed night.

The evening preceding that night was spent by the Danish sovereign and his favourite chieftains, in riotous feasting. Inflamed with wine, he without hesitation, openly boasted to his companions of his intrigue with the princess of Meath, and unfeelingly proposed to prostitute the fifteen ladies who were to accompany her, to a select and equal number of his guests.

The proposal was received with rapturous applause. Expectation was on tiptoe, when a messenger sent by the princess, privately announced to Turgesius, that she

* Cambrensis Topog. Hib. dist. 3, c. 12, 13,

and her retinue were arrived near his palace; information which he received with inexpressible satisfaction, and triumphantly communicated to his officers.

The chieftains laid aside their arms, and retired to their apartments, lest the presence of so many warriors might terrify the ladies, on their entrance into the banquetting room.

The wished-for moment arrived. The daughter of Melachlin and her companions entered the palace. Turgesius received them with transports of joy, and having tenderly embraced the princess, was proceeding to conduct her into his chamber, when her friends throwing open their loose gowns, drew forth concealed swords, which they brandished over the astonished Dane, menacing him with instantaneous death, if he dared to call for aid. The terrified monarch submitted and was immediately bound.

The spirited friends of the princess now unexpectedly assailed the attendants, and the unarmed and inebriated guests of Turgesius, whom they overpowered and slew. The king of Meath himself had arrived with a chosen body of troops, and having entered the palace aided in completing the work of blood.

Turgesius, now a captive, was forced to endure the taunts of the victor, who sternly upbraided him with the crimes which he had committed, and loaded him with heavy irons. Refined in his vengeance, Melachlin spared his life, for a short time, that he might witness the miseries which his countrymen were in their turn doomed to suffer.

It must have augmented the anguish of the crest-fallen monarch, to find that he had, in every instance, been the dupe of the man whom he had sought to dishonour. The eagerness of his desires had prevented him from discovering in time, that the fifteen companions of the princess were not helpless maidens, but youthful warriors whom her father had selected for the occasion, on account of their beauty and their valour, and had dressed in fe-

male attire. These beardless youths, under the semblance of timid, bashful, and blooming virgins, concealed the manly strength and dauntless spirit of men ready to meet death itself in their country's cause.*

An instantaneous rising of the people ensued this signal event. Many of the Danes were massacred, many submitted to the Irish princes, and many set sail for Denmark.†

Turgesius himself was at last thrown, laden as he was with irons, into Lough Ainnin, where he perished in the sight of a multitude of rejoicing spectators.‡

* Polychron. Ran. Higden. Mon; Chest. apud Gale p. 181. Cambrensis Topog. Hib. dist. 3, c. 4. Keating, vol. 2. p. 181. M'Curtin p. 84. O'Halloran, p. 173, 175. † Keating. M'Curtin. Gir, Cam: Top. Hib. dist. 3, c. 4, 41. Ann. Ult. See Appendix XII.

‡ Some authors consider the above narrative of the death of Turgesius, as highly improbable. An account, however, is given of a similar transaction by Plutarch, in his life of Pelopidas. The ancient historian Herodotus has also inserted in his work, an authentic narrative of a successful adventure conducted by young men in a female dress. The truth of these accounts have never been doubted, yet they seem much more improbable than the anecdote relative to Turgesius. The reader may see an abstract of the passage in Herodotus, in Appendix No, XII.

CHAPTER III.

From the death of Thorgils till the funeral of Brian Boroimhe.

FACTNA succeeded **DERMOT O TIGHERNAC** in the see of Armagh, in the year 852. A few months prior to the death of his predecessor, the Danes of Ulster had as we have already stated, pillaged Armagh, on Easter-Sunday. He himself was doomed to be again a spectator of the horrors inflicted on his people, by their inveterate enemies. The Norwegian, Amhlaoibh (or Amelanus) had arrived at Waterford with a large fleet and army, and after various conflicts with Melachlin, king of Ireland, and with his successor Eden (or Aodh-Finnliath) VI. had succeeded in re-establishing the authority of the Danes in Leinster and Munster. Determined to extend and secure his dominion in the north of the kingdom also, this chieftain landed in Ulster, with a considerable army, and as the people of Armagh had again expelled their foreign tyrants, he marched with his whole force to that city. Armagh was again stormed, pillaged and set on fire by the victorious Ostmen. One thousand of the native troops and citizens were slain on the spot, or left miserably wounded, to perish in the flames.*

The monarch of Ireland soon avenged the injuries which the people of Armagh had thus sustained. In a severe action fought in the neighbourhood of Loch-Foyle, he completely routed Amelanus, who lost in the field of battle, twelve hundred men and forty officers.†

On the sixth of October, 874, **FACTNA**, archbishop of Armagh, died.

	Succeeded.	Died.
	A. D.	A. D.
AINMIR	874	875
CATASACH MAC RABARTACH	875	883

* Tria Thaum, p. 295.

† O'Halloran vol. 2. p. 179.

He was succeeded by MÆLCOB MAC CRUMVAIL, who died of old age in the year 885. This prelate about the year 879, had been seized and detained for some time by the Danes, as a prisoner.*

The next in succession was MÆL-BRIGID MAC DORNAN, of regal lineage, being the thirteenth in descent from Nial the Great. He had been abbot of Derry and bishop of Raphoe, and was promoted to Armagh, A. D. 885. This prelate possessed uncommon erudition, and was denominated "the ornament of Europe." He was a man of inflexible justice, and was chosen by the princes and nobles of the country, as their common umpire in every private or political contest.

Such was the benevolence of this excellent man, that in the year 908, he travelled to a remote part of Ulster, to redeem a captive Briton from slavery.†

A. D. 889, a tumult and sedition was excited in Armagh, at the feast of Pentecost, by Addid Mac Laigne, king of Ulidia, and Flathbert Mac Murchard, prince of Oileach, of the family of the O Nials. The former at the head of the people of Cinel-Eoghain, (Tirone,) the latter at the head of those of Ulidia, (Down,) disturbed the public tranquillity. This factious contest was finally quelled by the interference of Archbishop MÆL-BRIGID. That prelate deemed it necessary to punish the rioters for the marked irreverence which they had manifested towards the church of God, and their open disrespect of SAINT PATRICK. He therefore mulct the offending Ulidians in a fine of two hundred oxen, exacted hostages for their future good conduct, and caused six of the most active ringleaders to be executed on a gallows. Precisely in the same manner he punished the opposing faction, the sept Cinel-Eoghain‡

The power of the church at this period and the voluntary reverence paid to the successor of SAINT PATRICK, may in some measure be estimated by this extraordinary

* Tria. Thaum. p. 296. Usser Ind. Chron. p. 543. Ware's Bishops, p. 46. Annals Ult. † Annals of the Four Masters. Ware; vol. 1, p. 47. ‡ Annals of the Four Masters. Tria. Thaum, p. 296. Ware, vol. 1. p. 47.

exercise of authority. The septs, which submitted to the primate's *fiat* in this humble manner, were very powerful. That of Cinel-Eoghain, or Tir-Eoghain, (Tirone,) was so called from Eoghain (or Owen,) a son of Nial the Great. The palace of Oiliach (or Aileach-Nied) was situated in the peninsula of Inis-owen.

A. D. 890, the Normans of Dublin, under their leader Gluniarm, entered Armagh, despoiled the city, destroyed part of the Cathedral, levelled several sacred edifices to the earth, and then withdrew taking with them seven hundred and ten captives.* And again in 893, Armagh was stormed, and pillaged by the Normans of Loch-Foyle.†

The same barbarous depredators hostilely revisited and plundered the city in 898.‡

A. D. 907, Cearnaghan Mac Dulgan perpetrated (says Colgan,) sacrilegious violence in the Cathedral of Armagh, from which he dared to remove a certain captive who had fled thither for refuge. He afterwards drowned his unfortunate victim in Loch-Cirr, which lies westward of the city. Cearnachan himself was soon seized by Nial Glunduff, (Glubdubb,) then king of Ulster, and afterwards monarch of Ireland, and drowned in the same lake, as a punishment for his crime.§

About this period, Cormac Mac Cuillenan, king of Munster, and lineal descendant of Aongus, the first Christian monarch of that province, bequeathed to the abbey of Armagh, twenty-four ounces of gold, and twenty-four of silver.|| This monarch is the reputed author of the Psalter of Cashel.

About the year 913, the people of Ulster had, at the feast of Pentecost, slain their king Aidhit, in some tumultuous insurrection. The Danes of Lough-Foyle

* Tria Thaum. p. 296. † Ibid.

A, D. 895, Archdall in his *Monasticon Hibernicum*, asserts that Armagh was burned this year by the Danes of Dublin. He quotes Colgan, (Tria Thaum. p. 296,) for his authority, but I can find no such passage there.

‡ Ann. Inisf. § Tria. Thaum. p. 296. || Hist. d'Irlande, vol. 1, p. 396, 398. Keating.

taking advantage of their factious broils, entered Armagh, seized the new king Comasgach, slew his son Hugh, and pillaged the city.* In the succeeding year Armagh was damaged by fire.†

A. D. 919, Godfrid O Himhair, prince of the Normans stormed Dublin. From thence he proceeded with a great army against Armagh, which he sacked on the festival of Saint Martin. He however spared the churches, the Culdees, and the sick or infirm.‡ The annals of Inisfal seem to refer this event to the year 921. In that year Dubliterius of Cille-Slepte, a presbyter of Armagh, suffered martyrdom having been put to death by the Normans.§

On the twenty-second of February, 927, Primate MÆLBRIGID departed this life and was succeeded in the see by Joseph, a learned anchorite, who was consecrated in the same year and died in 936. He was succeeded by MÆL-PATRICK MAC MAOLTULE, who ruled the see five months, and died in the same year with Joseph.

A. D. 933, Concovar Mac Domnald, prince of Aileach-Neid, in Innis-Eoghain, was interrred with great funeral pomp at Armagh.||

In the year 937, CATASACH II, (MAC DULGIN), of Drumterraig, succeeded MÆL-PATRICK in the see, and died in the year 957.¶

A. D. 941, On the twenty-sixth of March, Murchard prince of Aileach was slain by Blaccard the son of Godfrid, chief of the Normans. That prince was the son of Nial Glundubh king of Ireland. On the day after his decease, the Normans marched into Armagh and sacked the city.**

It is said by various annalists that about the middle of the tenth century, Ceallachan Caisil son of Buadachan, and king of Munster, was imprisoned by the Danes in the city of Armagh. The annals of Ulster have not

* Keating, vol. 2, p. 198. † Tria Thaum. p. 296. ‡ Ibid.
§ Ibid. || Ibid. ¶ Ware vol. 1, p. 48. ** Tria Thaum, p. 296.
Ware, vol. 1, p. 48. See Appendix, No. XI.

recorded this event, yet as the story is very circumstantially detailed by Mac Curtin, Keating, O Halloran and others, I deem it necessary to submit it to the judgment of my readers, in as few words as possible.

The territories of this warlike king had been invaded by a very formidable and rapacious body of Norman troops. Ceallachan met and repelled the enemy at the head of his Momonian army. The valiant prince Cineidi, (Kennedy) marched to his aid with a choice corps of veteran Dalgais. Thus reinforced he defeated the enemy in fourteen pitched battles,* and slew Amblaobh (Amlave) one of the Danish generals in single combat.

Sitricus, king of the Dublinian Ostmen terrified by the warlike exploits of the prince, sought to overthrow by stratagem the enemy whom he had in vain assailed by force. Under this idea, he misrepresented the views of the Munster king to Donchada the monarch of Ireland, and thus induced him to join in a conspiracy against Ceallachan, as their common enemy.

The Danish sovereign knew that the Munster prince was deeply in love with his sister Bevina, (or Bebhionn) who together with Sitricus's wife, had once been his prisoner in Waterford. Under the pretext therefore of forming a perpetual alliance with Ceallachan, he offered that princess to him in marriage. Cineidi to whom Ceallachan had communicated this offer, remonstrated with him on the subject and stated that it was dangerous to trust the promises of an enemy and a heathen. In the king's mind however love was omnipotent. After some consultation, it was determined that a guard consisting of eighty of the young nobles of Munster, should accompany him to Dublin, and that the Momonian army should be in readiness to rescue him from Sitricus, if that monarch should appear to meditate treachery.

With this precaution Ceallachan proceeded on his journey as far as Cillmhanion, (or Cill-Mhognion,) now

* Book of Munster apud O Halloran, vol. 2, p. 208, et seq. Wars of Ceallachan Caissil. *ibid.*

Kilmainham, where he was met and treacherously surrounded by a strong body of armed men, with Sitricus at their head. A desperate conflict ensued, during which Ceallachan and Donchuan the son of Cineidi, were taken prisoners and almost all the rest of the party slain.

Sitricus probably dreading the advance of the Momonian army, detained his prisoners but a short time in Dublin, and then hurried them to Ulster and confined them in the city of Armagh, where the Danes possessed a formidable force.

Meanwhile Cineidi the regent of Munster, placed the provincial army under the command of Donough Mac Ceeffe king of Fearmoighe, an experienced officer, and equipped a fleet which he entrusted to Failbhe Fion prince of Desmond and high-admiral of Momonia.

The army proceeded through Connaught, and in its progress plundered the territories of Murtoch, one of the princes of that country who out of revenge gave notice of its advance to the Danes of Armagh.

Sitricus thus informed of the advance of the Momonian army, left a strong garrison in Armagh, and marched with his main force to Dundalk, where a fleet which he had fitted out lay at anchor.

Meanwhile the Momonians proceeded against Armagh, assailed the city at four different parts in the same instant, took it by storm and put all the Danish garrison and their adherents to the sword. After this they marched to Dundalk. Here they learned that Sitricus, not daring to give them battle, had hurried Ceallachan and Donchuan on board his fleet and bound them to the mast of the admiral's ship..

And now the Danish monarch was preparing to set sail with his army and the captive princes, when the Momonian fleet appeared at the harbour's mouth and assailed his vessels. The gallant admiral Failbhe Fion boarded Sitricus's ship, and after a desperate conflict, liberated Ceallachan. Sitricus and his two brothers Tor

and Magnus were slain. On the side of the Momonians fell the valiant admiral himself with Connor (or Conchobar,) and Lochlen princes of Corcumruadh and Buirinn.*

A very interesting account of the death of Sitricus, is given by some of our historians. It is said that when Duilbhe Fion had been slain on board the Danish admiral, Fiongall one of his officers continued the battle with desperate resolution. At last perceiving that the Momonians were likely to be overpowered by the superior number of the enemy, he rushed impetuously forward and seizing Sitricus in his arms jumped into the sea, where they both perished. This example was imitated by Conall and Seagda, by whom Tor and Magnus were destroyed in a similar manner.†

In this battle the Danes were totally defeated by the Momonians, and their fleet annihilated. Ceallachan regained his liberty and his throne,

By these important events, Armagh was liberated for a short time from the tyrannic power of the Danes. New hordes however of Ostmen soon poured into Ireland. To some of these the Ultonians and Connacians gave battle at divers times with various success. In one of their predatory excursions Armagh was plundered, and the adjacent country ravaged by the barbarians who marched against it, under Godfrey, commander of the Danes at Loch-Cluain.‡

In the year 957, MUIREDACH MAC FERGUS succeeded CATASACH II. in the see of Armagh. He was deposed in 966.§

DUBDALETHY II. (MAC CELLACH) succeeded in 966, and died on the second of June 998.|| This prelate is said by Colgan, to have been elected the chief moderator of all Saint Columba's congregations (the Culdees,) in Ireland, and in Albanian Scotia.¶ His successor MURECHAN resigned the see in the year 1001.**

* Coga Gall. le Gaod. apud Mac Curt. p. 204. † Keating vol. 2, p. 238. O Halloran vol. 2, p. 222. ‡ Keating, vol. 2, p. 249. § Ware's Bishops, p. 48. || Ibid. ¶ Tria Thaum. p. 297. ** Ware's bishops.

It is stated by many of our historians that about the year 957, Conghalach monarch of Ireland, was overpowered by an allied army of Danes, Normans,* and Lagenians, and slain in battle, at Armagh. Mac-Geoghan however asserts that he was killed in battle, at Tiguiran, in Leinster.†

A. D. 978, Domnald the son of Murchard, and grandson of Nial Glundubh, who was the last monarch of the Tirone line, and forty-sixth of the Hi-Nial race, died at Armagh, after having reigned twenty-four years.‡ O Connor however refers this event to the year 980,§ and O Flaherty states that his reign terminated in that year.

A. D. 989, the people of Uriel plundered the town, set fire to the houses and the church, and reduced Armagh to a most deplorable situation.|| In the year 995, the city with its churches and other edifices, was again destroyed by fire generated by lightning.¶

MÆLMURRY (MARIAN OR MILES) MAC EOCH succeeded MURECHAN in the see, which he governed till the period of his death in 1021. This learned prelate is styled in the Annals of the Four Masters, “the head of the clergy of Western Europe—the principal of all the holy orders of the West—a most wise and erudite doctor.”**

A. D. 1011, A pestilence raged in Armagh, from the Feast of All-Souls, till the commencement of May. Many pious and learned men and many members of the academy fell the victims of this deadly disease.

In the year 1004, King Brian Boroimhe marched from Cinel-Eoghain to Armagh, where he remained a week and presented at the great altar of the church a collar of gold which weighed twenty ounces.††

* Ann. of the Four Masters. O'Halloran vol. 2, p. 229. Keating, vol. 2, p. 255. Mac Curtin. p. 211. † Histoire d'Irlande, tom. 1, p. 405. ‡ Tria Thaum. p. 297. § O Connor's Dissert. p. 242. || Arch. Monast. Hib. which quotes M'Geog. but I cannot find the passage in that author. ¶ Tria Thaum. p. 297. ** Annals of the Four Masters ad ann: 988. †† Ann. Innisfal. O'Connor's Keating, vol. 2, p. 274.

From Armagh, Brian the Great proceeded with his army to Dalnairuidhe. Here the nobility of Ulster delivered hostages to him, as pledges of their future obedience. Again in Tirconnel, his title to the monarchy of Ireland was publickly acknowledged, and homage paid him by the princes of the land.* In the south of Ireland his claim to the sovereignty of the kingdom was also admitted.†

Brian was one of the most extraordinary men of the age in which he lived. He had however attained his fiftieth year, before he had manifested any decided superiority over the other princes and monarchs of the isle. He reigned over Munster at least twenty-six years before his preeminent merit was rewarded with the sovereignty of Ireland. Sagacious, humane, pious, munificent and valiant; he overcame his enemies as much by the splendour of his character and the glory resulting from his philanthropic acts, as by military achievements and force of arms. He was at once the lawgiver and the hero of his country. His bodily endowments were in perfect consonance with his mental powers. Active and persevering, he was indefatigable in war, and even at the age of eighty-eight, he was seen nobly combatting in his country's cause.

Such was the man who at the famous battle of Clontarf, freed, *pro tempore*, his people from the insufferable tyranny of the Danes.

Maolmordha Mac Murroch king of Leinster had deemed himself insulted at the court of Brian Boroimhe. Galled with the supposed injury he meditated vengeance, and therefore formed an alliance with the Danes, the enemies and oppressors of his country.‡ At the head of a mixed corps of Ostmen and Lagenians, he wasted and pillaged the territories of Malachlin king of Meath. That sovereign immediately formed a coalition with the

* Keating, vol 2, p. 272.
Mac Curtin.

† Keating. ‡ Macliag's life of Brian Boroimhe, apud O Halloran.

king of Ireland, against the common enemy. The valiant Brian soon appeared at the head of a formidable force, determined to conquer or perish in his country's cause. But the Ostmen had received vast reinforcements from Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and the Orkney Isles, and relying on their numbers and their military ardour, were confident of victory. Brian whom no difficulty could deter from action, and no danger appal, marched into Leinster, at the head of his troops, about the beginning of April, 1014. On the twenty-third of that month, (Good-Friday,) the united army of Ostmen and Lagenians, were marshalled for battle at Cluon-Tarbh, (Clontarf,) in three distinct corps. Brian viewed the enemies' arrangements with the eye of an experienced warrior, skilfully marshalled his troops, rode from rank to rank with his crucifix in his left hand and his sword in his right and exhorted them to fight manfully for their religion and their country.

Thus encouraged, the great body of the Irish army rushed impetuously upon the enemy, although Malachy king of Meath treacherously withdrew his men from the field of battle, at the very commencement of the conflict. The Danes met and received the assault with the most determined resolution. Each of the combatants fought as if he deemed the final issue of the contest rested solely on his own personal prowess. As the warriors who combatted in the front ranks fell, those who occupied the next line stepped eagerly into the vacant place. The battle raged and the victory remained in awful suspense from the dawn of day till late in the evening. At that period the Danish lines were broken by the reiterated attacks of their assailants, and the dispirited troops fled in utter confusion and dismay. The few who dared to resist, fell like grass before the mower's sithe.; the rest were scattered like Autumnal leaves by the tempest which pursues and mingles with the flying foliage. The victorious Irish drove them to their ships, and the roads were covered with the dying and the dead.

In this battle the traitor Maolmordha and three thousand of his Lagenian troops paid with their lives the forfeit of their crimes. The Danes themselves lost eleven thousand men.* On the side of the Irish also the loss was immense. Brian himself fell† in his own tent in the very arms of victory, in the eighty-eighth year of his age. The particulars of his death are thus related in the "*Leabhir Oiris*," or Annals of Ireland:—

"As soon as Corcoran, one of Brian's aides de camp, perceived the armies so closely engaged, that neither Danes nor Irish were any longer distinguishable, he beseeches Brian to mount on horseback; 'I will not,' says Brian, 'for I shall not survive this engagement: but go thou, together with the rest of my attendants, take horse, fly, and escape. Announce that I bequeath my soul to God, and to the intercession of Saint Patrick, my body to Armagh, and my blessing to my son Denis O'Brian. I moreover bequeath twelve score oxen to Armagh. Proceed, this night, to Swords of Collum-Cille, and let the clergy come for my body, tomorrow, convey it to Duleek, sacred to Saint Cianan, thence to Louth. And let Miles Mac Eoch, archbishop of Armagh, and successor to Saint Patrick, accompanied by his clergy, come hither for my remains.'

" 'I perceive a body of men advancing towards us, says the officer. 'What sort of men are they,'? says Brian. 'Grey, naked-looking men,' says he. 'They are Danes completely armed,' says Brian: and rising from his seat, he seizes his sword, and sees the troop approach him, with Brodar at their head, quite cased in armour, his eyes and feet excepted. Brian draws his sword, and cuts off Brodar's left leg from his knee, and his foot from the right. Brian immediately receives a blow of an axe from Brodar on the head, kills in the meantime the next man to Brodar, cuts off the head of the latter, and falls instantly after himself."

* *Leabhar Oiris*, apud O'Conner, p. 249.
 † *Mac Geog.* p. 411.

† Marian, Scotus, apud

Thus ended the active and patriotic life of the noble Brian, but his glory survives and his name is immortal. Like Leonidas and Epaminondas, he fell combatting in his country's cause, grasping victory even in death.

The last request of the dying hero was not in vain. His mortal remains, pursuant to his wish, rest in Armagh. It is recorded, that MÆLMURRY MAC EOCH primate of Armagh and many of the elders of the church proceeded with the sacred relics to the monastery of Saint Columba, at Surdense, (Swords,) and from thence they removed the bodies of Brian Boroimhe and Murchard his son, which had been deposited there in state. These with the heads of Conaing his nephew, and Methlin prince of the Deisies* were conveyed to Armagh, where the remains of the warriors lay in great funeral state, attended by the clergy, during 12 successive nights. Psalms hymns and prayers were chanted for their souls. Brian was inhumed on the north side of the great church, in a stone (or hewn marble) coffin, placed by itself. Murchard, the heads of Conaing, &c. were interred on the south side. Brian's surviving son Doncha returned to Kilmainham, and from thence sent jewels and other treasures, as pious offerings to Saint Patrick's successor and his subordinate clergy.†

* Tria Thaum. 298.

Ann. Inisf.

Keating, vol. 2. p. 181

Ware's Bishops p. 49.

† Brian, at the urgent request of his officers, had retired to his tent. Here he was slain by a straggling corps of the enemy under Bruidar, which was afterwards totally destroyed. His friends Conaing, Methlin, &c. were killed in the course of the sanguinary battle at Clontarf. For a more minute description of these events which have only an incidental relation to the subject of this work, we must refer the reader to Keating, O Halloran, Mac Curtin, and Macgeoghan.

CHAPTER IV.

From the funeral of Brian Boroimhe till the installation of Malachy O Morgair.

A. D. 1016, the Normans of Dublin under Sitric the son of Amelanus marched into Ulster, and burned Armagh.* The city was scarcely rebuilt when in the year 1020, a great portion of it was again consumed by fire. The conflagration extended as far as the great tower or citadel, in which, however, the library alone sustained material injury. In other parts of the city, most of the houses were destroyed. The great church, the Toensian church, that of Sabhal, the old preaching church, and various other public edifices were burned. The students' books in their private apartments, the master's chair and much treasure perished in the flames.†

A. D. 1021, MÆLMURRY MAC EOCH, who mourned incessantly over his ruined capital and the miseries of his people, fell the victim of anguish on the third of June 1021. He was succeeded in the same year by AMALGAID who was unanimously elected by the clergy and people. This prelate made a visitorial circuit at the commencement of his primacy, through Munster, and died in 1050. He was succeeded by DUBDALETHY III. the son of his predecessor, MÆLMURRY MAC EOCH. This prelate wrote annals of Ireland, and an account of the bishops of Armagh. He died on the first of September, 1065.‡

The next prelate in succession was CUMASACH O HERUDAN, who resigned the see in the year of his consecration.

A. D. 1065, MÆLISSA the son of Primate AMALGAID, succeeded him and governed the see twenty-seven years.

* Ann. Inisfal. Bishops. p. 49, 50.

† Tria Thaum. p. 298. Ann. Inisfal.

‡ Ware's

He visited Munster in 1069, and died at Armagh, on the twenty-fourth of December, 1092.

A. D. 1022, Malachy Mac Domnald king of Ireland, died in the seventy-third year of his age. He received the last Christian rites from the hands of AMALGAID, and was buried with splendid ceremonies at Armagh.* It is said that in the year 1027, a staff denominated "the staff of Jesus," which, as was alleged, had been presented by Christ in person, to SAINT PATRICK, was broken.† It is also gravely recorded, in the superstitious spirit of that age, that in the year 1033, the coffers which were believed to have contained some relics of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, emitted blood in the presence of a crowd of spectators who had assembled to witness so extraordinary a phenomenon.‡

A. D. 1074, on the Thursday after the festival of Saint Philip and Saint James, Armagh was wasted with fire. The castle and the churches with the bells were destroyed.§ The city was again rebuilt, but in the year 1091, the castle from its middle part towards the west, was materially injured with fire, and on the first of September, 1092, a part of Trian Saxon and Trian More was burned.|| Another fire greatly damaged the city in the succeeding year.¶ A. D. 1092, DONALD MAC AMALGAID succeeded his brother MÆLISSA in the see. In the following year he made a visitorial circuit through Cinell-Eoghain, and another through Munster in 1094.

A. D. 1101, at the intercession and remonstrance of this prelate, Domnach O Lochluin king of Aileach liberated Donat O Heochadh king of Ulidia, from captivity and chains. Peace was made betwixt the contending parties and ratified, in the Cathedral, by solemn oaths, sworn on the staff of Jesus. Donat gave his son and other chieftains as hostages for his fidelity to his new ally.** DONALD also negotiated a truce of one year's

* Tria Thaum. p. 224. † Annal. Om. Sanct. Monast. Hib. p. 21.
‡ Tria Thaum. p. 298. § Ibid. ¶ Ibid. ** Ibid. p. 299.

continuance betwixt Domnald O Loghlin and Murcher-tach O Brien king of Southern Ireland, which was ratified by hostages mutually given. This truce was prolonged till the year 1106, at which period our prelate anxious to preserve the public tranquillity inviolate, proceeded to Dublin, to mediate a final treaty betwixt the parties. On his return towards Armagh, he sickened and died at Duleek, on the twelfth of August, 1106. His body was conveyed to Armagh, and there honourably interred. There is yet extant a letter addressed to him by Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, and another by Anselm his successor.*

A. D. 1103, Armagh was besieged by Muirheartach, with an army of Meatheans and Conatians who encamped before it for a fortnight, and injured the city extremely.†

CELLACH, the son of Aid, the son of Mæliſſa, was on the death of DONALD elected archbishop, by the suffrages of the clergy and people, and was consecrated on the festival of Saint Adamnan, on the twenty-third of September, 1106.‡ His name has been Latinized "Celsus," and by this denomination and that of "Celestin," he is generally known. He received his education, (if Brian Twine and Bale may be credited,) partly at Oxford, and is said to have been universally skilled in the circle of the sciences.§

In the first year of his primacy he made a visitorial circuit through Ulster, and according to an established mode of taxation, received from each district containing what was denominated a senary of persons, one ox, and from each ternary, a heifer, with other gifts and oblations, offered in the simple, submissive spirit of the

* Ware's Ant. p. 67, Edit. Dublin, 1705. Ware's Bishops, p. 51. Tria Thaum. p. 299. Usser Hib. Epist. Syll. p. 137, 140. † Ann. Inisf. Arch. Mon. Hib. p. 23. ‡ Tria Thaum. p. 299. Harris's Ware vol. 1, p. 51. § Antiq. Acad. Oxon. Apolog. l. 2, § 280.

times.* He also this year visited Munster, and from each cantred or district of a hundred villages or hamlets, he obtained seven oxen, seven sheep, and half an ounce of silver, with many other gifts.†

In the year 1112 a great synod was held at Fiad-Mac-Ængusa, a place anciently called Coendruim, and at a later period Usneach. This is a celebrated mountain in the centre of Meath, on the top of which, the bounds of the four provinces of Ireland, according to the ancient divisions of the country, terminated. From its summit, four distinct publick highways led to the four provinces. It is now called Usney, and lies about six miles South-West of Mullingar. in the barony of Rathconrath, and county of Westmeath‡

At this synod, CELSUS was present, together with Moelmurry O Dunan, senior clerk of Ireland, fifty bishops, three hundred priests and three thousand other ecclesiastics, by whom various laws were enacted for regulating the lives and manners of the clergy. Morier-tach O Brien, king of Ireland, and the nobles of Lech-moa, (or Lechmocha,) also attended this synod. This name was given to the southern portion of Ireland, in the second century, when the kingdom was divided betwixt Conn-Ceadcathach, king of Ireland, and Macha-Nuadh, king of Munster. The southern district from the mouth of the Liffey to Galway was allotted to Macha, and thence called Leth-Macha: the division north of that line fell to Conn, and was called Leth-Cuin or Leth-Conn. These districts are sometimes written Leth-Mocha and Leth-Cuin.§

A. D. 1112, CELSUS was this year compelled to witness the destruction of a great portion of his capital. The citadel, two streets in Trian-Massain, and the third part of the district called Trian-Mor, were wasted with

* Tria Thaum, p. 299. † Ibid.

‡ Ware, vol. 1. p. 52. Tria.

Thaum, p. 299. § Ware Ibid,

flames. Of these subdivisions of the city we shall treat more particularly in a subsequent part of this work.*

In 1116, CELSUS made a second visitorial circuit through Connaught : about the same period the abbey and twenty other buildings were destroyed by fire. In the year 1119. he ordained the famous Saint Malachy a priest.†

In the year 1121, he was appointed bishop of Dublin by the common consent of the Irish and the Normans, on the decease of Samuel O Haingley, prelate of that see.‡ It is probable that he only held the spirituals of this bishopric, by virtue of his primatial right during the vacancy ; for on the second of the following October, Gregory was consecrated bishop of Dublin.§

On the fifth of the Ides of January, (twelfth of January,) 1125, CELSUS covered with tiles the roof of Armagh Cathedral, which during a period of one hundred and thirty years, after the fire by which it had been consumed in the year 995, had been only repaired in part.||

In 1126, CELSUS on the twelfth Calend of November, consecrated the church of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, then rebuilt by Imar O Hædhagain.¶ After that period he was greatly occupied in allaying the feuds and animosities by which the princes and chieftains of the country were then agitated, and on this occasion was absent from Armagh a year and six months. He succeeded in 1128, in making a truce or peace for a year, betwixt the people of Munster and Connaught.**

On the first of April 1129, this prelate whom Colgan styles “ the primate of Western Europe,” died at Ard-Patrick, in the county of Limerick, in the fifty-first year of his age, and was interred at Lismore. He was but twenty-seven years of age when he was promoted to the

* Tria Thaum. p. 300. † Ibid. ‡ Tria. Thaum. p. 300. § Ware; vol. 1. p. 52, 53. || Tria. Thaum. p. 300. ¶ Imar died on the 13th of August, 1134, at Rome. ** Tria Thaum. p. 300.

primacy, and was probably the youngest archbishop who had attained that dignity,* in the see of Armagh.

CELSUS was an author and wrote "Summam Theologicam." "Testamentum ad Ecclesias," "De successionem Malachiae." &c. &c.†

Hanmer, in his Chronicle, asserts that CELSUS was a married man, and we learn from Colgan, that he belonged to the regal family which claimed an hereditary title to the primacy. Saint Bernard however tells us that on the approach of death, he manifested great anxiety that Malachy Morgair, bishop of Connor, a strenuous adherent of the Roman-Catholic church, should succeed him in the see, and therefore sent him his staff in token that he should be his successor.‡ To the same effect he ardently exhorted the princes of the country and besought them as they respected the representative of SAINT PATRICK and that saint himself, to establish Malachy as their metropolitan in full primatial power.

Notwithstanding all this, MAURICE MAC DONALD, a man of noble birth usurped the see, which, says Saint Bernard in his life of Malachy, he did not rule as a bishop, but "cumbrously oppressed as a tyrant." The see had, in fact, during fifteen generations or successions of bishops, been monopolized by a single princely family or tribe, as their hereditary right, Eight married men, "literate indeed," but not, says Saint Bernard, "ordained," had been predecessors to CELSUS, and to these causes, that zealous Catholic attributes the decay of religion which had taken place in Ireland.§

In the year 1129, MAURICE who was the son of Donald, and grandson of Amalgaid, both archbishops of Armagh, usurped the see and maintained himself in it for three years. After this period he held a kind of disputed possession of the primacy, against Malachy, for two years more. He was finally evicted, repented of his crime and died full of remorse, on the seventeenth of

* Ware, vol. 1, p. 53.

† Ware's Writers, p. 69.

Stannihurst Descrip.

Hib. cap. 7. Bale Scrip. Britan, Cent. 14, No. 84.

‡ Vita Malachi apud

Mess, cap. 7, 8.

§ Ibid.

September, 1134. Notwithstanding his penitence, Saint Bernard denounces him and his whole family or sept with everlasting damnation. In his life of Malachy, he seems to conceive that the very memory and race of the usurping dynasty had perished.* The family of which he speaks in such terms of abhorrence, were probably (according to the conjecture of Colgan), some of the lineal descendants of Daire, the original donor of Druimsaillech to Saint Patrick, for the site of the city of Armagh. It is difficult to conceive that any branches of that family, or of any other princely sept of Ulster had become extinct at so early a period. We have still in existence the chief sept of Orgiel, subdivided into three distinct co-families, viz :—The Matthæi, (Mac Mahons,) the O Hanlons and the Maguires. In proof of this O Colgan states that in his day the Matthæi still flourished in the county of Monaghan ; the O Hanlons in the two baronies of Airthir, in the county Armagh, and the Maguires in Fermanagh.† It is indeed probable that the family of the Dungannon O Neils have in more modern times become extinct, but the well-known Clan-abuoy, or more properly “Clan-Aodh-Buidhe,” the sept of Hugh the Yellow, yet exists, and is represented by the illustrious O Neills of Shanes-Castle.

The O Nial, (or O Neil,) of Banville was alive a few years ago. He was a man of princely aspect, noble deportment, majestic stature and almost preternatural strength. In him was exhibited a lively instance of the mutability of fortune, and the instability of human greatness. This representative of an illustrious branch of the noble family of O Nial, from which have descended many of the most powerful sovereigns of Europe, was the unambitious proprietor of a bleach-green. Glory did not indeed gild his name, but contentment was the inmate of his cot, and happiness his companion through life. His sister and representative, a dignified and venerable lady, has not yet paid the great debt of Nature.

* Vita Malachi, apud Mess. cap. 7, 8, † Tria Thaum, p. 305.

CHAPTER V.

From the installation of Malachy O Morgair, till the death of Gelasius.

In the year 1134, MALACHY, or MAËLMEDOIC O MORGAIR, a man of illustrious parentage, succeeded the Pseudo-Primate MAURICE. This prelate who was born in the year 1095, became in the fifth year of his age, a pupil to the celebrated Abbot Imar O Hædhagain, a learned, studious, retired and pious man who lived in a cell near the Cathedral in Armagh. With him he continued seven years, and after that period he was placed under the tuition of Malchus, an able divine who taught at Lismore, of which see he was afterwards bishop. In the year 1120 he was ordained presbyter by CELSUS, and placed over the abbey of Bangor, which had been rebuilt by himself. In 1124, he was by the same primate consecrated bishop of Connor, a promotion which he accepted with reluctance. The people of his diocese were, says Saint Bernard, rude and barbarous, Christians in name, Pagans in act. We are not however to infer from this description, that these people were peculiarly rude; for the same author, prejudiced against the Irish nation, on account of the matrimonial connexions formed by their clergy, characterizes the whole people as brutal, and in the very commencement of his life of Malachy says that he no more derived barbarousness from his native soil, than fishes extract salt from their maternal sea.*

MALACHY discharged his pastoral duty with amazing patience, assiduity and zeal, and wrought such a reformation in the morals of his people, as greatly endeared

* Vita Malac. cap. 1, 6, 7.

him to the meek and pious CELSUS primate of Armagh. On his death bed therefore, this learned divine not only nominated him his successor, but sent him his staff, in token of his appointment to this high office. Nay, he adjured those that were present with him during his sickness, and commanded those that were absent, (and particularly the kings, princes and elders of Munster,) under the authority of SAINT PATRICK the national apostle to obey him as his successor.*

MALACHY though elected archbishop by the suffrage of the clergy and the people did not exercise his primatial rights, during the first year of MAURICE's usurpation. At the end of this period he began to assume his due authority in the diocese of Armagh, rather overpowered by the persuasions of the clergy and the people than moved to the performance of this duty by his own inclination and judgment. He did not however venture, during the two succeeding years, to enter the city of Armagh, lest sudden and destructive tumults might have been excited by the powerful sept which supported their kinsman MAURICE.†

After the decease of MAURICE, his relation NIGEL MAC AID, assisted by a family faction obtruded himself on the see, and by exhibiting the Staff of Jesus and other relics of which he had robbed the church, obtained considerable support from the people. NIGEL however was finally evicted by the princes, the prelates and the nobility. He died in the year 1139, and Saint Bernard has with more zeal than charity, verbally consigned him and his whole sept to the endless pains of hell.‡

In the year 1137, MALACHY resigned the see to GELASIUS and retired to the bishoprick of Down, where he had founded an abbey of regular canons. This diocese had anciently two episcopal sees, which some ambitious predecessor had united into one. MALACHY content

* Vita Malach.
Malach.

† Vita Malach. Tria Thaum. p. 303:

‡ Vita

with a competence, again divided it into two bishopricks, the first of which he gave to another prelate, and retained the second to himself.*

In 1139, he went to Rome and solicited Pope Innocent for two palls, one for the see of Armagh, another for a new metropolitical church constituted by Celsus, probably Cashel. Saint Bernard asserts that Armagh had not yet possessed the pall; but Jocelyn says the Pope had granted one to its first bishop SAINT PATRICK. Be this as it may, MALACHY was honourably received at the Papal court, and appointed legate of Ireland. He was however informed that due solemnity must be used in granting the palls, which should be requested by the common suffrage of an Irish council. This the Pope advised him to convene. He then placed his mitre on MALACHY's head, presented him with the stole and maniple which he used in the celebration of divine service, and dismissed him with the apostolic benediction and the kiss of peace.†

On his return to Ireland, he, in virtue of his legantine power held many synods, changed the discipline of the church, and caused it more nearly to approximate that of Rome. He laboured indefatigably to abolish matrimony amongst the clergy, which was deemed both by him and his friend Saint Bernard, a crime of great turpitude in that sacred order. Much of his time was spent in erecting and repairing edifices dedicated to the worship of God. In this spirit he had in the year 1137, rebuilt Saint Patrick's church in Down. He also about the year 1145, built an oratory of stone and lime at Bangor, said by some writers, to have been the first of the kind seen in Ireland. From a passage in the works of Saint Bernard, it has been erroneously inferred that this was the first stone and lime building erected in this kingdom.‡

* Vita Malach. † Ibid, Jus Prim. Armac. c. 7—9. ‡ See Appendix, No. III.

In the year 1140, MALACHY introduced the Cistercian order into Ireland, under the advice of Saint Bernard. Settlements of monks of that order were then made at Newry, Mellifont, Bective, Boyle, Baltinglass, Nenagh and Cashel, with which Saint Bernard expresses himself to have been highly gratified.*

In 1148, MALACHY undertook another journey to Rome to obtain the palls, but expired on the way at the abbey of Clarevall, on the second of November, in the arms of his friend Saint Bernard, who plaintively laments his death. He was removed by a fever in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and buried in the monastery of Clarevall, but in the year 1194, his relics were translated to Ireland and received with great honour in the abbey of Mellifont, as stated in the manuscript annals of Saint Mary's Abbey, Dublin.† His brother Christian O Morgair, bishop of Clogher, died in the year 1138, and was buried at Armagh, in the abbey of Saint Peter and Saint Paul.‡

MALACHY was a pious, learned, unassuming and benevolent man. He was an author of some repute, and had written (*inter alia*,) many epistles to Saint Bernard—"A Prophecy of the Popes of Rome—Constitutionum Communium lib. I.—De Legibus Cœlibatus—De Traditionibus—Vitam Sancti Cuthberti—De Peccatis et Remediis—Conciones Plures."§

This indefatigable prelate partly succeeded in his efforts to reduce the church of Ireland to a conformity with that of Rome. To effect this important object, Gillebert bishop of Limerick had been appointed legate by the Pope, about the commencement of the twelfth century. This divine was, as is believed, an Ostman, and had written a treatise, about the year 1090, in favour of the Roman ritual.|| Nearly about the same period,

* Vita Malach. p. 43. l. 11. Epist. ad Malach. † Ware, 57. ‡ Trias Thaum. p. 482. § Ware's Writers, p. 69. Stannihurst Descript. Hib. s. 7. || Vet. Epist. Hib. Syll. p. 77, 87.

Anselm the British primate sought to assume a superiority over the Irish clergy, and in a letter which he addressed to Donald (or Domnald,) and Donat, endeavoured to persuade them to bring disputed ecclesiastical causes before him. His successor Ralph persisted in the attempt of establishing a supremacy over Ireland, but was strenuously opposed by some of the Irish bishops, particularly by CELSUS of Armagh. This prelate was a member of the family which claimed the see by hereditary right. The Primatial power over the church of Ireland vested in him; hence he was at first tenacious of its independence. The clergy and burgesses of Dublin, who, through political motives, were inclined to favour the pretensions of Ralph, in reply to a letter which they had received from him, state "that the bishops of Ireland and particularly he who resided at Armagh" were indignant at them, for wishing to be under his spiritual dominion.* The particular manner in which they specify CELSUS, at once shews the preeminence which he held in the church, and the opposition he had made to the demands of the English primate.

In the year 1137, GIOLLA IOSA, succeeded MALACHY MORGAIR in the see of Armagh. His name which designates "a servant of Jesus," is usually written GELASIUS. He was born in 1088, and was the son of Roderick, a man of letters and a poet, and is therefore sometimes denominated GILLA MAC LEIGH, "the son of the scholar." In process of time he became an Augustin canon of the abbey of Derry, an affiliation of the house of Saint Peter and Saint Paul at Armagh. Of this institution he was made abbot in the year 1120, and continued in the office for sixteen years. In the last of these years, 1136, his abbey and the whole city of Derry were consumed with fire.†

After the consecration of GELASIUS, Niell Nigel through the powerful influence of his friends intruded

* Usser Syll. p. 100.

† Harris's Ware, vol. 1, p. 57.

himself once more into the see. This man the son of Aid and grandson of Dubdaleth III was a relation of the former intruder Maurice, and assumed a kind of hereditary right in the archbishopric. He had strengthened his claim by seizing on Saint Patrick's staff, commonly called the staff of Jesus, which was covered with gold and adorned with precious stones. With this and other relics he had perambulated the land during the time of MALACHY, and by their public exhibition procured the greatest respect and support from the populace. The pretender gave GIOLLA Iosa some trouble, at the commencement of his primacy, but he was soon expelled from the see and GELASIUS became the sole acknowledged archbishop.* Two years after this period, (in 1139,) Nigel died having felt serious remorse for his crime.

In 1139, GELASIUS, in order to provide for the exigencies of the church, made a visitorial circuit through Munster where he was most honourably received. In the same year died Mælbrigid O Brolchain, his suffragan archbishop of Armagh, a man full of piety and wisdom.†

In 1140, GELASIUS also visited Connaught, where King Theobald (or Tirdelvac) O Conchobhair (O Connor,) and his nobles received him with the most profound reverence, and presented him with many valuable gifts.‡

GELASIUS was much occupied in the years 1143 and 1144, in quieting the feuds and animosities which had arisen amongst the princes of Ireland and had greatly agitated the country. The principal leaders of the contending parties were Tirdelvac king of Connaught and Murrough O Melachlin king of Meath.

A few years prior to this time, a kind of civil war had existed betwixt these princes, which had terminated in a peace ratified by the contending parties before the

* Vita Sancti Malachiae, episc. Tria Thaum. p. 305, 305. † Ibid, p. 305. ‡ Ibid.

altar of Saint Cieran, Tirdelvac however disregarding this treaty, entered Munster at the head of a body of troops, as if he had intended merely to make a kind of tour through the country. Here he treacherously seized on the unsuspecting Murrough and some of his nobility, and brought them prisoners to the castle of Dunmor. From this unmerited captivity the Munster king was released by the interference of GELASIUS.*

In the year 1145, GELASIUS, in order to repair the Cathedral of Armagh and the sacred edifices adjoining to it, constructed a kiln or furnace for the purpose of preparing or coking lime. This kiln was of vast dimensions, for its breadth was sixty feet in every direction. It was probably quadrangular, similar to those yet in use in Scotland and Sweden.†

In 1148, Primate GELSIUS aided by the Pope's legate Malachy O Morgair, convened a synod at Holm-Patrick church, where fifteen bishops, two hundred presbyters and many more of the inferior clergy assembled and determined to send Malachy to Rome, to solicit from the Pope the grant of two palls as already stated.‡

GELASIUS was usefully employed during the rest of the year in reestablishing peace amongst the princes of the country. To effect this purpose a public convention was held at Armagh, by Maurice O Lochlain prince of Tyrone, Hugh Kerneil prince of Orgiel and the other chieftains of Ulidia, at which meeting they promised obedience to Maurice and entered into a solemn league of concord which they ratified under the staff of Jesus, in presence of GELASIUS and the clergy of Armagh. Hostages were interchanged for the due performance of the treaty.§

In the year 1150, GELASIUS visited his diocess and collected subsidies to repair the city, which had been greatly damaged by fire. On this occasion each of the

* Tria Thaum. p. 305. † Ibid. ‡ Jus Prim. Armac. c. 246, 247.
§ Tria Thaum. p. 306.

noblemen of the country and burgomasters of the villages contributed an ox, and each prince twenty oxen.*

In 1152, Doctor John Paparo, cardinal of Saint Laurence, legate to Pope Eugene III. arrived in Ireland with four palls, which in a synod held at Kells, in the month of March, he distributed amongst four archbishops, viz. Armagh, Dublin, Cashel and Tuam. At this council various measures were adopted for the extirpation of simony and usury, and for the establishment of tithes by papal authority.†

It is stated by Colgan that Paparo arrived in Ireland in 1151, the year preceding that of the convocation at Kells. He adds that he spent seven days at Armagh with Primate GELASIUS, by whom he was most hospitably entertained.‡ The four masters testify also to the same effect.§

The annals of Saint Mary's abbey and those annexed to Camden's work, call GELASIUS "the first archbishop of Armagh, that is the first who used the pall, although others before him were called archbishops and primates out of reverence to SAINT PATRICK, the apostle of Ireland, whose see was from the beginning held in the greatest honour, not only by bishops and priests, but by kings and princes."|| Hence probably it is that Cluverius who wrote about the year 1580, styles Armagh, "Regni caput," the head of the kingdom, and adds "secunda ab hac Dublin," Dublin after this is second.¶

In the same year in which the synod was held, GELASIUS was wounded by O Carroll king of Ergall, who was deposed for this insolent and brutal act by Melachlin king of Meath.**

A. D. 1156, Turloch the Great who had founded a professorship of divinity in Armagh, died this year. His body was deposited in Saint Ciaran's church, at

* Tria Thaum. p. 306.

† Ware's Bishops, p. 38.39.

‡ Tria

Thaum. p. 306.

§ See also Jus Prim. Armac. c. 382.

|| Ware's

Bishops, p. 59.

¶ Cluverius edit. London, 1711.

** Ware's bishops

p. 59. Anon. Annal. ad ann: 1152.

Cluain Mac Noise, in pursuance of his will, close to the great altar.*

Another synod was convened by GELASIUS, about the year 1157, in the abbey of Mellifont, in which the Pope's legate Christian O Connarchy bishop of Lismore presided. Seventeen other bishops assisted. There were also present, Murtouch O Lochlin king of Ireland, Eochaid king of Ulidia, Teirnan O Ruairk prince of Breffny and O Carroll prince of Ergall. In this synod Dunchad O Melachlin king of Meath was not only excommunicated but deposed, and his territories granted to his brother Dermot. He appears to have been deemed an atheist, for insulting the primate and treating Jesus's staff and the clergy with disrespect. The church of the abbey of Mellifont was consecrated by the prelates, and great oblations were made to it by the princes then present.†

In 1158, GELASIUS held another synod at Brich-Thaidhe in Meath, assisted by the Pope's legate Christian O Conarchy and twenty-five bishops. The Connaught bishops on their journey to the synod were assailed by some soldiers of Dermot O Melachlin king of Meath, who plundered the prelates and slew two of their company. The abbey church of Derry was now erected into a Cathedral, of which Flathbert O Brolcart was consecrated bishop and at the same time appointed supreme moderator over all the abbeys of Ireland.‡

In 1161, GELASIUS consecrated Laurence O Toole archbishop of Dublin.§

A synod of twenty-six bishops convened by GELASIUS in the year 1162, at Cleonad, in the diocess of Kildare, decreed that no person should be admitted a public reader of divinity who had not been an alumnus of the

* O'Halloran vol. 2. p. 315, 316, who refers to Grat. Luc. the Scoto Chron. Ann. Inisf. and of Tighernac, and the Book of Munster.
 † Tria Thaum. p. 309. Sanct. Gelasii vita cap. 19. Ware's Bishops p. 59.
 See Appendix No. XIII. ‡ Vita Sanct. Gelasii, c. 19 21. Tria Thaum. p. 309. Ware's Bishops, p. 60. § Tria Thaum. p. 309.

school (or university) of Armagh, lest impostors or illiterate persons might undertake to lecture on theological subjects.*

It appears, however, that students might be admitted *ad eundem*, in the academy of Armagh, from other similar institutions. Thus we find, that this school or university held a highly honourable preeminence, over the other literary establishments of Ireland.†

In the same year, GELASIUS made a visitorial circuit through his diocess, corrected and restrained the excesses of the people and exhorted the clergy to the exact fulfilment of their duty.

In 1165, Eochod king of Ulidia invaded the territories of the king of Ireland Maurice O Lochlin, and slew many of his subjects. Exasperated at this, Maurice raised a mighty army, with which he marched into Ulster, wasting the country with fire and sword, and having expelled Eochod from his kingdom, he seized upon the chieftains of the province and hurried them with him to Armagh. Here, after a short time, he was visited by Donat O Kernail prince of Orgiel and Eochod himself, who supplicated his mercy, and at the intercession of GELASIUS and his clergy were pardoned by the offended monarch.‡ The reconciled chiefs solemnly swore to adhere to the treaty, on the staff of Jesus; yet, in 1166, Maurice surprised Eochod and put out his eyes. Donat however revenged his friend's injuries; for at the head of nine thousand veterans he assailed and slew the king at the battle of Letter-Luin. These barbarous proceedings grieved the gentle spirit of the meek and peaceable GELASIUS.§

Roderick O Connor king of Ireland convened an assembly of the clergy and of the princes of Leth-Cuin, at Athboy, in the year 1167. GELASIUS archbishop of Armagh, Laurence O Toole archbishop of Dublin,

* Vita S. Gelasii, cap. 23. Tria Thaum. p. 308, 309. Ware, vol. 1, p. 60.
 † Ibid. ‡ Tria Thaum. p. 309. Vit Gel. p. 26. § Harris's Ware, p. 60. O Halloran vol. 2, p. 319.

Cadha (or Catholicus) O Dubhthaich archbishop of Tuam, Roderick Eochod O Dunsleve king of Ulidia, Dermot O Meleachlin king of Meath, Tigernan O Ruark prince of Breffny and many other princes and prelates were present, together with a force of thirteen thousand horsemen. Many wise laws, both for the preservation of the peace and for the establishment of church discipline, were there enacted.*

In 1170, GELASIUS convened a synod of the clergy at Armagh. The English had, at this period, invaded the country, whose inhabitants were at once assailed by foreign enemies and distracted with internal factions. The irruption of British troops into Ireland; the effusion of human blood which had followed the invasion; the mischiefs resulting from internal dissensions amongst the native princes; these and other national calamities had made a strong impression, on the minds of the people, as manifest indications of divine wrath. At this synod, the point was gravely and earnestly debated and it was concluded that God had chastised the people for their sins, especially for the inhuman practice of purchasing Englishmen from pirates and selling them as slaves. On this account the offended deity had, they conceived, selected the Britons, as the instruments of his vengeance. It was therefore decreed that every English bondsman should be immediately manumitted.†

In 1172, GELASIUS, now eighty-five years of age, again made a visitorial circuit round Connaught, and back through Ulster to Armagh. He did not attend the council of Cashel held this year, possibly prevented by the growing infirmities of old age, or more probably by patriotism and a reluctance to acknowledge foreign power. He however is said by English writers to have visited King Henry in Dublin, during the winter and to have paid him homage, as his liege lord. In his journey,

* *Tria Thaum.* p. 310. *Vita S. Gelasii*, cap. 18.
Expug. lib. 1, c. 18.

† *Gir. Cam. Hib.*

a white cow was driven before him, from whose milk he derived his only sustenance.*

At the council of Cashel held in the year 1172, sealed charters were executed by the archbishops and bishops, in which they took upon them to confer Ireland on Henry II. and his heirs for ever.† Pope Alexander ratified these charters. In this synod, several very important canons were re-enacted. Marriages within the prohibited degrees were forbidden, church lands exempted from secular exactions, and the clergy released from Eric on account of murder. Children were ordered to be baptized in the font, tithes of cattle to be paid to the parish church, the distribution of dying men's properties regulated and laws were passed as to burial, and an uniformity of divine offices with those in England solemnly enjoined. The canon relative to baptism is supposed, by some authors, to have been framed to put an end to a mode of baptizing practised by rich Irish laymen by dipping their infants thrice in milk. The children of the poor were thrice immersed in water, as we learn from Brompton and Benedict abbots of Peterborough and contemporaries with the bishops who met in synod at Cashel, in this year. It is probable, however, that these ablutions had no relation whatever to baptism.

GELASIUS died on the twenty-seventh of March 1174, in the eighty-seventh year of his age. He was a man of a meek and Christian spirit, learned, active, humane and pious.‡

In the year 1121, two streets in that portion of Armagh called Trian-Massain, from Port-Rath to the cross of Saint Brigid, were consumed with fire; and in the month of December, the roof of the castle or fort was blown off by a mighty tempest.

A. D. 1150, On the twenty-fourth of November, (the festival of Saint Ciaran,) Armagh was very materially

* Gir. Cambrensis Expug. Hib. lib. 1, c. 18, 34. † Brady 360 apud Cox vol. 1, p. 22. ‡ Tria Thaum. p. 310. Vita S. Gelasii, c. 29.

injured by a great fire which consumed the entire and
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injured by a great fire, which consumed the middle and northern parts of that portion of the city which was called Trian Mor. For the repairs of the injured streets, GELASIUS afterwards made a very great collection through various districts of the country.*

In 1151, Dervolg the daughter of Domnald and wife of Theodore (or Tirdelvach) successive kings of Ireland, died at Armagh and was buried there.†

In 1165, Armagh was in part consumed with fire.‡ and again in the year 1167, it was wasted by an immense conflagration which raged on the one side from the cross of Saint Columba to that of Saint Eugene or Owen, and from thence to the cross at Port-Rath, sometimes called Rathene or The Castle. The intermediate buildings and churches, except that dedicated to Saint Peter and Saint Paul, were totally consumed with fire.§ It appears from the circumstances narrated of this fire and of the preceding one which took place in the year 1121, that about the middle of the twelfth century, there were four stone crosses in the city of Armagh, viz: Saint Brigid's, Saint Columba's, Saint Eugene's and the cross at Port-Rath. A fifth was brought by Primate Prene from Raphoe, in the year 1441, and erected in the Cathedral. This is supposed to have been the cross, which lately stood in the centre of Market-street. There is however a fragment of a cross still existing at the great west door or entrance into the Cathedral, which is commonly called Saint Patrick's Chair, and is probably a remnant of the Raphoe cross. Besides these, there were originally two crosses in the burying ground annexed to the Cathedral; one of these stood at the north, the other at the south side of the church.||

Armagh was anciently divided into four parts:—the first was styled Rath-Ardmagh or Castle-Ardmagh, and sometimes Port-Rath; the second was called Trian-Mor

* *Tria Thaum*, p. 676. † *Ibid.* p. 506. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 309. § *Vita S. Gelasii*, cap. 27. *Tria Thaum*, p. 309. The Annals of Inisf. place this event in 1166. || *Vita Trip.* pars 3, c. 77, 80, 81. et sequent.

that is the third greater portion ; the next was denominated Trian-Massain ; the fourth Trian-Saxon or Sassenagh, that is the third part appropriated to the Saxons. This last place derived its name from the English merchants and students who inhabited that district of the city.* That such students flocked formerly to Ireland and frequented the schools or colleges of this kingdom, is beyond all question. To this fact, the venerable Bede and many other writers bear the strongest and most unequivocal testimony.†

A passage in a grant made to Sir Toby Caulfeild, on the twelfth of July, 1620, powerfully corroborates the account given by Colgan of the ancient subdivisions of Armagh. This grant speaks of a way called "Borene-Trian-Sassenagh" passing by the garden walls of the "Abbey of Saint Peter and Saint Paul to Temple Columbkilly." Here we have distinct mention made of the "Trian-Sassenach," (or Saxon,) the portion of the city appropriated to the Saxons or English. The deed also mentions certain stone chambers belonging to the Abbey of Saint Peter and Saint Paul. These are yet in existence and the geographical direction of the road, leading from the ruins to the Templum Columbæ, may be ascertained without the smallest difficulty.‡

The present "English-street" seems clearly to have derived its name from the old denomination "Trian-Sassenagh" or the Saxon portion of the city. Castle-street is that district of the town which was anciently called Port-Rath or Rath-Ardmagh and occasionally Rathene. Some of the ruins of the ancient castle may yet be seen, in the rear of the tenement formerly possessed by Mr. Thomas Campbell.

It is stated above, on the authority of Colgan, that Armagh was frequented not only by students from Great-Britain, but also by English merchants. To some of my

* Tria Thaum. p. 300. † Hist. Gent. Ang. l. 3, c. 25, l. 4, c. 5, 4. et passim. Camden. S. Alcuin. in vita Willeb. See Appendix, No V.
‡ See Appendix No, XIV.

readers, this assertion may appear improbable. Yet in a very remote period of antiquity, Ireland was well-known to commercial nations. Tacitus says* that "the ports and landing places of Hibernia are better known than those of Britain, through the frequency of commerce and merchants." Be this as it may, it is certain that manufactures of frizes and other woollen goods were carried on in Ireland, so early as the reign of Edward III. In the Dittamondi of Fazzio Delli Uberti a Florentine poet, who wrote about the year 1357, the following passage occurs:—

" Similimente passamo en Irlanda,
La qual fra noi e degna di fama
Per le nobile Saie che ci manda."

" In the same manner we pass into Ireland, which among us is worthy of renown, for the excellent Serges which she sends us."

This writer had visited Ireland, and we have in the above passage a direct testimony, that her serges were exported to Italy, where they were in high repute, as may be fairly inferred from the phrase "deгна di fama."

Madox, Rymer and the dictionary of Della Crusca maintain that manufactures of frize existed in Ireland, even so far back as the thirteenth century, at a period when it was yet unknown in England.

The author of Della Crusca quotes an ancient Florentine's book of accounts, in which one of the items charged is for "a piece of serge of Ireland for clothing the wife of Andrew."†

In 1360, the weavers of Catalonia who manufactured serges of the finest sort, imitated those of Ireland, and

* Vita Agricolaе c. 24. † See Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy vol. 1, p. 18, a paper written by Lord Charlemont.

the belles of Florence wore the Irish sayes as a fashionable dress.*

Anderson in his treatise on commerce says that woollen clothes were made in Ireland in 1376.

The manufacture of linen is also of considerable antiquity in Ireland. In a poem written A. D. 1430, by Hakluyt a patriotic English traveller, there is a passage which proves that linen-cloth was at that period imported into Chester from Ireland:—

“Hides and fish, salmon, hakes, herring,
Irish wool and linen cloth faldinge,
And marterns good be their merchandie,
Herte's hides and otter of venerie.
Skins of otter, squirrel and Irish hare,
Of sheep, lamb and fox is her chaffare.
Fells of hides and conies great plenty, &c.†

Donat who was bishop of Fiesole in Italy, about the year 802, describes Ireland as “dives vestis” rich in garments or clothing; and in the Polychronicon Ran. Higden. an English writer who died in the year 1362, we find a passage precisely to the same effect.‡

Thus it appears certain that at a very early period of time the people of Ireland were known as manufacturers of linen and woollen cloths.

In the sixteenth century the people of Ireland seem to have possessed a superabundance of linen, of which they made a very extravagant use. At that period it, was fashionable to wear shirts and chemises, each of which contained thirteen or fourteen yards of linen. An act of parliament passed A. D. 1537, limited the quantity to seven yards for each smock or shirt, to be measured according to the king's standard.

* Campany's hist. of Barcelona vol. 1. † Hakluyt's principal navigation voyages, edit. Lond. 1598. See also Newry Magazine vol. 2, p. 92 for an able discussion on this subject. ‡ Polychron. Ranulph. Higdeni apud Gale, p. 179 180.

Notwithstanding this, Campion, in 1571, says that the Irish then wore linen shirts "with wide hanging sleeves playted, thirty yards are little enough for one of them." In this year a law was passed which prohibited the export of linen cloth save by merchants free of boroughs or incorporated towns, &c.

When we reflect on these matters, it is by no means improbable that English merchants may have resided in an inland part of the kingdom, in order to purchase the manufactures of the country, on the cheapest and most advantageous terms.

CHAPTER VI.

On the invasion of Ireland by British troops.

VARIOUS important events which have totally changed the political state of Ireland and augmented the power of the British empire, have rendered the period, in which GELASIUS lived, remarkable in history.

In the year 1167, Roderick O Connor son of Turloch the Great, was king of Ireland.* Dervoghal the beautiful and accomplished wife of O Rurk king of Breffny had, long before that period, excited an unlawful passion in the bosom of Dermot Mac Murchad king of Leinster. This prince, regardless of laws human and divine, had in the year 1153, carried off the object of his guilty desires, during the absence of her husband from his regal residence.† O Rurk did not tamely brook this complication of injury and insult, and on all occasions molested the man who had thus openly dishonoured his bed. At last, aided by his liege sovereign Roderick O Connor, he drove him from his kingdom in the year 1167.‡ In this emergency, the deposed and exiled king applied in 1168, to Henry II. of England, then in Aquitaine, and meanly offered to hold his kingdom as a vassal of the English crown, if efficient aid should be granted to him for the recovery of his dominions. He portrayed his own misfortunes, in the most lively colours, and represented his enemies, as actuated by the most malignant motives and vindictive spirit. Henry who appeared to sympathize in his miseries, granted him some presents, took his oath of allegiance and dismissed him with letters patent, in which he promised favour to such of his

* Hoveden, p. 527. † Gir. Camb. p. 760. ‡ Ibid. Holland's Camden article Ireland, p. 68, 69. Stanihurst. Hist. Cath, tom, 2, lib. 1, c. 5. Cox vol. 1, p. 11. Leland vol. 1, p. 15,

subjects, as would aid the exiled prince in the recovery of his lands.*

Under this sanction, he entered into a treaty of alliance with Richard Earl of Strigul, surnamed Strongbow, to whom he promised his daughter Eva in marriage, with the reversion of his kingdom, as his heir and successor, an engagement utterly inconsistent with the established laws of his country. In Wales also he persuaded Robert Fitz-Stephens constable of Abertivi, and his brother-in-law Maurice Fitzgerald, two active and very valiant warriors, to espouse his cause.†

Having made these important arrangements, he secretly returned to Ireland and remained for some time in the monastery of Ferns, which he had built and endowed. Here he privately used every possible exertion to strengthen his party and to prepare his friends, for the arrival of his English auxiliaries.‡ The secret however soon transpired, and his adherents flocked to the support of their former sovereign. Thus encouraged he marched forth at their head and seized upon Hi-Cinsellach a district of his former territories.§ Meanwhile his English allies, stimulated by his faithful agent Maurice Regan who zealously urged the necessity of expedition, prepared to invade Ireland. In May 1170, Robert Fitz-Stephen, Miller Fitz-Henry, Milo son of David of Minavia and Hervey de Montemarisco with thirty knights, sixty men in armour and three hundred archers, landed in the county of Wexford near Fethard at a creek called Banna.|| On the next day, Maurice de Prendergrast disembarked his force consisting of ten men at arms and two hundred bowmen. They were soon joined by Donald the illegitimate son of Dermot, and afterwards by that monarch himself, at the head of his troops.

* Gir. Camb. p. 760. Stanihurst, 65, 66. Hooker, 1. Regan, Ms. Cox vol. 1, p. 11. Leland vol. 1, p. 21, 22. Ware's Annals A. D. 1167.
 † Gir. p. 761. Cox vol. 1, p. 12, 13. Ware's Annals. Leland vol. 1, p. 21. Holland's Camden article Ireland, p. 69. ‡ Gir. Camb. p. 761.
 § Annals of the Four Masters. || Gir. Camb. Ware's Annals, Reign of Henry II, ad an. 1169. Cox vol. 1, p. 13, Leland vol. 1, p. 23.

The invading army and their Hibernian auxiliaries now marched against Wexford, which was garrisoned by a valiant but undisciplined body of Ostmen and Irish soldiers. These men sallied forth from the city and assailed the English, but were driven back to their strong hold. They were indeed surprised at the novelty of the barbed horses, shining armour and regular movements of the British troops. Fitz-Stephens followed up his advantage and endeavoured to carry the town by storm, but was valiantly received, repulsed and forced to withdraw with the loss of eighteen men. He now commenced a regular blockade of the city, but the clergy terrified at his preparations, persuaded the garrison and the principal inhabitants to surrender the place, which submitted to the authority of its former monarch. And now the lordship of Wexford and its domain was granted, in joint tenancy, to Fitz-Stephen and Fitz-Gerald. Hervey of Mountmorris was vested with the lordship of two cantreds of land, situated on the sea-shore, and in this neighbourhood, the first colony of British settlers was planted by the invaders.*

From Wexford, the allied forces marched to Upper Ossory. Domnal the prince of that territory had not only revolted from Dermot, but had seized upon his son, who was said to have contaminated his wife. Inflamed with jealousy, he had even put out the eyes of his unfortunate captive, who expired with agony during the dreadful operation.†

Domnal collected his troops, gave battle to the Brito-Hibernian army, but after a gallant conflict was defeated by the superior discipline and wily stratagems of his adversaries. The Ossorians fled and the victors returned from the pursuit, with three hundred heads which they presented in triumph to their prince. Dermot, with the characteristic ferocity of an irritated and vengeful traitor, selected, from the gory heap, the head of one of his invet-

* Gir. Cam. Regan; † Cox vol. 1, p. 14. Leland vol. 1, p. 26.

erate enemies, on which fastening his teeth with the fury of a tiger, he tore the nose and lips from the bleeding and ghastly visage.*

Alarmed at the success of the British arms, Roderick the monarch of Ireland summoned a general assembly of the native princes, at which it was resolved to attack the king of Leinster and expel the British strangers, his dangerous allies, from Ireland. In consequence of this resolution, Roderick invaded a territory in Leinster named O Kensile. Dermot instantly applied for advice and aid to Fitz-Stephens, who prepared to assist his ally with his whole force.† Thus encouraged he determined to abide the issue of the war, and intrenched himself in the neighbourhood of Ferns, amidst precipices, woods and morasses. Here he rendered his position almost impregnable with trees which he felled and intertwined.‡

But Roderick reflecting on the uncertainty of war, determined, if possible, to detach Fitz-Stephen from his revolted vassal and therefore sent him some pecuniary presents together with the following curious letter, which I lay before my readers as a specimen of the epistolary style of that age:—§

“The Britons may not by law of arms display their ensigns in foreign possessions; nor dispossess the lawful heirs of their inheritance: but they are with license of the Irish to pack home. It is a blemish to their nature to give aid to a shameful fact. Neither may the lechery of Dermot be mantled under British cloaks. Wherefore depart and forsake him, that is forsaken of God and man; and here by my messenger receive to defray your charges and transport you to your native land.”

* Lib. P. Lamb. Hanmer p. 114. Hib. Expug. † Stanihurst p. 82.
 ‡ Ibid. Cox vol. 1 p. 15. § Hanmer p. 115.

To this singular letter Fitz-Stephens sent the following laconic answer :—

“ Your present I will not accept. Nor will I break the faith and troth I have plighted to my friend Dermot. He forsakes not me ; I will not forsake him, nor leave him distressed. You speak of lechery ! What is that amongst martial men ? I hear you have bastards yourself. To what end is your embassy ? If Roderick give counsel we need it not. If he prophesy, we credit not his oracle. If he command as a prince we obey not his authority. If he threaten as an enemy a fig for his monarchy.”*

Baffled in his hopes of detaching Fitz-Stephens from his alliance with Dermot, Roderick made an effort to recal that prince to a sense of the duty which he owed to his monarch and his country.† Here also he was disappointed and therefore determined to appeal to the *ultima ratio regum*, the doubtful issue of battle. But the timid and short-sighted policy of his clergy overruled the more magnanimous and prudent resolution of the monarch. Yielding to their persuasions, he entered into a treaty of peace with Dermot. By this treaty, he covenanted that the king of Leinster should be restored to his territory. On his part, Dermot engaged to renew his homage and in proof of his fidelity gave, as a hostage, his son Cothurin ab Cnuth who was to receive Roderick's

* Hanmer, 115. Cox, vol. 1, p. 15, 16.

Two letters which passed betwixt the O Neal and Aodh Roe O Donel, in the year 1491, furnish another curious specimen of laconic and energetic epistles. O Donel refused to pay O Neal a tribute or head-rent which he claimed as his liege lord. O Neal wrote to him thus :—

“ *Cuir chugam mo chios no muna ccuirtheur.*”

Pay me my rent, or if you dont.

O Donel replied in the same style :—

“ *Ni bhfuil cios orm agus da mbiadh.*”

I owe you no rent and if I did.

These short and pithy letters were the precursors of a war.—*Mac Geoghagan* vol. 2, p. 211. Cox, vol. 1, p. 183: Appendix No. XV.

† Gir. Cam. Leland vol. 1, p. 34.

daughter in marriage. By private contract the Leinster prince (every way a traitor,) stipulated that on his re-establishment in his kingdom, all strangers should be driven from the country.*

But Dermot's ambition had been augmented by success and in imagination he already wielded the sceptre of Ireland. Yet he concealed his views, in hopes that Strongbow would arrive at the head of a formidable military force, to assist him in the execution of his plans. Various circumstances had compelled that commander to procrastinate his expedition: but in May 1171, Raymond Le Gross his domestic friend landed with ten knights and seventy archers, at Dundenil or Dundonalf, within four miles of Waterford, on the south of Wexford. These were assailed by a mixed body of undisciplined Danes and Irishmen. But the wary Briton had erected a temporary fort and had collected a numerous herd of cattle, for the subsistence of his troops. These he drove impetuously against the enemy, who astonished at this novel mode of warfare, fell into disorder and were routed with much slaughter. One thousand of the assailants were slain and seventy of the citizens of Waterford were taken prisoners. Raymond would have treated these men with humanity and was inclined to enter into a negotiation, with the citizens of Waterford, for their ransom. But Harvey De Monte Marisco who had accompanied him in his expedition, precipitated these unhappy victims of barbarity, from a rocky precipice into the sea.†

On the twenty-third of August, 1171, Strongbow himself landed at the bay of Waterford, with two hundred knights and one thousand two hundred well disciplined and well appointed infantry. Joined by Raymond and his party, he marched against Waterford and took that city by storm. Here, in the moment of victory, the

* Lib. P. Lam. Cox, vol. 1, p. 17. Ware's Ann. Leland vol. 1, p. 36.
† Gir. Cam. Hanmer p. 120. Cox vol. 1, p. 18. Ware's Annals: Leland's vol. 1 p. 44.

British army was guilty of the most inhuman acts, and the city was a wide and melancholy scene of carnage and devastation. Satiated at last with blood, Earl Richard began to think of Love, Hymen and empire. His marriage with Eva the daughter of Dermot was now publicly and triumphantly solemnized, and he was openly declared her co-heir in the kingdom.*

On the twenty first of September the allied force took Dublin by storm.† The Danish prince Asculphus governor of the city, escaped with many of his adherents to the Orcades. But the defenceless town was plundered by the victors. A multitude of the citizens were slaughtered without mercy, and numbers of them driven headlong into the river. Meanwhile Dermot wasted the province of Meath with fire and sword. The treacherous conduct of this monarch so incensed Roderick king of Ireland, that he put to death his son Cothurin ab Cnuth, whom he had detained as a hostage and thus doubly inflamed the resentment of his rebellious vassal.‡

On the first of May, 1172, Dermot king of Leinster died at Ferns. It is stated by some writers, that this regal ruffian fell a victim to the *morbus pedicularis*.§ Earl Strongbow succeeded to his kingdom.||

In October 1172, Henry II. embarked at Milford for Ireland, with four hundred knights and four thousand soldiers. His fleet which consisted of two hundred and forty ships, arrived at Waterford, on the eighteenth day of the same month, and the troops were landed without the smallest opposition. He had indeed long meditated the conquest of Ireland, and to give his claim to that country some semblance of right, had obtained a bull from Pope Adrian, which empowered him “to enter and possess the land and there to execute according to his wisdom, whatever shall be for the honour of God and the safety of the realm.” The Pope made this grant

* Ciral. Camb. Cox, Leland ut supra. Ware. † Camb. Expug. Hib. l. 1, c. 13, 18. W. Neubriggen, l. 2, c. 26. ‡ Ibid. Ware's an. Regan, Ms. § O Halloran vol. 2, p. 352. Annals of the Four Masters. Annals Ult. || Gir, Camb. Expug. lib. 1, c. 20, p. 771,

“in right of Saint Peter and the church of Rome, to whom Ireland” he said,” and the other islands, where Christ is known, belong.” The ostensible objects were, first, “that the people might be brought to obedience unto law, and sin rooted out from amongst them.” Second, “that the payment of Peter’s pence should be enforced and the rites of the church preserved inviolate.” Third, “that the people might be reformed to some better order and trade of life.*”

This ridiculous transfer of a whole nation to a foreign sovereign, was accompanied by a gold ring, in token of investiture and was afterwards confirmed by a breve of Pope Alexander III.

Henry’s title to the lordship of Ireland was acknowledged, on the very day of his arrival, by Dermot Mac Arthy prince of Desmond, who surrendered Cork to the British sovereign.† O Brien of Thomond, Domnald More Mac Giolla Phadruig (Fitz-Patrick,) of Ossory, Malachy O Fœlan of Deisies, O Carrol prince of Argial and O Ruarc of Breffney, followed his example: But Roderick O Connor king of Ireland disdaining to acknowledge the supremacy of a foreign monarch, resisted him with spirit, and at last entered into a treaty with Henry in 1175.‡ In this treaty, he is recognised as king of Connaught, which with his other lands he was to hold in full sovereignty. On his part, he undertook to do homage and pay tribute to the king of England. His Irish subjects seem to have considered him as still possessed of his regal rights, and under this idea the Lagenian annals have the following remarkable passage: “An. 1175, Catholicus O Dubhy came out of England from Fitz-Empress (Henry) with the peace of Ireland and the royal sovereignty of all Ireland to Rory O Connor, and his own Coigeadh (province) to each provincial king in Ireland and their rents to Roderick.”

* Hanmer, 107.

† Girald, Camb.

‡ Hanmer 144.

The clergy (Gelasius and those of Ulster excepted,) probably influenced by the Pope's bull, were amongst the first to acknowledge Henry as their liege lord. The princes of Leinster, and of by far the greater part of the kingdom, submitted to his authority. But the Hi-Nialls, the O Donnells and other princely septs of Ulster, with a few noble families in Connaught, preserved their independence inviolate.*

Such was the commencement of the British power in Ireland. It was necessary to glance at this subject, on account of the important results which, ever since that period, have materially affected both the political and the ecclesiastical state of Ireland.

* Mac Geog. Tom; 1, p. 482. Staniquist de Reb. in Hib, gest. lib. 5, p. 128.

CHAPTER VII.

From the death of Gelasius, till the period of the conquest of Ulster by De Courcy.

A. D. 1174, CORNELIUS MAC CONCALEDE abbot of the convent of Saint Peter and Saint Paul succeeded GELASIUS in the see, and died at Rome, in 1175.*

GILBERT (or GILCOMGE) O CARAN was translated from Raphoe to the see of Armagh, in 1175, and died in 1180. This prelate was one of the subscribing witnesses to a charter of confirmation of the possessions of the abbey of Newry, (or *de viridi ligno*) made by Maurice Mac Lochlin king of Ireland, about the year 1160. He is therein called bishop of Tirconnel. The rights granted by this charter to the abbot-bishop of the institution are now vested in Lord Killmorey. GILBERT, who was a pious man, made a liberal grant of the town of Ballybachall (so called "*a baculo Sancti Patricii*") to Saint Mary's Abbey near Dublin.† He was succeeded in the see by THOMAS (or Tomultach) O CONNOR, who, in 1181, held a visitation in Tirone. This prelate resigned the primacy, after holding it about four years, to MÆLISSA O CARROL, archbishop elect, who died on his way to Rome, in 1184.‡

AMLAVE O MURID, his successor, died in the year 1185, at Duncruther, and was buried in Derry.

After O MURID's decease, TOMULTACH O CONNOR resumed the see, which he governed, with zeal and ability for sixteen years. At his persuasion, Jocelyne compiled his life of SAINT PATRICK. Primate O CONNOR died in the year 1201, and was honourably interred in the abbey of Mellifont.§

* Tria Thaum, p. 310.

Ware's Bishops, p. 61.

† Ibid, p. 61. 270.

‡ Ibid. p. 61, 62,

§ Ibid,

A. D. 1177, John De Courcy undertook the conquest of Ulladh or Ulidia, (the county of Down,) and rapidly gained possession of Dunum (Downpatrick) itself. In the neighbourhood of this town, he defeated Roderick Mac Dunleve prince of the country, who assailed him with ten thousand men. In* a subsequent battle fought by him, on the twenty-fourth of June, one thousand five hundred of the Ulster Irish were slain, and, in the same year, he made a hostile incursion into Tirone, which he barbarously wasted with fire and sword.† Encouraged by success, he now commenced a regular system of operations for the subjugation of all Ulster. To this attempt he was stimulated, not only by the king's grant, but by a prophecy, generally believed to have been written by Saint Columba, which predicted that a stranger, mounted on a white horse, and bearing a shield charged with painted birds, should conquer that country.‡ Predictions of this nature are often efficient causes of their own fulfilment. Those who superstitiously believe such prophecies to be of divine origin, deem all opposition vain, and the parties themselves, who seem singled out and predestined by Providence, for the performance of certain great exploits specifically foretold, undertake the most perilous adventures in full confidence of perfect success. “*Possunt quia posse videntur.*” Ardent, enterprising and desperately valiant, De Courcy was peculiarly fitted for the accomplishment of the most hazardous enterprise. Relying on his own personal prowess, and the valour of his troops, as well as on the predicted symbols of his glory, the painted shield and milk-white steed, he sallied forth for the conquest of Ulster, anticipating success and fearless of the issue.

In Daleradia, he encountered and slew in battle Donald Mac Cahasy king of that territory. In the country of the Mac Mahons, (Monaghan,) he obtained a considerable tract, partly by force of arms and partly by a

* Hanmer,
‡ Gir. Camb.

Ware.

† Ware's Ann, p. 17, Edit. Dublin, 1705,

treaty of alliance with one of its chieftains, who was connected with him by the then sacred tie of Gossipred. De Courcy erected forts, and castellated the country as he advanced. Relying on the fidelity of his friend Mac Mahon, he committed one of these to his charge. But the Irish chieftain, disdaining the confinement of stone walls, and probably regretting the connexion he had formed with the invader of Ulster, levelled it to the earth. Enraged at this conduct, De Courcy marched into his territories, which he wasted and pillaged without mercy. On his return, he drove before him numerous herds of cattle, which his troops had seized from the inhabitants of the country. But the Irish, who had viewed the devastation of their lands with horror, had cautiously assembled in vast force, and had placed 11,000 men in ambush, amidst the darkness and obscurity of a deep wood, through which the British commander was necessitated to pass. De Courcy's army, subdivided into various corps and occupied with driving forward the cattle, were, at the same instant, unexpectedly assailed in every direction by an overwhelming force. Encumbered with spoil, embarrassed with the kine and entangled amongst thickets, their military skill was of little avail. Many were slain by the Irish army and many trodden down by the cattle. De Courcy, at the head of the survivors, hewed his way through his enemies and gained one of his forts which he had strongly intrenched and garrisoned. The victors encamped within half a mile of his position and awaited the morning to renew the assault. Success had rendered them incautious—fearless of danger they gave themselves up to the sweets of repose. But at the tranquil hour of midnight, De Courcy and his garrison stole silently into the camp and commenced a dreadful scene of uninterrupted carnage. Many of the Irish warriors closed their slumbers in death—those who were aroused by the groans of their dying friends fell an easy prey, naked and unarmed as they

were, to De Courcy and his veteran troops. Of this so lately victorious army, two hundred only survived the carnage.*

Ware states that in 1178, De Courcy made an irruption into Uriel, where he was met and defeated by Murtoch O Carrol prince of that country and Roderick Mac Dunleve of Ulladh.† Be this as it may, we find him sufficiently powerful in that very year to seize upon and plunder Armagh, where Thomas O Corcoran archdeacon of the abbey, was murdered.‡ Colgan informs us that the city with its churches, &c. were this year burned, except the sanctuary of Saint Brigid and the Temple Na Fearta. But these events seem to have taken place in the year 1179,§ when the relics of Saint Brigid were destroyed, and William Fitz-Aldelm pillaged the city and robbed the abbey, of Saint Patrick's crosier, (or the staff of Jesus) which he carried to Dublin and presented to the cathedral of the blessed Trinity.|| This theft was deemed, in that superstitious age, sufficiently important to merit a place in the annals of the country. Fitz-Aldelm, who is described by Cambrensis, as sensual, corrupt and rapacious, is said to have committed dreadful barbarities in Connaught. He was therefore publicly excommunicated for his crimes. Shortly afterwards, if Keating may be credited, he was seized with a species of horrible convulsions, in which his features were violently distorted and his whole frame agitated by the most excruciating pain. He died in agony, and his body was denied the rites of Christian sepulture. The corpse of the unhappy man was borne, by his enemies, to a ruined village in Connaught, whose inhabitants he had destroyed, and was there ignominiously cast into a pit from which it has never been removed.¶

The progress of the British arms in Ulster, as well as in the other provinces of the kingdom, was ruinous to the

* Cox, vol. 1, p. 32, 33. Hanmer. Leland. † Ware, ut supra p. 19, Mac Geog. vol. 2, p. 23. ‡ Arch. Mon. Hib. Ann. Innisfal. § Ibid. p. 15. || Annals of S. Mary's abbey, Ms. ¶ O Connor's Keating, vol. 2, p. 370. Leabhar Breac apud idem.

churches and the monasteries of the country. We learn from Cambrensis, that the people of Ireland were accustomed to deposit their provisions in such edifices, as in places of refuge and of safety. The English adventurers paid little respect to those sanctuaries, which they pillaged without remorse, as often as they found their troops in want of food or raiment. The churches and abbeyes soon became theatres of sanguinary warfare, and many of them were ruined by the contending parties. And now various literary works, which had escaped the ravages of the merciless Danes, were destroyed in the libraries of the monks.* At last the native Irish, in order to cut off the sources of supply which the invaders derived from the pillage of churches, began to imitate the British, by setting fire to these religious edifices with their own hands.†

A. D. 1182, the Pope, by a bull, ordained that no archbishop or bishop should hold any assembly or hear any ecclesiastical causes in the diocess of Dublin, without the consent of the archbishop of Dublin, unless authorized so to do by the papal see or its legate. This bull laid the groundwork of a controversy betwixt the archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, concerning the right of primacy, and of bearing the crosier and hearing appeals in that diocess, which endured for centuries and was at last decided in favour of the see of Armagh.‡

In September, 1184, Philip of Worcester, then Lord Justice or governor of Ireland, proceeded on a circuit with a great military force, to visit the British garrisons stationed through the province. Altogether regardless of the trust committed to his care, and of the character of the prince whom he represented, this corrupt

* Giraldus Cambrensis informs us that Vivian the Pope's legate, granted a license to the English, that they might, when engaged in any expedition, withdraw the provisions stored in churches, on paying the full value to the superintendants, provided however that such provisions could not otherwise be obtained.

† Annal. Anon. apud Leland, vol. 1, p. 123. ‡ Register of Arch. of Dublin apud Ware's Annals, Reign Henry II. p. 22. See Appendix, No. XVI,

and rapacious governor wasted and plundered the country, wherever he advanced. At the head of his army he entered Armagh, which he subjected, during six successive days, to the lawless pillage of his ferocious soldiers. He spent the season of mid-lent in riotous and indecent feasting, and then proceeded to levy the most severe pecuniary exactions from the clergy, who by law were exempt from all such imposts.* So minute was the scrutiny, and so insatiable the greed of the lord-justice and his companions, that they even meanly robbed the priests of Armagh of a large cauldron or brewing pan, which Hugh Tirell one of his most active associates carried with him to Down. Here an accidental fire burned the house where he lay and consumed his horses. Tirell himself, "struck" says O Sullivan, "with horror, restored the cauldron, but afterwards perished in a miserable manner." The chief justice was seized with a most violent cholic or spasmodic affection which nearly terminated his life.† All these misfortunes were attributed, by the people, to the anger of providence for the sacrilegious robberies perpetrated by Philip and his unprincipled minion Tirell.

The conduct of these miscreants and of their great precursor De Courcy, was not only viewed by the Ultonians with horror, but excited in their minds the most lively resentment and the most indelible hatred to the English name and nation.

* Hist. Cath. tom. 2, lib. 1, cap. 8. Leland vol 1 p. 142. Wares annals ut supra, p. 25. Cox p. 38. † Hist. Cath. Cox, Ware, et Leland ut supra. Girald. Camb. Topog. Hib. dist. 2, c. 30.

CHAPTER VI.

From the conquest of Ulster by De Courcy till the confinement of that Earl.

A. D. 1188, Donald the son of Hugh O Lochlin king of Tirone, at the head of a large military force, made a successful incursion into various districts occupied by the English. Encumbered with spoil and thus retarded in his march, he was attacked by the garrison of the castle of Mochcava, at Cavan-na-Cath,* After a severely contested battle, the Tironians routed their opponents, but Donald lost his life in the moment of victory. His body was conveyed to Armagh, where it was honourably interred.†

In this year, died Martin O Broley professor of theology and prelector in the university of Armagh. He is styled, by the Ulster Annals, the most learned of the Irish; yet I cannot find that any of his literary works have reached the present age.‡

John De Courcy earl of Ulster and lord of Connaught, marched into the northern provinces with a formidable army, in the year 1189. O Carrol prince of Orgiel, and O Molruan prince of Fermanagh, had taken arms, in the fond hope of freeing their country from the British yoke. But De Courcy rapidly overran Ulidia, overthrew the allied troops, slew the Fermanagh chieftain, then marched against Armagh the head quarters of his enemies, which he assailed, stormed, pillaged and burned.§

* This place appears to have been called at that time "Cavan-ne-Cran," the hollow field of trees. It has since been denominated "Cavan-na-Cath," the field of the fight. Mochcava is more properly written "Moch-a-bhadh" the field or place of encampment. Cavanacaw or Cavanacath is situated within two miles of Armagh on the Newry road.

† Ware's Annals ut supra, p. 59. Ann. Ult. ‡ Tria Thaum. p. 310: § Ann. Inisf. Arch. Monast. Hib. p. 26, Ware's Ann. ut supra. Ann. Anon. apud Leland, vol. 1, p. 450.

On the sixth of July, died Henry II. king of England and lord of Ireland, at his castle of Chinon in Normandy. He was succeeded in his British and French dominions, by Richard I. whose prowess in war has procured for him, the honourable appellation of "*Cœur de Lion*." Those who estimate the value of sovereigns rather by their splendid than their useful actions, will admire the following line, applied by some ancient writer to these two monarchs:—

"Mira canam—Sol occubuit—Nox nulla secuta est."

*Wonders I sing,
The sun has set and yet no night succeeds !*

But the lordship of Ireland did not vest in the valiant Richard, but in his feeble brother the pusillanimous John, to whom it had been granted by his father Henry II. as if it had been a mere chattel, transferable at his sovereign will and pleasure.

Roderick the last of the native monarchs of Ireland, died in the year 1198. This prince seems to have been a protector of literary men. It is recorded that in 1169, he augmented the income of the provost or head teacher of the Armagh college, by an annual pension of ten oxen, and, for the due payment of this stipend, he bound himself and his successors for ever. He however stipulated in the grant, that the school should be open to all students who should come to Armagh, from any part of Ireland and Albanian Scotia.* This was, of course, the last donation, made by the native sovereigns of Ireland, to this celebrated academy.

In 1195, Roderick Mac Dunleve formed a coalition with some English commanders; and with a mixed army of Ulidians, Connacians and Britons invaded and pillaged Tirone. Indignant at this sudden and unprovoked irruption into their country, the Tironians, after the

* *Tria Thaum*, p. 310. *Ware's Ant.* p. 341.

Brito-Hibernian army had retired from their territory, pursued and overtook them at Armagh. Mac Dunleve, who was not devoid of courage, gave battle, but was defeated with vast loss, by his irritated and triumphant enemy.*

About the same period the monastery of Termonfechan, in Louth, founded by the Mac Mahons of Monaghan for Augustine friars, was confirmed by Pope Celestine III.† The manor of Termonfechan became, in process of time, an appurtenance to the see of Armagh.

A. D. 1199, King Richard died of a mortal wound, inflicted by an arrow which struck him on the left arm, at the siege of Chalux castle, in Aquitain. He was succeeded by John Earl of Moreton, who usurped the throne, in exclusion of the right heir, Prince Arthur son of his elder brother Geoffry.‡

TOMULTACH O CONNOR, the venerable primate of Armagh, died in the year 1201, and was buried with great solemnity, at Mellifont. After his decease, Simon Rochefort bishop of Meath, Ralph Le Petit (or Little) archdeacon of Meath, and Humphrey de Tickell, were competitors for the see. The suffragan bishops proceeded to an election, and each of the candidates pretended that he alone had been duly chosen. King John decided in favour of Tickell, but the Pope declared for Eugene Mac Gillevider. Irritated by this decision, King John, by mandatory letters dated the twenty-second of May 1203,§ prohibited the suffragan bishops of the see from acknowledging Eugene as their metropolitan. About the end of that year, Tickell died, and John then confirmed the election of Ralph archbishop of Meath. This prelate, however, did not enjoy the primacy. The Pope, the clergy and the laity were decidedly in the interest of Eugene, who was not only a

*Ware's an. ut supra, p. 33. † Allemand Hist. Mon. p. 549. Ware's Ant. c. 26, Dub. Edit. A. D. 1705. Mac Geog. ‡ Camden, ut supra, p. 152. § Pryn. Pap. Usurp. v. 2, p. 240.

native of Ireland, (and therefore more popular than a foreign prelate,) but highly esteemed as a man of probity and honour. He had, in the very first instance, repaired to the court of Rome, where his title was ratified and publicly acknowledged by the papal see. After his return from Italy, the wary prelate or his friends, took the most effectual method of mollifying the indignation of King John, by a gift of three hundred marks of silver and three marks of gold, presented in Eugene's behalf, by Benedict and Gerald two friars of Mellifont, for restitution of the lands and liberties appurtenant to the archbishoprick.* In the grants made to British adventurers, the donations of bishopricks and abbeys had been expressly reserved to the lord of Ireland. But the wrath of the weak and venal John was appeased by the money advanced to him in the moment of his necessities, and he confirmed Mac Gillevider's appointment. Pope Innocent afterwards made an advantageous use of this circumstance, in his contest with John, about the see of Canterbury. When in the course of that contest, the bishop of Exeter had abandoned his diocess, Mac Gillevider was called into England and entrusted with his pastoral charge.†

EUGENE (who is sometimes called EGHDON MAC GILLUYS,‡) was present at the general council of Lateran; and died at Rome in the year 1216.§

During the primacy of TOMULTACH O CONNOR, John De Courcy the famous earl of Ulster, who had inflicted such misery on the inhabitants of Armagh, began to assume a species of independent power, in his newly acquired territories. But the British monarch, who had determined to mortify and humble his valiant but refractory subject, appointed his inveterate enemy Hugh De Lacy lord justice of Ireland, and gave him orders to arrest his competitor, and transmit him a prisoner to England. The earl of Ulster had indeed wounded the

* Tower Records, Pat. 8. John Mem. 3 Dors. Test. 30th August.
 † Pryn. ‡ Anon. Ann. ad an. 1206. § Ware's Bishops p. 64.

feelings of his sovereign, in the most tender and vulnerable part: for he had openly espoused the cause of Prince Arthur of Bretagne, whose pretensions to the crown, he deemed just and of whose murder he spoke in terms of unqualified indignation. The temporizing and vindictive De Lacy had informed the king of his rival's indiscreet expressions, and thus provoked him to revenge.

But De Courcy openly defied his enemy and prepared for war. In a sanguinary battle fought at Down, in the year 1203, he defeated the army of his rival and compelled him to retreat with disgrace.* Not satisfied with the victory which he had thus gained, he was anxious to bring the contest to a sudden and conclusive issue, and therefore challenged his antagonist to single combat. But De Lacy, aware of his desperate valour and irresistible strength, declined the conflict, as inconsistent with the commission which he had received from the king, who had denounced De Courcy as a traitor and a rebel. Under sanction of this commission, he offered a reward to any person who should seize upon his antagonist and surrender him, alive or dead. But no man was found bold enough to undertake so hazardous an enterprise. De Lacy, therefore, made private offers of a large pecuniary recompense to the earl's servants, if they would betray their lord. De Courcy, in whom was combined a chivalrous spirit of enterprise, with an ardent and even superstitious devotion, was accustomed to perform periodical penance, *ob salutem animæ*. On Good-Friday, the warrior was in the act of walking barefooted around the churchyard of Down, when the traitors, taking advantage of his defenceless state, rushed suddenly upon their unarmed and unsuspecting master. His two nephews, the sons of Armoric St. Laurence, sprang forward to defend their uncle. De Courcy himself made a most desperate resistance, and, in the height of the contest, seized upon a wooden cross, which lay in the church-

* Howard's Annals apud Camden, p. 153. Cox vol. 1, p. 47.

yard, and wielding this singular weapon with gigantic force, slew thirteen of his assailants. The survivors, however, overpowered the warrior, killed his nephews and brought him a prisoner to De Lacy, who transmitted him to England.

The base betrayers of the earl now claimed the stipulated wages of their perfidy ; but De Lacy, who loved the treason yet hated the traitors, gave orders that they should proceed to England, with the following curious passport, which they were prohibited from opening till after they should have landed :—

“ *I Hugh De Lacy, Lord-Justice of Ireland, &c. &c. &c.*

“ Know ye that these men, whose names are underwritten, sometime served SIR JOHN DE COURCY, late Earl of ULSTER, but now in durance in the tower of London, and for a sum of money betrayed their own master into my hands. Them I deem no better than Judas the traytor. How hardly soever I deem of Courcy, I hold them to be a thousand times more damnable traytors. Wherefore, let no subject in the king's dominions, give them any entertainment, but *spit in their faces* and suffer them to *rogue* and *wander about as Jews.*”

De Lacy provided a boat and victuals for these wretches, but would not grant them any seaman or pilot. Tossed about at the mercy of the winds and waves, they were driven into Cork, where having been first paid the hire of their villany, they were hanged by order of the lord-justice.*

On the second of May, 1205, Hugh De Lacy was appointed Earl of Ulster, in lieu of the imprisoned and disgraced De Courcy. Armagh, of course, constituted a part of the territory assigned to this new favourite of the British king ; but it appears to have derived no benefit from the change. In the year 1206, the city was

* Cox vol. 1, p. 46, 47. Camden ut supra, p. 153. Appendix, No. XVII.

pillaged by Hugh de Lacy the younger, who continued his depredations during ten successive days.*

It is probable that the citizens had formed some alliance with Aodh O Nial prince of Tirconnel, who had given all the resistance in his power, to the progress of the British arms, under De Courcy. Be this at may, Armagh was again pillaged by the troops of De Lacy, on the vigil of Saint Brigid, in the year 1208.†

* Ann. Inisf. Arch. Mon. Hib. p. 26. † Ibid.

CHAPTER VIII.

From the imprisonment of De Courcy till the death of Prince Edward Bruce.

AN event which took place in the year 1209, may be worth recording here. Shortly before that period, a pestilential disease, which raged through Ireland, had wasted Dublin. It was, therefore, deemed necessary to introduce a colony of English settlers from Bristol to repeople the city. On the Monday in Easter-week, the new inhabitants had proceeded, in a sportive manner, to Cullen's wood,* to amuse themselves with rural pastimes, during the holydays. But the mountain septs of the O Beirnes and O Tuathils, (O Toolles) who viewed the daily influx of foreigners into their native country, with no friendly eye, lay in ambush for the unarmed Bristolians. At a convenient moment, they suddenly sprang from their lurking place on the unsuspecting Britons, of whom they slew three hundred, besides a multitude of women and children, who had accompanied their friends to partake in their harmless recreations. The town was soon repopled by the citizens of Bristol, by whom the day on which their countrymen had been massacred, was denominated Black-Monday, an appellation which it has retained, even till this present hour. During several centuries, the anniversary of this extraordinary event was solemnized by the mayor, sheriffs, and citizens of Dublin, in a very singular and curious manner. Tents were pitched upon the spot where the Bristolians had been slain. A joyous feast ensued, and, in the midst of the banquet, the imaginary enemy was publicly defied by mimic heralds, and warned, at his peril, to forbear from disturbing their revelry. To this magnanimous challenge, thundered forth against the invisible

* So called from the noble Irish family of the Cullens to which it formerly belonged.—*Mac Geog. vol. 2, p. 54.*

O Tooles and O Beirnes, Echo alone replied. In process of time, the singing boys of the cathedral were deputed to utter this defiance, *ore rotundo*, as if even they were fully competent to defend the city against so despicable a foe.*

It is traditionally said that the Bristo-Dublinians, abhorring the O Tuathils and the O Beirnes, drove many individuals of those septs, innocent as well as guilty, from their native mountains. Some of the O Tuathils settled near Lisnadill, in the neighbourhood of Armagh, where their posterity, I believe, resides at this hour. Others of the sept settled in Connaught and in different parts of Ulster.

Such was the origin of Black-Monday. The term Bloody-Tuesday seems to have originated with the Irish, who deem that day peculiarly fatal and unfortunate. Limerick was twice won, Wexford surrendered, Waterford besieged and Dublin sacked upon a Tuesday.† This appellation was also, (I believe) for other causes, adopted by the English.

A. D. 1210, King John landed with a great and well-appointed army at Waterford. In Dublin he received the submission of twenty Irish chieftains,‡ amongst whom was Aodh O Nial prince of Tirone, who had so long opposed De Courcy in Ulster. Yet O Nial, having reconsidered this subject, refused to give hostages to the English monarch and treated the messengers sent to demand them with contempt.§ At this period, English colonies were interspersed over the whole face of the country, through the more numerous aboriginal inhabitants of the land. The laws were variable and uncertain; even the tenants of the crown knew not the nature of their own tenures,|| and the genuine Irish adhered

* Hanmer. Holling. Ware's Ann. ut supra. Cox vol. 1, p. 14
 Leland vol. 1, p. 186. Mac Geogh. vol. 2, p. 34. † Ware's Ann:
 ut supra p. 42. ‡ Ann. Waverl. p. 172, Ann. Inisfal. Mss. Leland vol.
 1, p. 187. § Ibid. || Lib. Niger, Cath. Dub.

tenaciously to the ancient Brehon laws. John, therefore, caused a code of laws similar to those of Britain, to be digested, which he deposited under his own seal, in the exchequer of Dublin, that his subjects might be united under one system of jurisprudence and one scheme of government.*

Leinster, Munster and part of the present Ulster were then divided, by his order, into twelve counties, viz. Dublin, Meath, Kildare, Argial, Katherlagh, Kilkenny, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, Kerry, Limerick and Tipperary. John also caused money to be coined, *ad pondus nummi Angliæ*, which by proclamation he made current both in Great-Britain and Ireland.† This monarch died in the year 1612, and was succeeded by his son Henry III. who, by a letter extant in the red book of the Exchequer at Dublin, extended the rights and privileges contained in the great English charter of liberties, to his liege subjects of Ireland. Of that charter he transmitted to this country an attested copy‡

After the decease of EUGENE MAC GILLEVIDER, Luke Netterville archdeacon of Armagh was appointed archbishop, by the chapter of that see, in the year 1217. The king, however, refused to confirm his election, which, contrary to the established order, had taken place without his license.§ The difficulty was at last surmounted. NETTERVILLE, having been re-elected and having received the king's approbation, was confirmed by the Pope and consecrated by Stephen Langton archbishop of Canterbury. Meanwhile the various difficulties which had occurred in the course of these transactions, detained him three years from his see. Cox asserts that the monks had compounded with King Henry on behalf of the primate, for three hundred marks of silver and three of gold.|| He refers to Ware as his authority for this assertion, but I can find no such instance of the king's venality in that writer.

* Rot. 30, Henry III. Inst. 141: b: 4. Inst. 349. † Cox, Ware.
‡ Pat. 1, Henry III. § Ware's Bishops p. 64. || Cox, vol. 1, p. 57.

Primate NETTERVILLE returned to his see on the fourteenth of October, 1220, and founded an abbey for Preaching or Dominican friars in Drogheda, in the year 1224. He died on the seventeenth of April, 1227, and was buried in the abbey of Mellifont.

It may be worth remarking, that in the time of this primate, viz. in 1220, the quadrangular walls of Dublin castle were erected. The turrets were afterwards added; and the inner lodgings or apartments were built by Sir Henry Sidney.*

DONAT O FIDABRA bishop of Clogher, was translated to the see of Armagh, in the year 1227. He obtained the royal assent on the twentieth of September, but Pope Gregory IX. had issued a bull in favour of Nicholas, canon of Armagh, who had been confirmed by him as archbishop, and consecrated by the bishop of Tusculum. DONAT, however, had gained possession of the see which he held during his life. He died in England, in October, 1237.

After the decease of DONAT, the see was vacant for three years, during which time the king endeavoured to promote Robert Archer, of the order of predicants, to the primacy. ALBERT COLONIENSIS a Franciscan friar, was at last consecrated at Westminster, on the thirtieth of September, 1240, by Walter bishop of Worcester, in the presence of the king, as well as of Otho the Pope's legate and many bishops. He assisted, personally, at the council of Lyons, where, in the order of subscription, his name "ALBERTUS ARMACHANUS" preceded the names of all the bishops of France, Italy and Spain.† The conventual church of the Franciscans, at Athlone, was consecrated by him in 1241. He was strongly attached to the papal see, in support of whose power, he was involved in various suits in the spiritual courts, concerning pleas of advowson and patronage, which by the common law of the land appertained only to the king's temporal

* Ware's Annals, ut supra, p. 45; † Annal. minor; tom. 1, p. 605, A. D. 1241, No. 28. Ware's Bishops,

courts. An exchange was made by ALBERT, with Hugh De Lacy earl of Ulster, of the lands of Coulrath in Toscard, for those of Machirgallin and the manor of Nobhir. He resigned the see in 1247, and died beyond sea.*

On the seventh of April, 1234, the people of Ireland were astonished with a singular phenomenon in the heavens, the effect perhaps of reflected light. A vast circle, of a crystalline colour, which enclosed the sun, was visible to the amazed spectators. From its circumference proceeded four lucid semicircles, each of which contained in its area, a mimic sun of a dark red hue. In England, Wales and Ireland, popular commotion, war and havock ensued this singular and splendid phenomenon, which superstition had doubtless viewed as the ominous precursor of misery and tumult.†

In 1245, an earthquake was felt over Ireland. A stormy season ensued, the air was murky and intemperate, and the winter was prolonged even till the eleventh of July; so that the fruiterers and husbandmen conceived that the order of the seasons was inverted, and that the people would perish with famine.‡

In the same year, the king directed his writ to the archbishop of Armagh and the other prelates of Ireland, &c. in which he decreed that his writs of common law, &c. should run into Ireland as well as England and be equally efficacious in both countries.§

A. D. 1247, REGINALD, (or REYNER,) a Dominican friar, was consecrated archbishop of Armagh, at Rome, and returned to his see in the month of June. He is styled Baynor, in Primate Swayne's register.¶ That prelate separated the county of Louth from the diocese of Clogher, and united it to that of Armagh. In fact, the revenues of the see had been found inadequate to the support of its dignity, and in the time of Primate AL-

* Ware's Bishops, p. 66. † Ware's Annals ut supra p. 49. ‡ Felton apud Ware's Annals, p. 53, 54. § Prin. 254. ¶ Swayne's Reg. I. 266.

BERT, Henry III. had issued mandatory letters to Fitzgerald lord justice of Ireland, directing him to "cause livery of seisin to be given to the archbishop of Armagh, of all the lands belonging to the see of Clogher."* This order was not immediately carried into effect, yet, in a short time, the bishop of Clogher was divested, not only of the church of Louth, but, of the deaneries of Drogheda, Atherdee and Dundalk.† REINER died at Rome, in 1256, and was succeeded by ABRAHAM O CONNELLAN archpresbyter of the church of Armagh, who died on Saint Thomas's day, the twenty-first of December, 1260. The annals of Multifernan and those of Loughkee say that this event happened in 1259, but it is distinctly stated, in Primate Swayne's registry, that he was archbishop of Armagh, in 1260.‡

PATRICK O SCANLAIN (or OCONNAIL) a Dominican friar and bishop of Raphoe was elected archbishop by the chapter of Armagh, under a license granted by the king, on the twenty-seventh of February, 1261. Henry confirmed his election, which was ratified by Pope Urban, in a bull dated fifth November, 1261. O SCANLAIN convened a provincial synod at Drogheda, on the eighteenth of January, 1262,§ some of whose decrees are yet extant, in the registry of Octavio de Palatio.|| He was assisted at this synod, by the suffragan bishops of his see, and by some of those of the province of Tuam, as subject to Armagh, by primatial right.¶ The lord justice, certain Canons of cathedral churches, the privy council and several of the principal men of the kingdom also dignified this synod by their presence.** In November, 1263, Pope Urban is said to have issued a bull, addressed to Archbishop O SCANLAIN, in which he confirmed the dignity of the primacy of all Ireland, to the see of Armagh, in the following terms:—

* Records in the Tower.

† Ware's Bishops, p. 182.

‡ Swayne's

Regist. I. 286.

§ Lodge's Ms.

notes on Ware penes his grandson the Rev Wm. Lodge of Armagh.

|| Folio 282, a.

¶ Ware's Bishops, p. 68.

** Lodge Mss. notes, ut supra.

“After the example of Pope Celestin, our predecessor, we, by our Apostolic authority, confirm to you and your successors the primacy of all Ireland, which title, it is well known, your predecessors have held firm and unshaken till this time, decreeing that all the archbishops and bishops of Ireland and other prelates thereof, shall always pay, to you and your successors, all obedience and reverence, as to their primate.”

Ware quotes this bull, page 68, as an authentic document. Dr. Mac Mahon Roman-Catholic primate of Armagh, also refers to it in the fourteenth page of his “*Jus Primatiale Armacanum*. But Burk, in his “*Hibernia Dominicana*,” page 459, asserts that the bull cannot be found in the proper records at Rome, nor among the bulls of “The order of Predicants,” and therefore seems to infer that it is spurious. It ought, however, to be remarked that this learned writer refers the bull to the year 1261, as if Mac Mahon had said that it had been issued in that year. Now it is not the date of the papal bull, but the translation of O SCANLAIN to the see of Armagh, which the accurate Mac Mahon refers to the year 1261. He intimates also in page 203, that it is to be found in the registry of the Armagh primates, whom it most concerned. Besides this, Ware states that the bull issued in 1263.*

Primate O SCANLAIN repaired and greatly adorned the Cathedral of Armagh, and founded a house of Franciscan Minorites in that city. He died on the sixteenth of March, 1270, at Saint Leonard’s abbey in Dundalk,† and was buried in the Dominican convent at Dedmaltha.‡ He is styled in Octavian’s registry§ the sixty-eighth archbishop after SAINT PATRICK, who had presided over the see, *viriliter et reverenter novem annis*.

A. D. 1271, died Henry III. He was succeeded by Edward I. who, from the tallness of his person and

* Ware’s bishops p. 68. † Ibid. ‡ Lodge Mss. ut supra, § Folio 282. b.

uncommon length of his limbs, was surnamed *Long-shanks*, who was crowned by the archbishop of Canterbury, on the fifteenth day of August, 1274.

NICHOLAS MAC MOLISSA was consecrated in 1272, and died on the tenth of May, 1303. He was an eloquent, devout and sagacious man. In his zeal for religion, he granted to the church of Armagh many valuable books, besides rich vestments and an annual pension of twenty marks payable out of his manor of Termonfechan,* during the period of twenty years.† This sum was to be appropriated to the repairs and adornment of the church; and to the same use, he granted a tenement in the town of Termonfechan, and the manor of Dromiskin, containing seventeen ploughlands which he had purchased from Roger de Thornton and Isabel his wife.‡ MAC MOLISSA, fond of the aboriginal inhabitants of the land, opposed every Englishman who obtained ecclesiastical preferment in the kingdom. He even, for a long time, refused to confirm Saint Leger bishop of Meath, and when that prelate went to Rome to prosecute his appeal, he arbitrarily seized upon the temporalties of his see. It was five years before the injured bishop could receive consecration and the restitution of his rights. MOLISSA rendered himself, in various instances, very obnoxious to the king of England himself, and he formed an association of a singular

* Termon-fechan castle situated $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Drogheda, was the sanctuary of Saint Fechan abbot of Foure, in the county of Westmeath. Termonfechan manor belonged to the see, and, at the castle in the centre of the village, the Primate of Armagh formerly resided three months in the year. Since the days of Archbishop Ussher this custom has ceased. There was an abbey here for regular canonesses, which was confirmed by Pope Celestine III. A. D. 1195.—*Grose's Ant. of Ireland*, vol. 2, p. 18.

Colgan says that Saint Fechan founded the noble monastery of Eas dara, which the lord "of the territory of Leny endowed with great possessions and with the tract of land extending from the river that laves the monastery to the sea." And in a note he adds, "that this monastery was endowed with a noble and large estate, called Termana-feichan, i. e. the sanctuary or limits of Saint Feichan.—*Act. Sanct.* p. 134, 140. note, 3. There was a nunnery, in the county Louth, at a place called Termonfeichan.—*Harris's Ware's Ant.* p. 234.

† Pat. 11, Edw, I, Memb, 13.

‡ Ware's Bishops, p. 69, 71.

nature amongst the clergy, under the sanction of a solemn oath. By this oath, they bound themselves, reciprocally, to defend one another, in every instance, in which their rights or power should be invaded, before all judges, secular and ecclesiastic. They were also to reimburse such of their agents as might suffer loss in advocating or advancing their causes. If any ordinary chose to excommunicate any person, a similar anathema was to be fulminated by them all. A heavy penalty, payable to the Pope, and another to the society, were to be levied off every member who should fail in the strict fulfilment of this extraordinary compact*. It is manifest that such an agreement must have been utterly inconsistent with the well-being and peace of society; yet it was really executed at Trim, in the year 1291.

After the decease of NICHOLAS, the see was vacant till the year 1305, when JOHN TAAF was consecrated by a provision from the Pope. He died at Rome in 1306, having never seen his diocess after he received the mitre.†

On the seventh of July, 1307, died King Edward I. of a dysentery. He was succeeded by Edward II. who was murdered in Berkely castle. His son Edward III. was proclaimed king in 1327.

Primate Taaf was succeeded by WALTER DE JORSE, (or JOYSE,) who was consecrated archbishop by Nicholas cardinal of Ostium,‡ in 1306. He is described by Antonius Sinensis, in his "Chronicle of the Dominicans," as a man of exquisite learning and great gravity. Various works were written by DE JORSE amongst which were the following, viz. "Promptuarium Theologiæ, lib. 2.—De Peccatis in genere, lib. 1.—Questiones Varias, Lib. 1.§ He resigned the see in 1311, and was succeeded by his brother ROLAND DE JORSEY, (or JORSE,) a Dominican friar, who also resigned the archbishopric, on the twentieth of March, 1321.

* Ware's Bishops, p. 69.
Writers' p. 520.

† Ibid.

‡ Rymer tom. 5, p. 5.

§ Ware's

In the days of WALTER and ROLAND DE JORSE, a very violent contest took place betwixt those prelates and the archbishop of Dublin, concerning the primatial right and the power, exercised by the primate of Armagh, of having his crosier borne before him, in the diocess of Dublin.*

On Saint Augustine's day, in May, 1315, Prince Edward Bruce, brother of the celebrated hero King Robert Bruce, invaded Ulster, with a considerable army. That spirited warrior miserably wasted the see of Armagh and reduced its archbishop, DE JORSE, to a state of extreme poverty, by the reiterated incursions of his troops.† Active, hardy and adventurous, Bruce fought many battles, and performed various hazardous exploits, which cannot be narrated in this present work. During the residence of this valiant adventurer in Ireland, the people were afflicted with the complicated miseries of faction, war and famine. How wretched must that situation have been which the annalist in Camden thus describes :—‡

“Many were so hunger-starved, that, in church-yards, they took the bodies out of their graves, and in their skulls§ boiled the flesh and fed thereon: Yea, and women did eat their own children for stark hunger.”

This most calamitous famine, which seems to have pervaded the whole province, is gravely attributed, by the annalist Pembridge, to the wickedness of the people who dared to eat flesh in Lent. It is probable that this account of the effects of the famine is highly exaggerated. If the people were reduced to the necessity of using human flesh for food, it is not likely that they would have increased the disgust which they must naturally have felt for such diet, by using the skulls of their deceased countrymen as boilers.

In the year 1318, Primate JORSEY was present at the great battle fought near Dundalk, (between that town

* For more on this subject see Appendix No. XIII. † Ware, ut supra p. 82. ‡ Annals apud Camden, p. 177. § Perhaps a kind of vessel.

and Foghart,) in which the valiant Scot, Edward Bruce, was defeated by the British army under Sir John Bermingham.

“To this conflict there came,” says Christopher Pembrige, “on the part of the Scots, Lord Edward Brus, (who named himself king of Ireland,) the Lord Philip Mowbray, the Lord Walter Soulis, the Lord Allan Stewart, with his three brethren; also Sir Walter Lacy, Sir Robert and Sir Aumar Lacy, John Kermerdyne, and Walter White and about three thousand others.” On the English side, “the Lord John Bermingham, Sir Richard Tuit, Sir Miles Verdon, Sir Hugh Tripton, Sir Herbert Sutton, Sir John Cusack, Sir Edward and Sir William Bermingham, and the primate of Armagh.* Besides these, Sir Walter Larpulk and some choice soldiers from Tredagh, (Drogheda) under the command of John Maupas,” joined the English.

The primate of Armagh assoiled (says Pembrige) that is, absolved, the chieftains of the British army. Leland states that he took a most active and conspicuous part in this battle, moving from rank to rank, bestowing benedictions on the soldiers, stimulating them to deeds of valour, and pronouncing a plenary absolution of sins to all who should die combatting in so honourable a cause. Doubtless such zealous and animated conduct must have had a powerful effect on the minds of the soldiery, who probably deemed that the powers of heaven would be thus engaged in their behalf, and that, if they survived the battle, victory and triumph would be their glorious reward; but if they fell in the field of fight, immortal happiness awaited them in paradise.

The battle closed. “The English,” says Pembrige, gave the onset.” John Maupas and Edward Bruce fought hand to hand. The valiant Scot fell before his

* Camden's annals, ut supra, p. 178.

opponent, who, pierced with mortal wounds, sank, a victor in death, on the dead body of his prostrate enemy. After a desperate contest, the Scottish army was totally routed with the loss of two thousand men.

The fugitive Scots of Bruce's army are said to have lost or buried considerable quantities of coined money, in their flight across the country. On the twenty-fifth of August, 1814, a man who was labouring in a field in Castlelenaghan, within five miles of Newry, dug up a large cow-horn, full of old silver coins. On some of these, in my possession, the words

“ROBERTUS DEI GRA : REX SCOTTORUM.”

are perfectly legible, and the king's face in profile is distinctly visible. He is crowned, and a waving line, not inelegantly designed, which terminates at each side of the neck, almost surrounds his head. Betwixt this line and the visage of the monarch, a sceptre appears parallel to his face. These are all enclosed in a complete circle which is itself inscribed within the king's title. On the reverse is a cross, the lines of which are nearly diameters of the coin, and cut two concentrical circles, whose common centre is also that of the cross. In the vertical angles are four stars, each of which has five irradiations. The outer circle contains the following inscription :—

“DNS : PTECTOR MS  LIBATOR MS,”

Dominus Protector meus—Christus Liberator meus.

The inner circle contains the words

“VILLA EDINBURGH.”

Some of the coins bear the *imprimatur* of David. In these the word SCOTORUM is written with a single t. The horn has proved the true horn of Amalthea to the poor labourer. It has enriched him and his family, and

this seems to be the only benefit which posterity has derived from the exploits of Edward Bruce.*

In the year 1739, a great gun was dug up near Dundalk church, which, it is alleged was left there by John Lord Birmingham after the defeat of Bruce. If so, the use of cannon must have been known at an earlier period than is generally conceived. This piece of artillery was encircled and secured with many hoops.†

The power of the English crown over this country, began shortly before this period to be occasionally exercised through the medium of parliament. For we find that the first published act passed by the Anglo-Irish parliament, was enacted at Kilkenny, in the year 1310. Its object was “to restrain great lords from oppressing the people by taking of prises, as well as by lodging, or sojourning in any place, against the will of the owner.‡

A. D. 1295, an unedited statute of 24 Edw. I. states that the “English, as if degenerating in modern times, had clothed themselves with Irish vestments, and having their heads half shaven, encourage the growth of the hair at the back of the head, which they bind up and call *Culan*, conforming themselves both in habit and countenance to the Irish.” It was therefore resolved that all the English in this land should, so far at least as relates to the head, preserve the custom and tonsure of the English, and no longer presume to turn back the hair into a *Culan*.§

These *Culans* were twisted locks of hair, denominated *Glibbs* in later time, which ran from the front of the head and resembled the crest of a helmet.¶ The word is derived from *culaim*, whose radix is *Cul*, “behind” or the back part of any thing.

* None of the coins are of a later date than the days of Bruce. † Introd. to Military Ant. of Ireland prefixed to Grose's Ant. p. 22. ‡ Vesey's Statutes vol. 1, p. 1. § Harris's Mss. apud Dublin Society. Ledwich Ant. p. 270, ¶ Ledwich ibid.

It is traditionally said that when the Anglo-Irish and the original natives were compelled to part with this esteemed ornament, the famous national song, "Culan," the air of which is so melodious and so justly admired at the present day, was composed, at once to mourn over and commemorate the event. The tune itself was probably of much greater antiquity.

CHAPTER IX.

From the death of Bruce, till the failure of the attempt to form a legislative union, A. D. 1376.

ROLAND DE JORSE, who had resigned the see, on the twentieth of March 1321, was succeeded in 1322 by **STEPHEN SEAGRAVE**, rector of Stepney church, near London. This prelate was the descendant of a noble family, and had been chancellor of the university of Cambridge. In the year 1328, King Edward III. wrote letters in his favour to Pope John XXII. in which he commends him highly for his noble extraction, sound morals, eminent knowledge and zealous discharge of his ecclesiastical duties.* But Donald O Nial, who styles himself king of Ulster and true heir, by hereditary right, of all Ireland, entertained a far different opinion of this primate. For in a letter which he despatched to Pope John, about the year 1329, in which he gave a copious recital of the injuries which, he said, his country had received from the British monarchs and certain English prelates, he styles the archbishop of Armagh, "a man of little knowledge and no science."† Primate SEAGRAVE died in 1333.‡

A. D. 1330, On the feast days of Saint Catherine, Saint Nicholas and of our Lord's nativity, whirlwinds and tempests swept the land, rivers burst their usual boundaries and deluged the champaign country. In particular the Boyne, swoln to an irresistible torrent, hurried away in its course, houses, bridges, mills and abbeys. Incessant rains ensued; so that much of the standing corn could not be reaped before the feast of Saint Michael. Famine was the natural result. A cranoc of wheat, says Pembrige, then brought twenty shillings, a cranoc (or hamper) of oats, peas or barley, eight shillings.§ A cranoc

* Ware's Bishops p. 81. Rymer, 4 tom. p. 7. † Scotochron. Johan. Fordun. vol. 3, p. 908, et sequent. Mac Geog. vol. 2, p. 106.
‡ Appendix, No. XVIII. § Camden utsupra, p. 183.

was a measure of uncertain magnitude, and estimated to contain the produce of one hundred and forty sheaves.

DAVID MAC ORECHTY, (or HIRACHTY) who succeeded Primate SEAGRAVE in the see, was restored to the temporalities on the sixteenth of March, 1334, and died on the sixteenth of May, 1346. Pembridge states that this prelate "having been called to the parliament at Dublin, made provision for housekeeping at the monastery of Saint Mary near Dublin, but because he would have his crosier borne before him, he was impeached by the archbishop and his clerks, who would not permit him to keep house there." The king, however, issued his writs to the archbishop and corporation of Dublin, commanding them to refrain from molesting the primate.*

In the year 1338, an intense frost prevailed over the whole island. "Games at football, as well as dancings, racings and other amusements of a similar nature, were held" says Pembridge, "on the Aven-Liffie! Fires were kindled and fish dressed on the ice. The snow, which fell before the termination of the frost, was of immense depth and the cold weather, which in severity had never been equalled in Ireland, continued from the second day of December, till the tenth day of February.†"

On the eighth of July, 1347, RICHARD FITZ-RALPH, (or RALPHSON,) D. D. who had been chancellor of the university of Oxford was, by provision of Pope Clement V. consecrated at Exeter, archbishop of Armagh, by John de Grandison, bishop of Exeter and three other bishops.‡ He is said to have been born at Dundalk, in the county of Louth,§ but there is some probability that he was a native of Devonshire.||

FITZ-RALPH was a very learned and excellent prelate. He was an author of repute, and wrote eighteen distinct tracts on Theological and other subjects, besides an

* Pryn 409.

† Camden ut supra. p. 187.

‡ Ware's Bishops p. 82.

§ Ibid. p. 81.

|| See Mr. Princes' *Danmonii oriental. illustres*, p. 294, and Lodge's *Mass. notes ut supra*.

Irish translation which he made of the bible, probably the first version of the Scriptures which had ever appeared in that language.*

A very warm controversy arose betwixt this prelate and the order of Friars-Mendicant, who, at that period, were very active in his diocess, The following propositions maintained by FITZ RALPH, in a series of sermons delivered by him in London, about the year 1356, will demonstrate the nature of this controversy. They are as follow:—

First, “Christ whilst on earth was always poor.”

Second, “He never begged voluntarily.”

Third, “Nor taught men voluntarily to beg.”

Fourth, “He taught that men ought not voluntarily to beg.”

Fifth, “No man consistently with prudence and sanctity, can bind himself by vow to perpetual beggary.”

Sixth, “Spontaneous beggary is no necessary part of the rule of Friars Minor.”

Seventh, “The bull of Pope Alexander IV. does not impugn the above conclusions.”†

Eighth, “Confessions ought rather to be made in the parish church than in the oratory of Mendicant friars.”

Ninth, “And they should be made to the ordinary, rather than to the begging friars.”†

The warden of the Minorites then established at Armagh, and those of “The order of Predicants,” offended with these propositions, cited the Primate to appear before the Pope at Avignon, where he died on the fourteenth of November, 1360. The bones of this divine were translated, in the year 1370, to Dundalk, where he was denominated a saint, and styled Saint Richard. His relics were said to have wrought miracles. In a synod held in Drogheda, on the twentieth of June, 1545, it was ordained that the festival of Saint Richard arch-

* Fox's Acts and Monuments, p. 473, Alex. Petrei, p. 496. † Defensor Curat.

bishop of Armagh, should be celebrated with nine lessons in *crastino Johannis et Pauli*.*

A writ dated Kyldroght, twenty-eighth of April 1355, was "directed to Primate FITZ RALPH, commanding him to go and treat with Odo O Neal of Ulster, who was preparing to march with a multitude of Irish to Dundalk and other parts of Louth, to seek redress from the English for injuries they had done him."† A plain proof may be deduced from this circumstance that the influence of O Neal in Ulster, was even then undiminished.

In the days of Primate FITZ RALPH the town of Monaghan and the suburbs were burned on the festival of Saint Stephen the Proto-martyr. About the year 1347, flourished John Pembridge author of the greater part of those valuable annals annexed by Camden to his "Britannia," To this writer Irish historians are considerably indebted. William Occam, called by subsequent writers "Invincible—Angelical, and Prince of the Nominalists," lived in the same period. Volateran calls him "a Scottish prelate, William Ockham, that renowned logician, a Minorite and Cardinal of Armagh, under John XXII, who lived in 1353."

In the year 1361, MILO SWEETMAN treasurer of the Cathedral of Kilkenny, a man of prudence and learning was advanced to the see.‡ He died in his manor of Dromiskin, on the eleventh of August, 1380,§ and was succeeded by JOHN COLTON, a native of Torrington in the county of Norfolk, who, having been made archbishop of Armagh, by provision of the Pope, was restored to the temporals on the ninth of March, 1382. This prelate seems to have been possessed of considerable talents. He was a doctor of the canon law, and had been first master of Gonville Hall, Cambridge, in the year 1348. After this period, he was dean of Dublin, and for a time chancellor and lord-justice of Ireland. His

* Regist. Dowdall 89. Lodge Mss. notes ut supra. † Rot. Pat. in Birm. Tur. 29 Edw. III. d No. 83. Lodge Mss. notes ut supra. ‡ Ware's Bishops p. 83. § Ibid, p. 84.

abilities recommended him to the notice of Richard II. who employed him in an important negotiation at the court of Rome, together with John Whitehead, B. D. and Richard Moor, vicar of Termon-Feichan. Primate COLTON annexed to his see the convent of Benedictine monks of Saint Andrew, in the county of Down, commonly called Black-Abbey, purchased from the abbey of Saint Mary de Lonley, in Normandy, to which it had been an affiliated cell.*

Bayle says that he wrote an account of the causes and remedies of the schism which then existed betwixt Urban VI. and Clement VII. and some provincial constitutions published by him, are said by Ware to have been extant in his day. "He died in April, 1404, and was buried in Saint Peter's church, Drogheda, having a little before his decease resigned the see."†

In the year 1361, a pestilence raged in England and Ireland, which swept off multitudes of men, but few women. It commenced about Easter, and without doubt its deleterious effects were as severely felt in Armagh, as in other portions of the country.‡ This pestilence was followed, in the year 1370, by another still more calamitous and deadly, in which, say Camden's annals, "died many noblemen and gentlemen, citizens also and children innumerable."

Some persons, who viewed with an envious eye the great landed property annexed to the abbey of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, in Armagh, represented the friars of that institution to the king as a body of mere Irish, who spent the proceeds of their endowments in entertaining their countrymen. Edward III. therefore seized a carucate of their land in the Curragh near Dundalk. Of this he granted a life interest to James Billen. However, in the succeeding year, an inquisition was taken, and the jury pronounced that the abbot and his friars were *probi et legales*, true and loyal subjects. The lands were, of course, restored to the abbey.§

* Ware's Bish. p. 84. † Ibid. ‡ Ware's Annals. Camden's Annals.
§ Harris's Collectanea, v. 3, Arch. Mon. Hib. p. 29.

In 1367, a parliament was summoned by the duke of Clarence, and met at Kilkenny. In this both Lords and Commons sat together, and passed the famous *Statute of Kilkenny*.* By this curious act, Marriage and Gossipred or nursing with the Irish, were pronounced treason in English subjects. Those who adopted any Irish name, or used the apparel or language of the country, were to forfeit their lands. Britons were not to permit the cattle of the Irish to *Creaght* or graze upon their grounds; nor present Irishmen to any ecclesiastical benefices, nor admit them into religious houses; nor hospitably to receive their minstrels or bards; nor to make war upon them unless by order of the state. Cesses for the maintenance of soldiers were not to be levied off the English subject against his will. Sheriffs were to enter any liberty or franchise in pursuit of felons. The Brehon laws were not to be used by the English. In every county four warders were to be appointed to assess each person's proportion of the public expense for levying and supporting men and purchasing armour.†

Human ingenuity could not have devised a more effectual plan for preventing any friendly union betwixt the two nations. Separated from each other by diversity of Law, language, habit and opinion, it was impossible that they should ever blend together and form an integral and happy people.

Sometime in the year 1376, the weak and disordered state of the Irish government gave rise to a singular transaction in which the Primate of Armagh, MILO SWEETMAN, particularly distinguished himself. The British parliament having found Ireland to be a mere burden on England, were tired of supporting his majesty's Irish establishments, and demanded that a strict inquiry should be made into the nature of the revenues of that country, and the causes of their deficiency.‡ The king

* Lamb lib. D: † Mss. Lamb G, No. 608, fol. 1. Davis 112, 191.
‡ Rot. Tur. Birm. 49 Edw. III.

complied with their solicitations, and Nicholas Dagworth was sent to Dublin, with orders to investigate the subject most minutely, as well as to stimulate his majesty's ministers to exert themselves for the interest of their sovereign. Directions were also given that a parliament should be forthwith assembled, whose object should be to provide, by subsidy, for the exigencies of the Irish state, and for the aid of the king in his foreign wars.

The parliament having accordingly assembled, refused the supplies, pleading, in excuse, the poverty of the nation and its inability to raise the required subsidies.

The king, irritated at this refusal, summoned by writs both the clergy and the laity. The bishops were peremptorily ordered to select, in each diocess, two clergymen as their representatives. The Commons were directed to choose in each county, two laymen, as the representatives of the Lords and Commons. The cities and burgesses were commanded to depute, in a similar manner, two citizens or burgesses; and the whole of this elected body were to meet the king and his council in England, to form regulations relative to the government of Ireland, and to the subsidies which his majesty required in aid of his foreign wars.

The answer of the archbishop of Armagh is remarkable and well worthy of being recorded. "We are not bound," said the prelate, "agreeably to the liberties, privileges, rights, laws and customs of the church and land of Ireland, to elect any of our clergy, and to send them to any part of England, for the purpose of holding parliaments or councils in England. Yet on account of our reverence to our lord the king of England, and the now imminent necessity of the land aforesaid, saving to us and to the lords and commons of the said land, all rights, privileges, liberties, laws and customs before-mentioned, we have elected representatives to repair to the king in England, to treat and consult with him and his council. Except, however, that we do

by no means grant to our said representatives any power of assenting to any burdens or subsidies to be imposed on us or our clergy, to which we cannot yield by reason of our poverty and daily expense in defending the land against the Irish enemy."*

An answer similar in spirit and effect was returned by the nobles and commons of the county of Dublin.†

After these declarations had been formally made, the Irish representatives repaired to Westminster, and their wages were paid by the diocesses, counties and boroughs which had elected and deputed them.

It is probable that this body of Irish representatives were utterly incompetent, under the limited powers granted to them by their constituents, to vote the subsidies demanded by Edward. If this had not been the case, it is likely that the British and Irish parliaments would have then coalesced and been ever after regularly held as one body, at Westminster, and thus a legislative union betwixt the two countries, would have been effected 424 years before the period in which it has actually taken place. The decided conduct, however, of the primate of Armagh, and of the other bishops, aided by the nobility and commons of Ireland, seems to have prevented the adoption of this important political measure. It does not appear that the Irish representatives when convened at Westminster, did any thing of moment, inasmuch as history has not narrated their acts, having probably found nothing of consequence to record.‡

* Leland vol. 1, p. 328. † Vide M. S. Rawlinson in Bib. Bodl. Oxon. SS. p. 7. Rot. Tur. Birm. 49 Edward III. Leland vol. 1, p. 327. The first regularly convened parliament was held in Ireland A. D. 1295, but parliamentary acts had been made before that period.

Before we close this chapter, it may not be improper to remark that the seasons must formerly have been much earlier in this country than at the present day, and that of course the climate must have undergone a considerable change. Pembridge mentions the commencement of the harvest on Michaelmas day as an extraordinary event which was followed by a dearth of corn. In the present age we should not deem the twenty-ninth of September a very late harvest day.— See page 184 of this work.

CHAPTER VIII.

From the year 1376, till the defeat of the attempt made by the Anglo-Irish chieftains to dethrone Henry VII.

ALTHOUGH the British monarch was very solicitous about this period, to levy heavy subsidies from the people of Ireland, yet the following circumstance will shew in how little estimation that country and its resources were held by the gentry of England. Sir Richard Pembroke, warden of the Cinque-Ports, was appointed, in 1373, lord-deputy of Ireland and absolutely refused to go there, pleading "that it was but an honourable exile, and that no man could be compelled *perdere patriam*, except in case of abjuration for felony or by act of parliament." This plea was deemed valid, as we learn by Inst. II. 47, and Sir William Windsor was appointed on the eighteenth of April, 1374, lord-lieutenant in his place, with a salary of eleven thousand two hundred and thirteen pounds, six shillings and eight pence, per annum; and in the year 1388, four lords-justices of England were sent into Ireland, on banishment, by a decree of parliament.

On the twenty-first day of June, 1377, Edward III. died at Shene in Surrey, in the sixty-fifth year of his age and the fifty-first of his reign. He was succeeded by his grandson Richard II. (only son of Edward the Black Prince,) who was crowned at Westminster on the sixteenth of July, 1377.

This prince afforded another proof of the small estimation in which Ireland was then held by the monarchs of England. Not satisfied with making his great favourite and minion Robert de Vere, marquis of Dublin, and duke, as well as lord-lieutenant of Ireland, he, by very comprehensive letters patent, absolutely granted him in 1384, the whole territory and dominion of the

country, and all the adjacent isles, with their royalties, counties, burghs, towns, harbours, vassals, &c. as perfectly as he himself, and his progenitors had held them, and in as full sovereignty.*

These illegal letters patent were authorized by a servile parliament. Nay, they not only sanctioned the document, but assigned to the favourite a debt of thirty thousand marks (due by the French king,) provided he would pass into Ireland after Easter, to recover the lands granted him by his sovereign; and they appointed five hundred men at arms, at twelve pence *per diem*, and one thousand archers at six pence *per diem*, for the conquest of the country.

But De Vere's power was of short duration. A spirited opposition was raised against him in England; his enemies had recourse to arms. He resisted and was defeated by the earl of Derby, and compelled to fly into the Low Countries. The king, on the overthrow of his favourite, was necessitated, in the year 1388, to inform the Irish ministry that the late duke had forfeited all his grants, and that acts of state were no longer to be executed under his signet, inasmuch as the crown had resumed all the power which it had transferred to him.†

In the year 1383, the people of Ireland were visited the fourth time, with a severe pestilence,‡ in which national calamity the inhabitants of Armagh probably participated. We learn from Holinshead that this year, on the twenty-first of May, a shock of an earthquake was felt in the British isles. In England several churches were thrown down by the tremulous motion of the earth, and on the twenty-fourth of the same month, ships in harbour were much damaged by the furious agitations of the sea, by which they were rocked to and fro, and beaten against one another with irresistible violence. Holinshead quaintly styles this commotion a water-

* 4. Inst. 357, 9, Richard II. † Rymer tom. 7, p. 590, 577. Rot. Tur. Birm. ‡ Marleburgh's Chron. p. 195.

quake. About this period guns were first used; and Sir Hugh Calverly employed them at the siege of Calais.

King Richard landed at Waterford, in the year 1394, with four thousand men at arms and thirty thousand archers. Mowbray earl of Nottingham and marshal of England, under a special commission, received, on the sixteenth of February, at Baligory near Carlow, the homage and oaths of fidelity of the Leinster chieftains. On this occasion, there appeared before him, Girald O Berne, Donald O Nolan, Malachias O Morrouch, Rory Oge O More, Arthur Mac Morrouch, and others who did homage and swore fealty to the earl-marshal, having laid aside their caps, skeins and girdles, and fallen down at his feet upon their knees. After this ceremony, the marshal gave to each of them *osculum pacis*, the kiss of peace.*

The king himself proceeded to Drogheda, where he was waited upon by O Nial, O Hanlon, O Donnel, Mac Mahon and other chieftains of Ulster, who swore homage and fealty to him as their liege lord, *domino perpetuo Hiberniæ*, with ceremonies similar to those previously used by the native princes of Leinster. O Nial, who, in letters which he had written to Edward, had styled himself "Prince of the Irishry in Ulster," used the following preamble in the oath and ceremony of fealty:—

"*Ego Nelanus O Nial senior, tam pro meipso, quam pro filiis meis, et tota natione mea, et parentelis meis, et pro omnibus subditis meis, divenio ligeus homo vester, &c.*"†

By this ceremony whatever power O Nial and the other princes, possessed in Ulster, and *a fortiori* in Armagh, was virtually declared to be held from the king of England, as liege lord of Ireland.

The number of Irish chieftains, each laying claim to royalty, who had now submitted themselves to the British monarch, amounted to seventy-five. It is apparent that

* Cox, vol. 1, p. 138. Davis.

† Lamb, lib. D.

this multitude of principalities must have generated disunion amongst the native Irish, and thus prepared the way for their subjugation to the English sceptre.

In the year 1399, King Richard was deposed, and on the thirteenth day of October in the same year, Henry duke of Lancaster was crowned king of England. In the fifteenth year of Richard's reign, the beams of the sun appeared, during a considerable period, of the colour of blood. The north and east of England was visited with pestilence, and in the city of York alone, eleven thousand persons died in a few weeks.*

NICHOLAS FLEMING was consecrated archbishop of Armagh, on the first of May, 1404. About this period the church of Armagh was burned. The primate therefore, by commission, dated at Athirdee, on the sixteenth of September, 1405, "appointed Philip Walsh and David Mullaghlin to be his and his church's proctors, agents and special messengers, to transact all affairs relating to it, and to collect the alms of the pious, for the fabric of the church lately consumed by an accidental fire; and to ask and receive the first-born of all."† From the words of the commission, we may form some idea of the kind of aid granted by the laity to the church, in cases of sudden emergency or unexpected disaster.

Primate FLEMING "summoned a provincial council, on the twentieth of August 1411, which was held in Saint Peter's church, Drogheda, on the twelfth of October following."‡ and he assisted by proxy at the general council of Constance, in 1415. His provincial constitutions and part of his register are yet extant.§ He died in June 1416, and was buried in Saint Peter's church, Drogheda.

A. D. 1410, the people of Ireland were afflicted with a dearth of corn.||

* Holinshead, p. 53, 41. † Reg. Flem. Lodge Mss. ut supra. ‡ Reg. Flem. § Ware's Bishops, p. 85. || Marleburgh's Chron.

NICHOLAS FLEMING was succeeded in the see by JOHN SWAYN, rector of Galtrim in Meath, who, in the beginning of February, 1417, was consecrated archbishop of Armagh, at Rome. In 1420, on the monday after Saint Ambrose's day, this prelate and Sir Christopher Preston were deputed by the Irish parliament to lay before King Henry V. an account of the state of Ireland and the grievances under which it laboured.* These were set forth in certain articles digested and arranged in the French tongue, by the parliament which was held in Dublin before the earl of Ormond.†

Primate SWAYN held a provincial synod at Drogheda, on the thirteenth of October, 1427, assisted by Lawrence bishop of Raphoe and Donat bishop of Kilmore, who appeared in person, and by the proxies of the bishops of Downe, Clogher, Ardagh and Derry.‡

It is probable that the revenues of the see were at that period insufficient to support the primatial dignity, for we find that "on the sixth of April, 1427, the king granted SWAYNE forty pounds out of the treasury, for his services to the state,§ and on the tenth of January, 1429, he had a grant of twenty pounds a year out of the exchequer, during pleasure, conceded to him by Henry VI. with the assent of Sir Thomas Straunge, knight, deputy to Sir John Sutton, knight, L. L. and others of the privy council, of which he was himself a member."|| Primate SWAYN founded a chapel and choir in Saint Peter's church, Drogheda, which he dedicated to Saint Anne. "Oppressed with years, he resigned the see, in 1439, into the Pope's hands. On this occasion John Lyde and Henry Cusack, priors of the priories of Saint Mary's of Louth, and of Saint John Baptist's of Ardee, were appointed *subcustodes* or guardians of the spirituality and spiritual jurisdiction, or vicars-general specially deputed by the dean and chapter."¶

* Cox vol. 1, p. 133 † Rot. Pat. Tur. Birm. 9th Hen. V. No. 109.
‡ Reg. Swayne. Lodge Mss. ut supra. § Reg. Swayne, I. 317. || Ibid. 661
Lodge's Ms. notes ut supra ¶ Reg. Paene 438. Lodge's Mss. ut supra

SWAYN died a few years after he had surrendered the see, and was buried in Saint Peter's church, Drogheda.*

On the twentieth of March 1413, died Henry IV. who was succeeded by Henry V. the conqueror of France. This hero died on the thirty-first of August, 1422, and was succeeded by Henry VI. who was proclaimed king in Paris, whilst yet an infant of nine months old.

In the year 1421, Mac Mahon chieftain of Monaghan, wasted Uriel with fire and sword.†

JOHN PRENE L. L. B. archdeacon and official of Armagh was, by provision of Pope Eugene IV. appointed archbishop of Armagh, and consecrated about the end of November, 1439.‡ This prelate was obstructed by the archbishop of Dublin in bearing his crosier through that diocess, and therefore refused to attend personally in parliament.

About the year 1441, Primate PRENE removed a cross stone, of uncertain antiquity, from Raphoe to Armagh. In the "Annals of the Four Masters," it is said that this stone had restored one Hugh Matthews to his eyesight. Now after the death of Laurence O Galchor, bishop of Raphoe, in 1438, PRENE was guardian of the spirituals and temporalities of that see. But O Donel prince of the Clan-O-Donel, conspiring with the dean and chapter, usurped the profits of the bishopric. Displeased with this usurpation, the primate prosecuted the offenders to excommunication, and interdicted O Donel as an obstinate heretic. He not only deprived the dean and chapter of their benefices, but removed the cross stone which stood in the cathedral of Raphoe, to the church of Armagh; and thus, it is probable, divested them of considerable emolument, derived from its supposed miracle-working powers.§ We have already seen that long before this period various other crosses had been erected in the city of Armagh; it is therefore doubtful whether that now in question, was the one

* Ware's Bishops, p. 85.
Swayne, tom. 1, p. 8, 68,

† Ware's Annals ut supra p. 71.
§ Ware's Bishops, p. 274.

‡ Reg.

which lately stood in the centre of Market-street, as traditionally asserted and believed.

“JOHN PRENE was for some time sick, in his manor of Drummiskin, from which he was gently carried between two horses on the twelfth of June 1443, to his manor of Termonfechan, where he thought the air was more pure and salubrious. On the thirteenth he died, and was buried on the fifteenth, after celebration of a solemn mass, in the choir or chancel of Saint Fechan's church, of Termonfechan, in the presence of a multitude of clergy and people.* During the vacancy which ensued, John Lyde, prior of Louth and his colleagues, were appointed *subcustodes* of the spiritualties and spiritual jurisdiction of the see amongst the English, (*inter Anglicos.*)”†

On the decease of archbishop PRENE, RICHARD TALBOT, brother to the illustrious hero, JOHN TALBOT Lord Furnival, was elected primate by the dean and chapter of Armagh, but refused to accept the proffered dignity.‡

JOHN MEY, L. L. B. official of the court of Meath, vicar of Delvin and Kilmessan and clerk of Armagh,§ succeeded to the see of Armagh, by provision of Pope Eugene IV. and was consecrated on the twentieth of June, 1444. He also was obstructed, in the exercise of his primatial right, in the diocess of Dublin, and therefore refused to attend in parliament. By a deed dated at Armagh, 19th November, 1455, Primate MEY, with consent of the dean and chapter, annexed his mensal tithes of Rathcool, for ever, to the choir of Saint Anne's chapel, in Saint Peter's church, Drogheda. To this he added his mensal portion of tithes in Drummyng church, in pure alms.|| The object of these donations was that a greater number of priests might be maintained to pray for his soul, and the souls of his predecessors and successors, and of all benefactors to the same church.

* Reg. Mey. l. 3, p. 10. † Ibid. l. 1, p. 3. Lodge's Mss. notes, ut supra. ‡ Cox vol. 1, p. 164. § Lodge's Mss; notes ut supra. || Ibid.

In a similar spirit, forty days indulgences were granted by him to all persons who should contribute to the providing of a great bell, and the making of some repairs in Saint Patrick's cathedral, Dublin.

Primate MEY was, for a time, lord-deputy to James Butler, earl of Ormond, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, but the English cabinet having been dissatisfied with this appointment, Ormond was commanded to do the duty himself, and on his refusal, he was superseded, and the government committed to Thomas earl of Kildare.* MEY died in the year 1456.

A. D. 1447, a curious act of parliament was passed, which prohibited the English settlers, from wearing their beards after the Irish fashion, and ordered them to shave the upper lip once a fortnight. Those who refused to comply with this arbitrary statute were liable to be seized, by any person whatever, together with their goods, as Irish enemies. Nor could either their personal liberty or their chattels be restored, until they had paid ransom to the captor. Such impolitic laws must have excited, in the minds of the Irish, the most implacable hatred both against the British colonists and the system of jurisprudence which they had absurdly adopted.† Amongst the provisoes of an act passed in 1457, there was a singular clause which ordered that every man should be held responsible for the offences of his son, to the same extent as the offender himself, except when death was the punishment annexed to the perpetrated crime!‡

In June 1457, JOHN BOLE abbot of Saint Mary's monastery at Navan in Meath, succeeded JOHN MEY, in the see of Armagh. He held a provincial synod in Saint Peter's church, Drogheda, on the ninth of June, 1460, and died on the eighteenth of February, 1470. This prelate obtained from Edward IV. a confirmation of the privileges of the see of Armagh. The mode by which funds were obtained, in the fifteenth century, for

*Cox vol. 1, p. 164.

† Vesey's Statutes vol. 1, p. 7.

Ibid.

the repair of religious and other public edifices may be exemplified by reciting some of JOHN BOLE's acts. Whilst yet abbot of Navan, he obtained a grant of indulgences, from Pope Nicholas, for pilgrims who should offer oblations at his abbey.* The year after his promotion to the primacy, Arthur Mac Kerrny "of Armagh, carpenter, intended, for the salvation of his soul and that he might avoid imminent dangers, to build a wooden bridge over Kilcrewe river, and a chapel at the place. Having in part begun the work, and prepared much timber, he found himself unable to complete it at his own expense, nor without the aid of charitable Christians. For this end, the primate, on the twentieth of June, 1458, granted forty days indulgences, out of the treasures of the church in the bowels of Jesus Christ, to all who should contribute to the finishing of the work."†

It is a curious fact that in 1458, "Henry O Nial, captain of his nation and prince of the Ulster Irish, granted and confirmed by deed, to JOHN BOLE, archbishop of Armagh and his successors, and to the church of Armagh for ever, all his lands and possessions of Moydoyn, in his lordship of Moydoyn Clondawyll, in the diocess of Armagh, in the honor of God, the Virgin Mary and Saint Patrick, apostle and patron of Ireland, for the health of his soul and the souls of his parents, and for obtaining the special blessing of the church of Armagh for ever.‡"

The church appears to have totally forgotten this donation of O Nials; and the special blessings with which his soul was to have been for ever greeted, are now no longer uttered. So futile are the hopes and cares of man, when he calculates on the gratitude of posterity, and seeks to prescribe laws to future ages.

"June nineteenth, 1458, Primate BOLE granted a license to the prior and Colidees of his church of Ar-

* Ware's Bishops p. 86. † Reg. p. 35. Lodge's Mss. ut supra.
‡ Reg. Dowdal. p. 141. Lodge's Mss. ut supra.

magh, upon their request to choose an able and fit confessor to hear their confession and to grant them absolution."*

On the twenty-eighth of June, 1461, Edward IV. was crowned king of England.

A. D. 1465, parliament enacted that every Irishman who dwelled amongst Englishmen in the counties of Dublin, Myeth, (Meath,) Uriel and Kildare, should be apparelled after the English fashion, and should shave the beard above the mouth, and take an English surname, derived either from a town, a colour, an art, science or office. Hence are derived many family names, such as Sutton, Chester, Trim, Cork, Black, Brown, White, Smith, Carpenter, Cook, Butler, &c. Names thus adopted were to be transmitted to posterity under penalty of forfeiture of goods, &c. The Macangabhans became Smith, the Geals White, &c.†

The same parliament enacted (*cap*, 4,) that every Englishman, and Irishman who resided amongst the British and spoke their language, should have "an English bow of his own length, and a fistmele at least between the necks." Butts were ordered to be erected in every town, and constables appointed, whose business it was to muster every man from sixteen to sixty years of age, that they might practise with the bow on stated holydays, under pain of a fine to be levied by the warden.‡

The English seem to have been greatly indebted to their skill in archery, for the superiority which they maintained, during the middle ages, over the Irish, and indeed over the continental nations, in military affairs. Some of their more eminent archers greatly astonished the natives of this country. It is said that Little John the redoubted friend of Robin Hood, had visited Dublin, about the year 1188, and had shot an arrow from Dublin-Bridge to the little hill in Oxmantown.§ The people of those ages probably calculating the magnitude of

* Reg. Bole p. 51. Lodge ut supra.
† Ibid; § Cox vol. 1, p. 44.

† Vesey's Statutes, p. 29.

the man from his superiority in bodily strength, and the distance to which he could shoot his arrows, estimated his height at fourteen feet. It is not surprising that he should have astonished the Irish, since Hector Boetius, a man of learning, gravely asserts that he could have thrust his hand through the hole in his hucklebone!!!

A.D. 1475, JOHN FOXALLS a Franciscan, was consecrated archbishop of Armagh.* The king, in the same year, appointed him an umpire betwixt John earl of Ormond, and the earl of Kildare, whose animosities, at that time, distracted Ireland. Before the bishop could effect this reconciliation, Ormond went on a pilgrimage to the holy land and Kildare died.† Primate FOXALLS himself died in 1476, having never visited his diocess.

JOHN FOXALLS was succeeded in the see of Armagh, by EDMUND CONNESBURGH,‡ who was consecrated in 1477. This prelate was found tardy by the Pope in paying the fees of his bulls. He therefore specially appointed Octavian de Palatio, nuntio of the apostolic see, “his general governor, in spirituals and temporals, of the metropolitical and cathedral church of Armagh, and primacy of Ireland;” “because, as is there stated, the said EDMUND, prelate elect, had never redeemed the apostolic letters from the hands of the merchants to whom he had procured them to be assigned, and because on account of other impediments he never could obtain possession of the church.”§ Teased by the Pope’s demands, and weary of Octavian’s administration of the see, CONNESBURGH, on the tenth of November, 1476, agreed to resign the primacy to his holiness, by his proxies, John de Gerona and Anthony del Palatio.|| He, however, stipulated to retain the episcopal dignity, received at his consecration, and a pension, during life, of seventy marks current money of Ireland, or the value in Irish commodities.¶

In 1480, OCTAVIAN DE PALATIO L. L. D. a Florentine, was advanced to the see, by Pope Sixtus IV. and

* Ware’s Bishops p. 87. † Rymer, 12 tom. p. 44. Carte. ‡ Ware’s Bishops, p. 87. § Reg. Octav. 286, d. || Ibid. p. 801. ¶ Ibid.

consecrated before the end of March. He held many provincial synods, which are inserted in his register, viz. ten at Drogheda, in the years 1480, 1485, 1486, 1488, 1489, 1495, 1496, 1499, 1504, 1507: in Athirdee three, in the years 1462, 1496, 1497. In that held in Athirdee, on the thirteenth of September, 1492, "certain statutes made and published in a synod or convocation of the English and Irish clergy of the diocess, held in the church of Saint Nicholas of Dundalk, on the twenty-ninth of October, 1479, were established. The synod held in Drogheda, on the eighth of July, 1504, was interrupted by "the plague which then raged in that town, and the meeting was adjourned to Athirdee till the eighth of the same month."* Here it was suddenly dissolved, the contagion having also extended to that quarter.†

OCTAVIAN was a man of sound learning and great political sagacity. He governed the see thirty-three years and three months, died in June, 1513, and was buried in a vault which he had built in Saint Peter's Church, Drogheda.

On the ninth of April, 1483, Edward IV. died. His son Edward was now proclaimed king and styled Edward V. but his uncle Richard duke of Gloucester, having usurped the throne, was crowned in the July following, and slain in fight in Bosworth field, on the twenty-second of August, 1485.

His successor Henry VII. who in reality had not, by hereditary descent, the smallest claim to the British throne, endeavoured to strengthen his assumed title by marrying the Lady Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the deceased king, Edward IV. For this princess he in fact entertained not the smallest affection, and treated her with such repulsive coldness and reserve, as plainly proved that she was an alien to his heart. Her mother,

* Reg. Octav. p. 385, 2031 d, 376, 386, 18, 2080, 2082, 20 d, 2082, 414.
Lodge's Mss. ut supra. † Cox, vol. 1, p. 198. Ware's Bishops, p. 89.

the widow of Edward IV. galled by the stern conduct of the monarch towards her amiable, accomplished and beautiful daughter, meditated revenge. The adherents of the York family, who were contemptuously treated by the reigning monarch, were also ready to join in any plan for his overthrow. In Ireland the people were hostile to the house of Lancaster, and the Earl of Kildare, the lord-deputy, had proved himself a zealous and powerful friend of the late king, Edward. Henry, therefore, commanded him by letters, in the year 1486, to repair to England. But Kildare fully comprehending his motives, induced the Lords of the Realm to state to his majesty, that his departure might prove very prejudicial to some affairs of high moment to the country, which were at that time in actual progress through parliament; and to pray that he might be suffered to remain till the conclusion of the business. Amongst the clergy who signed the letters written to the king on this occasion, we find the name of OCTAVIANUS the archbishop of Armagh, and of Fitzsimmons archbishop of Dublin. The earl thus powerfully supported, postponed his voyage to England, in hopes of being eventually able to serve the house of York.

Meanwhile Lambert Symnel, a youth of very humble parentage, but of pleasing manners, ingenuous aspect and princely deportment, had been instructed by Richard Symon (or Simonds) an Oxonian priest, to personate Edward Plantagenet the earl of Warwick, and only son of George duke of Clarence, brother to the late king, Edward. To prepare the way for this imposture, a report had been studiously circulated that the young earl had escaped from the tower, where he had been unjustly imprisoned by the suspicious Henry.*

Symnel was acknowledged as her nephew, by Margaret sister to his alleged father, and widow dowager of Charles the Hardy, duke of Burgundy. John de la

* Bacon's life of Henry VII. p. 585 edit. London. 1706.

Pole earl of Lincoln, Francis Viscount Lovell and others joined in this conspiracy, and it was finally determined that the impostor should pass over into Ireland, where it was expected that he would be supported by the lord-deputy Kildare, and the people.

Accordingly Symnel, accompanied by his preceptor, arrived in Dublin, and waited on the lord-deputy, to whom, in a dignified and pathetic strain, he gave an affecting narrative of the indignities and injuries which he pretended to have endured, and stigmatized the character of Henry VII. as that of an unprincipled tyrant and usurper.

The deputy who heard him with respectful attention, believed, or affected to believe, the tale, and soon induced his brother the Irish chancellor, and Portlester the treasurer, to espouse his cause. These adherents of the fallen house of York, spread abroad a report that the earl of Warwick had arrived in Dublin, in order to ascertain what effect this rumour would produce on the citizens. The people who had looked upon the earl's father George duke of Clarence, a native of Dublin, as their countryman, transferred the affection and respect which they had always entertained for him, to the youth whom they deemed his son, and whom they pitied as a persecuted and unfortunate exile. In the impulse of the moment, the citizens immediately declared for the son of their favourite Clarence, regardless of the prior claims of Edward's daughter.

A great majority of the nobility, gentry and people of Ireland soon followed their example, and were clamorous in favour of the new prince. Gratified with this general expression of public opinion, Kildare summoned a council which declared itself satisfied as to the validity of Symnel's claim, and this pretender, in a few days, was proclaimed king, by the name of Edward VI.*

In the midst of this almost general defection, OCTAVIANUS, primate of Armagh, stood firm in his allegiance

* See Bacon's life of Henry VII. 584 et sequent. Ware, &c.

to King Henry. He was joined in his resolution to resist Symnel's claims, by Edmond Courcey bishop of Clogher, the Butlers, the lord of Houth and the citizens of Waterford.*

But King Henry, who had determined to expose the imposture and undeceive his subjects, caused the real Edward Plantagenet, then his prisoner in the tower, to be openly conveyed, amidst crowds of curious spectators, through the city of London, to Saint Paul's church, in a solemn religious procession. In his progress he was accompanied by many of the nobility, who were well acquainted with his person, and could not be mistaken as to his identity. In Ireland, however, this measure was deemed a mere trick, planned by the king to cajole the nation.† Notwithstanding this general opinion, OCTAVIANUS remained firm in his allegiance, and continued to consider Symnel as an impostor. The following letter written by the primate to Pope Innocent, will give a clear view of his opinion on this subject:—

“The clergy and seculars are all distracted at the present, with a king and no king, some saying he is the son of Edward earl of Warwick: others asserting he is an impostor: but our brother of Canterbury hath satisfied me of the truth, how his majesty hath shewed the right son of the said earl to the publick view of all the city of London, which convinces me that it is an error willingly made to breed dissension.”‡

The pope, having duly considered this letter, granted to King Henry a bull dated the sixth calend of April, in which all bishops were commanded to excommunicate rebels, whenever the king should require them to execute that duty. This bull was afterwards of considerable use to his majesty both in England and Ireland.

* Ware, Cox. † Ibid. ‡ Ware's Ann. ut supra, Reign Henry VII. p. 5.

In May, 1486, the duchess of Burgundy despatched to Ireland, two thousand German veterans under Martin Swart an experienced officer, accompanied by the earl of Lincoln, the Lord Lovel and other malecontents. Elated by the arrival of this army, the partisans of Symnel publicly crowned the impostor in Christ-church, Dublin. The bishop of Meath preached the coronation sermon, and the lord-deputy, the chancellor, the treasurer and the other great officers of state attended at the solemnity. The crown placed on Symnel's head, had been taken from Saint Mary's statue, in Saint Mary's abbey.* All the people were delighted with the ceremony, and after the coronation attended him from street to street, as he was borne through the city in triumph on the shoulders of Darcey of Platten.†

The archbishop of Armagh not only remonstrated with the lord-deputy and endeavoured to dissuade him from this rash measure, but when he found all his efforts to prevent the coronation unavailing, refused to be present during the absurd pageantry, and finally withdrew altogether from the earl and from those councils, where his warning voice had been so totally disregarded.‡

Symnel now commenced the immediate exercise of the regal functions. Parliaments, acts of council, courts of justice, processes, &c. bore his name. A great council was called by his authority, in which the clergy granted a subsidy to the pope, to obtain absolution from any excommunications which might have been incurred by their proceedings against the king. At this council the primate did not attend.

Elate with his success in Ireland, Symnel and the leaders of his faction passed over with their Germano-Irish army into England, there to vindicate by force of arms, his claim to the British throne. But on the twentieth of June, 1487, he was assailed by Henry at Stoke, in Nottinghamshire, and after a very desperate and protracted conflict, totally and irretrievably defeated.||

* Cox. Leland. Ware. † Cox vol. 1, p. 179. ‡ Ware's Annals ut supra, p. 6; || Bacon's life of Henry VII, ut supra, p. 587.

Lambert Symnel and his preceptor Symons were taken prisoners.* The priest was ordered by Henry to be confined in a dungeon for life ; but the mock prince his pupil was in the first instance made turnspit in the king's kitchen, and in process of time was promoted to the less degrading and more amusing office of falconer to his majesty. Thus ended his dream of glory.

The ridiculous and abortive attempt of the Irish chieftains to place a king on the British throne, exceedingly weakened the power of the English pale, and terminated in the destruction of some of its choicest troops. Into this gross error they could not have fallen if they had followed the prudent counsel given to them by their primate, the archbishop of Armagh, and of this the people even of Dublin became at last conscious. In a letter which they forwarded to Henry, they threw themselves on his mercy, in the following terms :—

“ We were daunted to see not only your chief governor, whom your highness made ruler over us, to bend or bow to that idol whom they made us to obey, but also our Father of Dublin, and most of the clergy of the nation, excepting the most reverend father his grace OCTAVIANUS, archbishop of Ardmagh. We therefore humbly crave your highness's clemency towards your poor subjects of Dublin, metropolis of your highness's realm of Ireland, &c.†”

* Bacon ut supra, p. 587.
VII. p. 9.

† Ware's Annals ut supra, Reign of Henry

CHAPTER XI.

From the defeat of Lambert Symnel, till the death of Girald, earl of Kildare, and the ruin of his family.

KING Henry not only pardoned the earl of Kildare, as well as the other conspirators, but continued him in the office of lord-lieutenant of Ireland. Ware and other writers state that amongst the ecclesiastics who were pardoned was the archbishop of Armagh. There is possibly some error in this statement, for even by Ware's own narrative, OCTAVIANUS appears steadily to have adhered to the interest of the king, and to have given the most decided opposition, during the whole rebellion, to the impostor and his faction. What crime therefore had he committed which could have required a formal pardon? Besides, it is certain that the offending ecclesiastics were required to take an oath of allegiance to King Henry, before they could be absolved from an excommunication which he had caused, under the Pope's bull, to issue against them. The names of the prelates and other ecclesiastics who took this oath, and were absolved in July, 1488, are enumerated by Ware himself, and OCTAVIANUS does not appear in the list. On the contrary he was employed in administering the oath of allegiance, on the twenty-sixth of July, 1488, to various of Symnel's partisans.

In March, A. D. 1486, a tempest of wind accompanied with torrents of rain, swept the province of Ulster, tearing up trees by the root and prostrating houses and churches;* and again in 1491,† the lands of Ireland, during the summer and harvest seasons, were so deluged with rains, that it was impossible to save the corn, and a dreadful dearth ensued. About the latter end of Decem-

* Ware's Annals Henry VII. p. 4. Cox vol. 1, p. 178. † Ibid. p. 183.

ber,* a blazing star, probably a comet, which shone for several days, was the precursor of a pestilential disease, that for the first time, severely afflicted the inhabitants of Ireland. A vast multitude of the citizens of London had fallen the victims of this direful plague in 1485.

The disease called "*Sudor Anglicus*," the English Sweat, was a malady *sui generis*. It seized chiefly on young and middle-aged men, who, if at the commencement of the attack, they did not resist the first impulse to sleep, inevitably died. Amongst women, young children and old men it was not so fatal. The symptoms of this tremendous plague were according to Polydore Virgil, acute pain in the head, strong sensations of burning heat in the stomach, intense and endless thirst and profuse and continued perspiration of fetid matter. Multitudes perished, prematurely, in every part of the kingdom. The disease (strange to say!) was peculiar to the English and the Anglo-Hibernian colonists. A learned medical writer who discusses the subject, speaks thus of this pestilence:—

"Even by travelling into France or Flanders, the English did not escape, and, what is stranger, even the Scotch were free; and abroad, the English only affected and foreigners not affected in England."*

"Frantic with fear, they sought by flight to shun

The fierce contagion——

In vain; where'er they fled, the fates pursued.

——Some cross'd the main,

To seek protection in far distant skies,

But none they found. It seemed the gen'ral air

From pole to pole, from Atlas to the East,

Was then at enmity with English blood;

For, but the race of England, all were safe

In foreign climes; nor did this fury taste

The foreign blood which England then contained.

Where could they fly? the circumambient heaven

Involved them still, and every breeze was bane."

Armstrong.

* Ware's Annals, Henry VII. p. 18. † Friend's, Hist. Physic, vol. 2, p. 533.

Ulster was this year not only visited with this tremendous affliction, but embroiled with the feuds and contentions of the chieftains Con O Nial of Tirone, and Aodh Ruadh O Donel lord of Tirconnel. O Nial, claiming the principality of Ulster by hereditary descent, looked upon the other chieftain, as by right his feudatory vassal, and sent him the laconic letter which we have already noticed, in page 152 of this work. A series of petty conflicts ensued and continued till the death of Con O Nial who was murdered, by the contrivance of his brother Henry, in January, 1492.*

In the summer of that year, most of the rivers of Ireland were parched up by a continued drought, and multitudes of cattle perished every where with thirst.† The people were also afflicted by pestilence, and terrified by the appearance of a comet, which was visible every evening, after sunset, during two months.‡

In November, 1494, that famous parliament assembled in Drogheda, by which Poyning's law was passed. It was therein enacted, *inter alia*, that no parliament shall for the future be held in Ireland, until the chief governor shall have first certified the king, under the great seal of the land, as well of the causes and considerations of the acts which they design to pass, as of the acts themselves; and till the same shall have been approved of by the king and council, and a license thereupon issued to summon a parliament.§

This legislative assembly also abolished the use of the words *Cromabo*, *Butlerabo*, &c. which were the war-cries of particular families or septs.¶ The shout *abo* or *abu* was analagous to the Hebrew word *Aboi*. Thus *Cromabo*, the cry of the Kildare family, was taken from the castle of Crom, in the county of Limerick. *Butlerabo* was the cry of the Butlers.¶

* Cox vol. 1, p. 183. Ware's Annals. Mac Geog. † Ware's ann. Henry VII. p. 23. ‡ Ibid. p. 94. § Rot. Parl. cap. 9. ¶ Ibid. cap. 38.

¶ O NEAL's cry was *Lamh-dearg-abo*, Huzza for Red Hand.

¶ O BRIEN's cry was *Lamh-laidir-abo*, Huzza for Strong Hand.

In cap. 22, of the same act, it was decreed that the statutes lately made in England, concerning the public weal be henceforth valid in Ireland.*

A reconciliation took place in the year 1496, betwixt OCTAVIANUS archbishop of Armagh, and the earl of Kildare, much to the advantage of public affairs, to which their private animosities had been very injurious.

Kildare, at the period of this reconciliation, was again lord-lieutenant. He had been accused before the king of having burned the church of Cashel, and his majesty, having granted him leave to choose his counsel, inquired whom he would select, and advised him to nominate a good pleader, for it was to be feared he had a bad cause to defend. "I will choose" said the earl, "the best counsel in England." "Who is that?" asked the king. "Marry, even your majesty," replied the earl. The king amused with his *naïveté* laughed, and when the earl's opponent asserted that "all Ireland could not govern this one man;" "then" said the king, "he shall govern all Ireland." On the sixth of August he was accordingly once more reinstated in the office of deputy, and after his reconciliation with the primate of Armagh, acted with zeal and fidelity to his sovereign.

Henry O Nial who had, as we have already stated, killed his brother Con, was himself slain in like manner

The earl of DESMOND's cry was *Sean-ait-abo*, Huzza for the old place.

The earl of CLANRICKARD's (BOURKS) cry was *Gail-ruadh-abo*, Huzza for the Red Stranger, (or Englishman.)

MAC GILL PATRICK's (or FITZ PATRICK's) cry was *Gear-laidir-abo*, Huzza for the Sharp and Strong.

O CARROL's cry was *Showel-abo*. *Quære*.

MAC SWINE's cry was *Battailah-abo*, Huzza for the Noble Staff.

The HIFFENAN's cry was *Ceart-na-suas-abo*, Huzza for the Right from above.

HUSSEY, (or HUSE) titular Baron of Galtrim's cry was *Coir-direach-abo*, Huzza for Strict Justice.

O SULLIVAN's cry was *Fustina-stelly-abo*. *Quære*.

The knight of Kerry's cry was *Farri-buidhe-abo*, Huzza for the Yellow Troop.

Ware says the word *abo* signifies a cause; but *abhar* (pronounced *avar* not *abo*,) is "a cause or making of any thing."

* Rot. Parl. cap. 39,

by his nephews Con and Tirloch, who, in 1498, thus avenged, on the fratricide, the murder of their father. But Neal Mac Art O Neal, one of the partisans of the deceased Henry, disturbed the peace of Armagh, Tyrone and other districts. Against this chieftain, Kildare marched into Ulster, where he was joined by the forces of O Donell, Maguire and Turloch O Nial, his nephew, *à parte materna*. He proceeded through Armagh, in which he experienced no opposition, to Dungannon, where he stormed the fort and liberated a number of prisoners who had been confined in it by Mac Art. He then marched against Omagh castle, which he also took, and finally, in a few days, reduced Neal Mac Art to obedience.* In the preceding year he had marched through Armagh, against the castle of Kinnaird, which he seized and presented to his friend Turloch O Nial.†

Armagh, in 1498, lost one of her chief literary ornaments by the death of Charles Maguire. This eminent annalist, philosopher and divine was a native of the county of Fermanagh, and canon of the church of Armagh. He wrote "*Annales Hiberniæ usque ad sua tempora*," which are sometimes called "*Annales Senatenses*," from a place in the county Fermanagh, called Senat Mac Magnus, where the author wrote his work. There is a version of these annals extant, I believe, in the British Museum, partly English and partly Latin. They were compiled from ancient documents and commence A. D. 444, and are carried down till 1498, when the author died. Afterwards they were continued by Roderick Cassidy, down till the year 1541. Maguire died of the small pox, on the third of March, 1498, in the sixtieth year of his age.‡

On Saint Patrick's day, the seventeenth of March, 1501, O Nial and some Albanian Scots had a conflict in the vicinity of Armagh. On the side of the foreigners there fell Mac Donel son of the laird of Aig, three sons

* Ware.

† Cox vol. 1, p. 196.

‡ Ware's Writers p. 90.

of Colli Mac Alexander, viz. Tirloch, Donatus and Ludarus, and about sixty common soldiers.*

Henry VII. died in his palace at Richmond, on the twenty-second of April, 1509, and was succeeded by his son Henry VIII. who was crowned on the twenty-fourth of June following.

OCTAVIANUS DE PALATIO died extremely old, (as already stated) in June, 1513. In his time, Armagh had been reduced, by various causes, from its former splendor to the state of extreme wretchedness and insignificance, sarcastically described in the following Latin rhymes, written at that period, viz.

“ Civitas Armachana,
Civitas vana,
Absque bonis moribus;
Mulieres nudæ,
Carnes crudæ,
Paupertas in ædibus.”

Which may be thus translated into English prose :—

“ *The city of Armagh, a vain city, devoid of good morals; where the women go naked, flesh is eaten raw, and poverty resides in their dwellings.*”

These doggerel rhymes are attributed by Ware to the archbishop himself, but it is not probable, that so learned a man would have condescended to scribble such execrable lines. Accordingly we find that Moryson, who informs us that Armagh, which he styles the metropolitan city of the whole island, was ruined in the time of the rebellion, adds that the lines in question were composed by an Italian friar.†

JOHN KITE, a native of London who had been ambassador to King Henry in Spain, was advanced to the primacy by provision of Leo X, before the end of 1513. He was a man remarkable for beneficence and

* Cox. Ware. p. 43. † Fynes Moryson vol. 2, p. 364, 377.

hospitality. On the third of August, 1521, he resigned he see, and was made archbishop of Thebes in Greece, and bishop of Carlisle in England. He died in extreme old age, at Stepney, near London, on the nineteenth of June, 1537, and was buried there near the midst of the chancel, northward, under a marble, on which is inscribed an epitaph in miserable English rhyme.*

In 1513, the great earl of Kildare died, and his son Girald was appointed in his place.

The independent spirit, rude manners and manly eloquence of the Anglo-Irish warriors of those days, may be estimated from the following quotations of a part of a speech made by the lord-deputy Girald, in reply to a formal accusation, brought against him by the haughty Wolsey, who charged him with wishing to reign in Ireland as in his kingdom:—

“I would, my lord, that you and I had changed kingdoms, but for one month. I would trust to gather up more crumbs in that space, than twice the revenues of my poor earldom. But you are well and warm. So hold you and upbraid not me with such an odious term. I slumber in a hard cabin, when you sleep in a soft bed of down. I serve under the cope of heaven, when you are served under a canopy. I drink water out of my skull,† when you drink wine out of golden cups. My courser is trained to the field, when your jennet is taught to amble. When you are graced and be-lorded and crouched and kneeled unto, then find I small grace with our Irish borderers, except I cut them off by the knees.”‡

Kildare was of a generous disposition, open, hasty, irritable yet soon appeased. At a particular time when

* Weaver's funeral monuments, p. 539. 540. Ware's bishops p. 89.

† I strongly suspect that the word skull is here used to denote some kind of culinary or drinking vessel. In page 179 of this work, the reader will find a passage from Pembridge, in which it is said that the Irish were driven to the necessity of eating human flesh which they boiled in skulls. Certainly the skull of a human being is badly calculated for such a purpose. It is also highly improbable that Kildare would use a drinking vessel at once so inconvenient and so disgusting.

‡ Cox vol: 1, p. 219.

he was enraged with some of his servants, for some impropriety of conduct, one of his horsemen sportively offered Boyce (his gentleman) an Irish hobby, if he would pluck a hair from the earl's beard. Boyce went up to his master respectfully, in the very tempest of his passion, and said, "So it is, and if it like your lordship, one of your horsemen has promised me a choice horse, if I pluck one hair from your beard." "I agree" said the earl, "but if thou pluck any more than one I promise thee to pluck my fist from thine ear.*

Did Shakespeare think of this saying when he wrote—

"Take thou thy pound of flesh, &c. &c."

The simplicity of the Irish chieftains may also be fully proved by the following example. In the year 1522, the ambassador of Mac Guilla Phadruic prince of Upper Ossory, met the proud despot Henry VIII, on his way to chapel, and confronting him face to face, delivered his message in the following pithy and laconic terms:—

"Sta pedibus, Domine Rex, dominus meus Gill-Patricius me misit ad te et jussit dicere, quod si non vis castigare Petrum Rufum, ipse faciet bellum contra te."

Stop, my lord king, my lord Mac-Guilla-Phadruic has sent me to you and commands me to say, that if you will not chastise Peter Rufus, (Ruadh the red,) himself will make war upon you.†

In 1517, the new earl of Kildare found it necessary to march into Ulster, against Phelim Magennis. Having taken the castle of Dundrum by storm, he burned many villages inhabited by Magennis's adherents, and seized upon that chieftain himself.‡ After this he marched into Tyrone wasting the country as he proceeded. And now having stormed and burned the fort of Dungannon, he returned through Armagh to Dublin.

Ireland was afflicted with a dreadful plague in the year 1523, and another in 1525.§ The Sudor Anglicus

* Cox vol. 1, p. 204. † Ibid. p. 213. ‡ Ibid. p. 207. § Ware, p. 76. Cox, p. 215.

revisited the country in 1528, but with less mischievous effect. The alleged peculiarity in the "Sweating sickness," of those times, viz. that it was confined to persons of English descent, would probably require to be supported by stronger evidence, than has ever yet been offered in proof of its truth. We do not recollect that Lord Verulam has noticed this extraordinary circumstance. Yet, if authority can establish the truth of such assertions, it appears indubitable, that some nations have been occasionally exempt from particular diseases, to which others were subject. Thus we are informed by Degnerus,* that in the *Dysenteria Neomagensi*, of which he speaks, the Gauls and Jews were perfectly free from the disease. On the other hand, Procopius (*apud* Friend,) states that in a calamity which afflicted the world in 543, the natives of the infected towns seemed to be singled out by the disorder, even in regions very remote from its peculiar seat. Wilson "*De Peste Egypti*," speaks of villages whose inhabitants were afflicted by a pestilence, whilst their immediate neighbours were in perfect health. In August, 1763, a bilious plague attacked the Nantucket Indians. The Whites who associated with them were perfectly exempt from the disorder, and none died but those of full Indian blood.†

GEORGE CROMER, an English divine was consecrated archbishop of Armagh, in April, 1522, and in the July following, he was made lord-chancellor of Ireland. He was a learned, grave and courteous man, and died on the sixteenth of March, 1542.‡ A short vacancy in the see ensued, in which Edmund dean of Armagh was *custos*, and George Dowdall *subcustos* of the metropolitanical church.§ A convocation of the English clergy was held by Dowdal, in October 1543, in Saint Peter's church, Drogheda.||

* Van Swiet. vol. 5, p. 178. † Webster, vol. 1, sect. 8. See also Exerc. Med. Inaug. de morb. Epid. &c. Thom, Hancock, &c. ‡ Ware. § Regist. Dowdall, p. 37, || Ibid. p. 38.

Three blazing stars, which appeared in the heavens, in the years 1531 and 1532, astonished and terrified the people, who viewed them as portentous presages of approaching calamity.* In 1533, a parliament was held in which the controversy betwixt the primate of Armagh and the archbishop of Dublin, about precedence in Dublin, was renewed and determined in favour of the primate. In June 1534, the shock of an earthquake was felt in Ireland. It was peculiarly violent in Dublin.

About this period, Kildare and his family were afflicted with a series of most unexpected and dreadful calamities. These, if the advice of Primate CROMER had been adopted, might have been either wholly avoided, or at least in part averted. Contrary to an existing law, the deputy had given two of his daughters, in marriage, to O Connor prince of O Fally, and O Carrol another powerful Irish chieftain. In a short time, he became personally involved in the quarrels of his son-in-law O Carrol, and at the siege of Bir received a shot in the head, by which his intellects seem to have been disordered, if not totally deranged. His conduct was watched by vigilant enemies,† who instructed the master of the rolls, to lay before the king, in the name of the lords of the council, a copious statement of the grievances endured by his subjects in Ireland, and of the weakness and disorders of its government.

The king now issued his royal mandate to the earl of Kildare, commanding him to repair immediately to England, and answer the charges that had been brought against him. The deputy, having found all efforts a procrastination and all excuses unavailing, determined to obey the mandate; but by some fatal and unaccountable fatuity, he deputed the administration of government to his son Thomas, an obstinate, credulous and rash youth, of a violent temper and haughty disposition.

* Ware's Annals Henry VIII, p. 86. † Allan, archbishop of Dublin, the earl of Ossory and Sir William Skeffington.

Kildare, on his arrival in London, was committed to the tower, to abide the issue of his intended trial. A report was soon disseminated through Dublin, that he had been executed and that the royal vengeance would immediately descend on his family. Letters which had passed betwixt the Butlers and the Skeffingtons, re-echoed the groundless rumour. One of these accidentally fell into the hands of James de la Hide, counsellor to the deputy, and the Lord Thomas having perused it, was convinced without further inquiry, that his father had been put to death. Alarmed and agitated by this information, he consulted with O Nial, O Connor and others of his Irish relations and friends, and finally determined to renounce his allegiance to the British king.

On the eleventh of June, 1534, the young lord-deputy at the head of one hundred and forty horsemen arrayed in coats of mail,* proceeded through Dublin to Saint Mary's Abbey, where the council waited his arrival. His boisterous followers burst into the council room, armed as they were, and began to talk aloud, with such vehemence as alarmed the lords. Thomas, however, having proclaimed silence, addressed the council in the following speech, which is indeed a curious specimen of mingled magnanimity and folly.†

“Howsoever injuriously we be handled, and forced to defend ourselves in arms, when neither our service, nor our good meaning towards our prince's crown, availeth; yet say not hereafter, but in this open hostility which we here profess and proclaim, we have shewed ourselves no villains nor churls, but warriors and gentlemen. This sword of estate is yours, and not mine. I received it with an oath, and used it to your benefit. I should stain mine honour if I turned the same to your annoyance. Now have I need of mine own sword, which I dare trust. As for the common sword, it flattereth me with a painted

* Stanihurst.

† Holinshead, 90.

scabbard, but hath indeed a pestilent edge already bathed in the Giraldine's blood, and now is newly whetted in hope of a farther destruction. Therefore save yourselves from us, as from open enemies. I am none of Henry's deputies, I am his foe. I have more mind to conquer than to govern, to meet him in the field, than to serve him in office. If all the hearts of England and Ireland that have cause thereto, would join in this quarrel (as I hope they will) then should he soon be made sensible (as I trust he shall) of his tyranny and cruelty, for which the age to come may lawfully score him up, among the ancient tyrants of most abominable and hateful memory."*

The archbishop of Armagh, who had listened to this strange address with mixed emotions of pity and of horror, endeavoured to dissuade the impetuous and ill-advised deputy from his rash undertaking. Moved even to tears, the benevolent primate took the Lord Thomas affectionately by the hand, and in a speech of considerable length and pathos, besought him to preserve his loyalty untainted, and to rely on the wisdom and justice of his sovereign.†

Of the primate's speech which was delivered with much emotion, the Irish horsemen who attended the deputy did not understand a syllable.‡ They, however, imagined that the primate had eulogized their leader in a strain of impassioned poetry, and one of them, a bard by profession, began to pour forth a torrent of verse in

* Cox, p. 228.

† There is a curious coincidence, in sentiment, betwixt a particular passage in the primate's speech, and some lines in the old English ballad of Chevy Chase, which probably our Irish prelate had never read. The ballad-writer says:—

"To wind the deer, with hound and horn,
Earl Percy took his way
The child may rue that is unborn,
The hunting of that day.

"They are not yet *born*," (said Cromer,) "that shall hereafter feel the smart of this uproar."—*Holinshead*, p. 90, 91.

‡ Stanihurst,

praise of their chief, whom he denominated the "silken Thomas," and vehemently exhorted to linger there no longer. Thus urged, the deputy replied to the primate, and in harsh terms rejected his advice.* Under the impulse of passion the Lord Thomas surrendered his sword of office, retired precipitately from the council and prepared for war. Supported by some Irish septs, he traversed the English pale, exacted an oath of fidelity from many of the inhabitants, and imprisoned those by whom it was rejected. Fingai, the granary of Dublin, was now wasted by the O Tuathils and other septs who had joined in the insurrection. A detachment sent to protect that country, was defeated near Salcock wood, and four-score of the citizens of Dublin slain. Shortly after this event, the deputy laid siege to the castle of Dublin, where the archbishop Allan, the known enemy of his family had taken refuge. This prelate embarked privately aboard a vessel and endeavoured to escape to England, but the ship was stranded near Clontarf, and he was discovered in an adjacent village by his enemies, who dragged him from his bed, barefooted and bareheaded, and covered only with his shirt, before their commander and his two uncles John and Owen. The unhappy prelate with a plaintive voice and submissive countenance, implored for mercy on his knees, adjuring his arch-enemy by the love he bore his maker, to spare a Christian and a bishop prostrate before him.

Fitz-Gerald, without deigning to reply, turned round to his attendants, saying, "*Beir uaim a bodach*," "take away the clown," intending to imprison the archbishop. But the servants either misunderstanding their master's orders, or studiously misinterpreting his meaning, savagely murdered the archbishop on the spot, by beating out his brains.†

Fitz-Gerald now sought to associate with him in his rebellion, the Lord James Butler, eldest son of the

* Cox p 231

† Vide Hollinshead, Cox, Sullivan and Ware.

earl of Ossory, but received a reproachful answer to his overtures. He therefore marched into the lands of Ossory, accompanied by O Nial, Walsh and others, and wasted the country with fire and sword. During his absence, the castle of Dublin was besieged by a body of his partisans, under the command of Captain James Field. Some of the Giraldine faction had been admitted into the city by compact, on condition that they should confine themselves to operations against the castle. But the citizens closed their gates, and thus cut off the party, under Field, from all communication with the external country. Some of this detachment escaped by swimming over the river, but the greater part was taken prisoners. Enraged at this event, Fitz-Gerald expeditiously returned, and having summoned the people of the pale to meet him before Dublin, he menaced the city with destruction, if his men who had been taken prisoners should not instantly be restored.

The citizens sent him a defiance, and he therefore immediately commenced hostilities. Sheep Street where he began his operations, was soon set on fire by the ordnance of the castle and consumed. Driven from that quarter, Fitz-Gerald, in revenge, stopped the rivers about the town,* pulled down Thomas-Court, burned the New street and planted a gun against Newgate, which did some trifling damage. But the inhabitants finding that some of his apparent partisans and soldiers were secretly well affected to the crown, determined to make a vigorous sally on his troops. When therefore the deputy's corps had set fire to one of their gates, the citizens rushed forth impetuously, crying aloud that the royal army had arrived to their aid. Unable to resist this desperate sally, the Lord Thomas's men fled precipitately, and were pursued, slaughtered and dispersed by their victorious enemies. Their commander skulked

* Cox vol. 1, p. 236.

at the Grey-Friars, in Francis street, till morning, when he escaped to the remnant of his shattered army.*

After this defeat, Fitz-Gerald entered into a treaty with the citizens of Dublin, in which it was agreed, that he should restore to them a number of their children on whom he had seized, in exchange for his captive soldiers. Shortly after these events, Sir William Brereton a British knight, arrived from England with five hundred men, and entered Dublin without molestation.

Sir William Skeffington who had been appointed lord-lieutenant, landed also with another troop, and was received in the city with great demonstrations of joy. Lord Thomas then retired into Connaught, having received assurances of support from his kinsmen O Nial and O Connor. He was master of six castles, viz Minooth, Portlester, Rathingan, Catherlach, Ley and Athy, which were so well manned, fortified and provisioned, that he was confident none of them could be taken till his return. In March, however, Skeffington besieged Minooth fort, on which, during fourteen days, he was not able to make any serious impression. Yet it was at last betrayed to him, for a stipulated sum of money, by the governor, Christopher Parese, Fitz-Gerald's foster-brother, who sought to enrich himself by the ruin of his lord. This man contrived to intoxicate the garrison, and in the moment of their inebriety, the English scaled the walls, entered the castle, and became masters of the place. Here they found much spoil, for this was reckoned the best furnished house, belonging to any subject in the king's dominions.†

Parese, buoyed up with the expectation of reward, presented himself to the deputy who began to inquire into the obligations he had been under to Fitzgerald. The traitor, conceiving that his remuneration from the king, would be proportioned to the benefits which had been conferred upon him by his former master, minutely

* Stanihurst, Cox, Ware, Leland, Mac Geoghegan, &c.

recounted every instance of his liberality. "How" said the deputy, who had heard him with indignation and contempt, "couldst thou then betray the castle of so kind a master?" Then turning to his officers, "Pay" said he, "this traitor the money and then off with his head." "Had I known this," said Parese, "your lordship should not have had this castle so easily." One Boyse, who was then present, cried out "*An antrath*," "too late," and hence the common saying still used in Ireland "Too late, quoth Boyse." Parese, having, in a kind of cruel mockery, been paid the hire of his fraud, was put to death.*

To Kildare, the misconduct of his son proved ruinous and fatal.† When he heard the lamentable tidings of his rebellion, the old earl drooped, pined and died broken-hearted, in the month of September.

Fitz-Gerald's forces were finally destroyed or dispersed by the deputy, and he himself, no longer the leader of armies, sank to the rank of a wandering, yet vigilant and active outlaw, now lying in wait for booty, and now consuming villages by fire. At last he entered into a treaty with Leonard Lord Grey, in which, Stanihurst says, there was an express promise that he should be pardoned, confirmed by a public and solemn participation of the holy sacrament. Relying on this treaty, he surrendered his person and afterwards proceeded to England to prostrate himself before the king, in confident hope of pardon. At Windsor, however, he was arrested and conveyed to the tower. Here he had the misery of discovering that his father had not been put to death by the king, but had fallen the victim of that anguish with which the crimes and follies of his son had harrowed up his soul. The vindictive Henry, breathing vengeance against the whole lineage of Kildare, sent immediate orders to the deputy of Ireland, to transmit

* Stanihurst, Ware, Cox, Leland, Mac Geoghegan. † Hollinshead, 38.

the Lord Thomas's five uncles prisoners to London. Three of these Giraldines had discountenanced and even opposed the rash rebellion of their nephew, and the other two relied for impunity on a treaty which had been lately ratified with the insurgents, by Lord Grey.

The deputy, on perusal of the king's orders, invited these unsuspecting Giraldines to a banquet, where after they had been received and feasted at his board, in a style of hospitality and friendship, he treacherously seized upon them, and sent them off to London.* Even after this ungenerous act, they remained confident that their lives would be spared, till a singular occurrence in the voyage dispelled their hopes. The owner of the vessel which conveyed them to England, accidentally informed them that his ship was named "The Cow." They then with terror recollected an old prophecy, which stated "that an earl's five sons should be wafted for England in a cow's belly, but should never return."†

The Lord Thomas and his five uncles were tried and condemned for high treason, and on the third of February, 1536, publickly executed at Tyburn.‡

* Stanhurst. † Hist. Cath, tom. 2, lib. 3, p. 78. Ware's Annals, Henry VIII. p. 94. ‡ Cox, Ware, Leland.

CHAPTER XII.

Perilous adventures of Girald Fitzgerald, the survivor of the Kildare family.

ONE branch of the noble family of Kildare yet remained, whom Henry, with unrelenting hatred, sought to destroy. Girald Fitz-Girald a youth of about thirteen years of age, son of the deceased earl, at the period when his uncles were arrested, lay sick of the small pox, at Donoare in the county of Kildare. His tutor Thomas Leverouse, anxious for his safety, conveyed him in a basket into Offaly, and from thence, after his recovery, into Thomond, and lastly to Kilbrottin in the county of Cork, the residence of Eleanor Fitz-Girald, the boy's aunt. Solicitous to preserve the last hope of a noble family, this lady consented to marry O Donnel, chief of Tirconnel, on condition that he would protect her infant nephew. Her husband, seeking to aggrandize himself by betraying his ward, meanly commenced a treaty with the English government, for the surrender of the noble youth. Eleanor, however, who had discovered his treachery, found means to send her nephew into France, with one hundred and forty pieces of gold called Portugueses, to bear his expenses. When he had completely escaped, she upbraided O Donnel for his perfidy, and withdrew indignantly from his society and habitation.

Meanwhile the young Fitz-Gerald proceeded to Paris, where the English ambassador demanded him from the French king, as a rebel subject of his sovereign. The demand was evaded and the boy was suffered to escape to Flanders. He was pursued by James Sherlock, an emissary of the ambassador who overtook him at Valenciennes. The governor however of that town committed Sherlock to prison, and suffered Fitz-Gerald to proceed to Brussels. Here again he was persecuted by

the English ambassador, and forced to remove to Liege, where in consequence of the recommendation of the emperor, the bishop allowed one hundred crowns, per month, for his expenses. At last, his kinsman, Cardinal Pole removed him to his palace at Rome. Here he spent three years with his protector, and then entered into the service of the Knights of Malta, where he exhibited strong proofs of an ingenuous and noble mind. After this, he was, for three years, master of the horse to the great duke of Tuscany. One day as he was hunting in company with Cardinal Farnese, his horse fell with him into a pit of vast depth. When, in his descent, he had arrived within a few fathoms of the bottom, he, with great presence of mind, caught hold of some bushes or roots, that projected from the sides of the pit. His descent was thus impeded, and the *momentum* of his fall diminished. He, of course, was separated from his horse, who, tumbling precipitately, and without interruption to the bottom, was already dead, when Fitz-Girald, probably struggling from bush to bush, dropped unhurt upon him. Here he remained three hours, until a favourite dog, who had missed his master, traced him to the pit, and attracted the attention of the company, by his lamentable howling.*

This gallant youth lived to restore the fallen house of Kildare to its pristine honours. In the reign of Edward VI. he returned to England. Possessed of a graceful form, a cultivated mind and elegant address, he won the affections of a daughter of Sir Anthony Brown, and through the influence of her powerful family, soon obtained the royal favour. Minooth and other portions of his hereditary property were restored to him in 1552,† On the thirteenth of May, 1554, he was created earl of Kildare and baron of Ophaly, at Westminster, by Queen Mary, and put into complete possession of his ancestral honours and estates.‡

* Hollinshead p. 99. Stanihurst. † Cox, vol. 1, p. 292. ‡ *bid.*
Ware's Annals, Edward VI. p. 126. Leland, vol. 2, p. 206,

CHAPTER XIII.

*Opposition made to the progress of the Reformation, by
Primates Cromer and Dowdall.*

THE principles and doctrines of Luther had now made considerable progress on the continent of Europe, and the determined zeal and inflexible perseverance, with which he assailed the conduct and the tenets of the church of Rome, had excited mixed emotions of curiosity and astonishment, through the Christian world. By men prepared by previous study, and by similarity of intellect and research, for the reception of his opinions, his restless activity was attributed to the innate energies of a magnanimous spirit devoted to the service of pure religion and ready, in the cause of truth, to set danger and death itself at defiance. To others he appeared a furious zealot, an unprincipled disturber of the unity and peace of the church, a disseminator of schism, a scurrilous polemic and a vindictive dogmatist.

The principles of the reformers had also made a considerable impression in England, where the doctrines of Wickliffe had not yet been wholly eradicated. But the Reformation, in Great-Britain, was certainly accelerated by the intermarriage of Henry VIII. with Anne Boleyn, and by his well-known irreconcilable quarrel with the Roman Pontiff. In the course of these momentous events, the king had not only determined to separate his subjects from all connexion with the papal see, but to declare himself supreme head of the English church. The convocation of the clergy reluctantly agreed to this measure, but the Parliament of England conferred the wished-for title upon him, and armed him with all the powers, annexed to the supremacy which he claimed. Then followed the suppression of monasteries, the translation of the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue, and their partial dissemination amongst the people.

Thus encouraged, Henry soon determined to invest himself in like manner, with the supremacy of the Irish church. In 1538, George Browne, archbishop of Dublin, and other reformers, were appointed commissioners by Cromwell, vicar-general of England, to confer with the clergy and nobility of Ireland, to whom they explained the object of their mission. Here, however, they experienced even *in limine*, a most determined opposition to the measure, from Primate Cromer, who treated the attempt to divest the sovereign Pontiff, of what he deemed his undoubted prerogative, as detestable and impious.

Under this impression, he convened the clergy of his province, and exhorted them to resist the progress of innovation, as they regarded their hopes of eternal happiness. Ireland, he said, had, from time immemorial, been denominated the "sacred isle." It was the peculiar property of the holy see, from whose grant alone, the English monarchs derived their claim to the lordship of the country. Nay, he pronounced a curse,* against all such persons, as should presume to acknowledge the supremacy of the king, and he despatched two messengers to represent to the Roman Pontiff, the danger of the church, and to solicit his immediate interposition in defence of his own rights.†

Thus Primate Cromer and the archbishop of Dublin, became opposed to each other on this important point. The people of Ireland, tenacious of their theological opinions, and firmly attached to the Roman Pontiff, whom they deemed the genuine and acknowledged temporal head of the Christian church, were little inclined to adopt the doctrines inculcated by Doctor Browne. In the English pale itself, many were hostile to the claims of supremacy urged by Henry; in the other por-

* Ware's Bishops p. 91. Ware's Life of Brown. Leland, vol. 1, p. 160 161.

† In the year 1534, Cromer had been removed from the office of chancellor, by Henry, notwithstanding his steady adherence to the interests of that monarch. John Barnewell, baron of Trimblestown, was then appointed to that dignified office in his place.

tions of the country, they were totally rejected and condemned.

On the first of May, 1536, a parliament was convened in Dublin, by the lord-lieutenant, Lord Leonard Grey, pursuant to Archbishop Browne's advice. Here that prelate made a short speech,* which he terminated by proposing a vote that King Henry should be declared "supreme over ecclesiastical matters as well as temporal, and head thereof, even of both isles, England and Ireland."

This motion, though seconded by Justice Brabazon, passed through parliament with difficulty. Henry was declared supreme head, on earth, of the church of Ireland; appeals to Rome, in spiritual causes, were prohibited, and a law was passed against slandering the king, in consequence of these innovations. By another act, his majesty was invested with the first fruits of bishopricks and other secular promotions in the church, as well as of abbies, priories, colleges and hospitals. By another, those who maintained the authority of the bishop of Rome were made subject to a premunire. All officers were bound to take the oath of supremacy, and all persons who refused it declared traitors. Pensions, dispensations and faculties from Rome were prohibited. Thirteen religious houses were suppressed and their demesnes vested in the crown.†

But Primate CROMER exerted himself, to the uttermost, to prevent these laws from being carried into full effect. Countenanced by him, the clergy refused to permit the images and relics of saints, to be removed from the cathedrals. A special commission arrived from Rome, addressed to CROMER and his adherents, enjoining them to support the papal authority, and empowering them to absolve from their oaths, all such persons as had acknowledged the king's supremacy. These conformists were commanded, under pain of ecclesiastical censure,

* Ware's Bishops p, 149.

† Vide Statutes 28th Henry VIII,

to confess their guilt within forty days, and enter into a new and solemn engagement to uphold the authority of the holy see, to resist heretics and their edicts against the Catholic religion, and to declare those accursed who hold any power, ecclesiastical or civil, to be superior to that of mother church.

In a letter to the Lord Cromwell, written on the third kalend of April, 1538, by Bishop Browne, it is stated that CROMER, whom he calls his brother of Ardmagh, "does underhand occasion quarrels, and is not active to execute the vicar-general's orders," and that he has influenced the duke of Norfolk to assist the clergy in their efforts to prevent any alteration of the church rules in Ireland. In a subsequent letter, Browne gives the version of a declaration sent from Rome to the primate of Armagh and the clergy, which was to be solemnly made and perfected, by all such persons as they should absolve, under the special commission, to which we have already alluded. Whilst Primate CROMER was engaged in the execution of this papal mandate, Con O Nial, the chief Irish potentate of Ulster, was stimulated in a letter sent by the bishop of Metz, to take up arms against "heresy and the Pope's enemies," and one Thady O Birne, a friar of the order of Saint Francis, and bearer of a letter from that prelate to O Nial, was seized by Thomas Browne, on the feast of Saint John the Baptist, and having been pilloried and then confined in the castle of Dublin, committed suicide.* And now the lord-deputy, having received information that Con O Nial was collecting troops for the invasion of the Pale, marched into Ulster, in the beginning of May, 1539, and resided for two days in the city of Armagh. The neighbouring counties were wasted and pillaged by his troops, but in Armagh they did no damage whatever, from which circumstance we may fairly infer, that the inhabitants of that country had not made common cause with their

* Ware's Life of Brown, p. 152.

primate and O Nial. In the beginning of May, in the preceding year, Grey had also made an impetuous irruption into Lecale, a great part of which he wasted with fire and sword. He had seized, in this incursion, on Magennis's castle of Dundrum, and seven other forts, and he had burned the cathedral church of Downe, and defaced the monuments of Patrick, Bridget and Columba. About the same period, Saint Patrick's staff, (or the staff of Jesus,) which William of Adeline had conveyed, in the year 1179, from Armagh to the church of the Holy Trinity, in Dublin, was removed from thence with other relics of the saints, and publicly burned in High-street.*

O Nial began at last openly to declare himself the champion of the papal see, and having been joined by O Donnel, Magennis, O Calaghan, Mac William, O Hanlon and other northern chieftains, invaded the Pale, in August, 1539, and on his march towards the hill of Tara, burned Navan and Athirdee and wasted the adjacent country. At Tara, where he had collected an immense prey, he mustered his army and reviewed his troops, of whose numbers he made a proud and ostentatious display.† But, as if he had taken up arms for no other object than to waste and pillage a portion of the country, and then exhibit his soldiers in idle parade, he prepared for an immediate retreat.‡

Meanwhile the lord-deputy Grey, having collected his forces, marched to Bellahoa, in Meath, where a great body of O Nial's troops was encamped with a river in front. He arrived at day-break on the banks of this river, and having formed a resolution to cross it, in defiance of his opponents, he gave the command of the forlorn hope to Fleming, baron of Slane, who ordered Robert Halfpenny, his standard bearer, to proceed with him through the stream; this timid officer, however,

* Ware's Annals Henry VIII, p. 99. Grose's Ant. Ireland, vol. 1, p. 7. Mac Geog. tom. 2, p. 305, 308. † Stanihurst, Cox, Leland; ‡ Holinshead, p. 101. Stanihurst.

alarmed at the formidable appearance of O Nial's army, declined the perilous adventure. Fleming, therefore, entrusted the colours to the valiant Robert Betoa, and rushed at the head of his troops through the river. He was well seconded by Mabe of Mabestown, who fell in the conflict. A desperate battle ensued, in the course of which the Irish commander Magennis was slain, and O Nial's troops finally defeated and dispersed.

Thus the efforts of the primate, the principal ecclesiastical authority in Ulster, and of O Nial its most powerful native chieftain, to prevent Cromwell's plans from being carried into execution, were alike ineffectual. The abbots and priors, deeming further resistance unavailing, began now, on assurance of pensions during their respective lives, to surrender their abbies and other religious houses to the king. Amongst the most important of these were twenty-four religious institutions, whose abbots and priors were lords of Parliament.*

The adherents of the king became now so powerful, that a parliament convened in Dublin, by the lord-deputy St. Leger, on the thirteenth of June, 1541, enacted that hereafter Henry and his heirs should assume the title of king, instead of Lord of Ireland, which was then erected into a kingdom. The statute was proclaimed on the Sunday following, at Saint Patrick's church, near Dublin, and at London, on the twenty-third January, 1542. This vigorous measure was soon followed by the submission of the native Irish chiefs, who renounced the papal authority in the fullest manner. O Nial, O Carrol, O More, O Mulloy, O Connor, O Dwyn, (or Odoyn,) Mac Mahon, Magennis, O Donel, O Rourke, O Flaherty, O Reilly, O Melaghlin, O Kelly, (Abbot of Knockmoy,) Mac Carty, O Sullivan and others took the oath of allegiance; so also did many nobles of English descent, such as Barry, Roch, Birmingham and Mac Guillin; a list of whom may be found in the red book of the privy council of Ireland.†

* Cox vol. 1, p. 260.

Mac Geog. tom. 2, p. 315.

Mac Geog. tom. 2, p. 309.

† Ware. Cox.

It is probable that even Primate CROMER himself, at last submitted to the authority of the king, and ceased to give any opposition to his measures; for in a curious edict made by the privy council, in the year 1541, we find him appointed, in conjunction with the lord of Louth, arbitrator of such controversies as might arise in the province of Ulster, on certain subjects specified in the document, a power which would not have been vested in him, if he had not regained the confidence of his sovereign.*

A. D. 1541, an inquisition was held by order of the king, relative to the property vested in the Culdees of Armagh, when it was found that their house was called "the Priory of the Colidei of Armagh," and that the religious therein were incorporated by the name of "the Prior and Colidei of Armagh." The prior was then seized of seven Ballyboes or townlands in the county, viz. Cannadisse, Lisleagh, Ennogsegurt, Aghavillee, Lisvonnowe, Killenure and Maghocarrell.†

Primate CROMER died, as already stated, on the sixteenth of March, 1542.

GEORGE DOWDALL‡, a native of Louth, succeeded that prelate in the see of Armagh, and was consecrated by Edward Staples, bishop of Meath, and other prelates about the beginning of December, 1543, in consequence of the king's mandate directed to them, on the twenty-eighth of the preceding month. The Pope, however, would not confirm his appointment. Primate DOWDALL was a grave and learned man, and very assiduous in the exercise of his episcopal functions. The king, it appears, had promised to promote him, and had granted him a pension of twenty pounds per annum, on the eighth of October, 1542, "till he should enjoy the bishopric of Armachan."§

This prelate wrote some sermons, and translated from Latin into English, the life of John De Courcy the

* Ware's Annals Henry VIII. p. 106. † Appendix, No. XIII.
‡ Ware's bishops p. 91. § Rot. Pat, 32^e 33^e Henry VIII. Lodge's
Mss. ut supra.

conqueror of Ulster. Ware says that his "Ecclesiastical Constitutions" were extant in his days. He died in London, on the fifteenth of August, 1558. His epitaph was registered on the twelfth of February, 1559, by Thomas Walsh, register of the court of Armagh. The following two lines may serve as a specimen of its style:—

"Dum patriæ studio celebres proficiscor ad Anglos,
Londini summum fata dedere diem;"

DOWDALL had obtained, as we have stated above, possession of the primacy, by donation of Henry VIII. without the approbation or concurrence of the Pope. But Paul III. had conferred the see on *ROBERT WAUCOP*, (or *VENANTIUS*,) a Scot, a divine eminent for talents, learning and virtue. This prelate had been blind from his infancy,* yet by intense application to study he had made such proficiency in literature, that he had obtained the degree of doctor of divinity, at Paris. He was present at the famous council of Trent, from the first session, in 1545, till the eleventh, in 1547. The Pope placed considerable confidence in this divine, and he was sent by his holiness, Legate a Latere to Germany, and from this circumstance, it is said, originated the German proverb, "A blind legate to the sharp-sighted Germans.†

WAUCOP, prior to his appointment by the Pope, to the archbishoprick of Armagh, had, in 1541, introduced the order of Jesuits into Ireland, under the patronage of Paul III. John Codure was the first of the society received there. He was followed by Alphonsus Salmeron, Paschasius Broet and Francis Zapata. *WAUCOP* is said by Cox, to have been famous for riding post, the best of any man in Christendom. It is not easy to conceive why a blind ecclesiastic should have been so laboriously occupied, and how he could possibly have overcome the difficulties which, in the course of such severe and ha-

* Hist. Cath. tom. 2, l. 3, p. 70. † Ware,

zardous exercise, his defect of vision must necessarily have produced. *WAUCOP* died at Paris, in a convent or meeting of Jesuits, on the tenth of November 1551.* His last words have been recorded by the historian, O Sullivan, and were to the following effect:—

“ Lord, if my existence here be necessary for the good of thy people, I will not shrink from the useful task which I ought to perform. If not, I shall willingly yield up my station in this most laborious life, that my spirit may enjoy beatitude in thy presence.”†

We have now, in these historical sketches, arrived at that particular point of time when the church of Ireland began to be separated, by the law of the land, from the see of Rome. Two distinct ecclesiastical hierarchies, shortly after this period, coexisted in Ireland; the one presiding over the religion of the state, the other over that long adopted and steadily adhered to by the great majority of the people. *WAUCOP* ought, of course, to be classed as the first titular primate of all Ireland, in right of his appointment by the Pope, or, in other words, as the first Roman-Catholic archbishop of Armagh, nominated in this country, after the commencement of the Reformation, by the Papal see.

In the year 1542, Con O Nial prince of Tirone, accompanied by Hugh O Cervalan, bishop of Clogher, and others,‡ overawed by the power of Henry VIII. visited that monarch at Greenwich, and on the twenty-fourth of September, surrendered to him his titles, estates and principalities. On this occasion, he covenanted “ to renounce the name of O Nial, to adopt the English habit, language and manners; to cause his own and his people’s children to learn the English tongue, and to build their houses and farm their lands after the English mode; to conform to and obey the English law, and to keep no more Gallowglasses than the lord-deputy

* O Sullivan, p. 79. Ware. Cox. See also Spondani, ann. ad an. 1546. Palavicini hist. Concil. Trident, l. 6, c. 5, l. 15, c. 13. Pere Orleans, l. 3, p. 85. Jus Prim. Armac. p. 7, 19. † O Sullivan, p. 80, ‡ Ware’s Annals, Henry VIII, p. 108.

should allow; to answer all general hostings like the members of the pale, and to refrain from succouring the king's enemies.* In consequence of this humiliating treaty, he was created earl of Tirone for life, with remainder over to his spurious son Matthew, who was then made baron of Dungannon, in tail. O Nial's estates were also regranted to Con by patent. The promise to renounce the princely name of O Nial, as well as the dress, language and customs of his country, must have been galling to this chieftain. A similar regulation with respect to dress, enacted, in 1537, by Parliament, was found unoperative and rejected even by the common people. It decreed that no subject should be shaved above the ears, or wear glibbs, or linen died in saffron, or above seven yards of linen in a chemise, or any silk-embroidered kirtle or coat, "ne couched, ne laid with usker:" but that all were to conform to the English language and fashions." Another law, relating chiefly to Connaught and Munster, which was subsequently ratified by proclamation, ordered that noblemen should be allowed twenty cubits or bundles of linen in their shirts, horsemen eighteen, footmen sixteen, garsons twelve, clowns ten, and that no shirt should be died with saffron. It is not likely that regulations which had been despised by his very vassals, could have been agreeable to O Nial; yet he concealed his chagrin and appeared satisfied with his reception at the British court. However, in the year 1548, he formed a connexion with O Donel, O Dogherty and others, who commenced a treaty with the king of France, and promised to become the subjects of that monarch, if he could procure a donation of the country from the Pope, and send two thousand harquebusiers and two hundred light horsemen, with some artillery, to their aid.† In consequence of this treaty, a meeting took place betwixt O Nial, John De Monluck, (ambassador to the French

* Cox vol. 1; p. 275.

† Melvin's Memoirs. Mac Geog. 338.

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king,) and *ROBERT WAUCOP* Roman-Catholic archbishop of Armagh, but the whole plan proved, ultimately, abortive.

On the twenty-eighth of January, 1547, Henry VIII. died at Westminster. By an extent taken in the thirtieth year of this monarch, the archiepiscopal see of Armagh was valued at one hundred and eighty-three pounds, seventeen shillings and five pence halfpenny, Irish currency, per annum. In the fifteenth year of James I. it was valued at four hundred pounds, sterling, per annum, and the first fruits calculated accordingly. King Edward VI. a zealous reformist, sent orders, on the sixth of February, 1550, to the viceroy St. Leger, that the liturgy of the church of England should be adopted and read in Ireland, in the English tongue.* The deputy, having accordingly convoked the prelates and the other clergy, signified to them his majesty's pleasure with respect to the intended change. But the primate of Armagh (Dowdall) strongly dissented from the proposed measure; and an animated theological discussion immediately ensued, betwixt that divine and the viceroy. Each of the parties, however, retained his own opinions,† unconvinced by the reasoning of his opponent. DOWDALL withdrew from the conference in disgust, and was followed by all his suffragans, except Staples bishop of Meath. The rest of the clergy, with George Brown archbishop of Dublin, at their head, agreed to adopt the proposed liturgy, which was accordingly read, in the English tongue, on Easter-Sunday, in Christ-Church, in the presence of the viceroy, the magistrates and the clergy. On this occasion, Doctor Brown preached on the eighteenth verse of the hundred and nineteenth Psalm, "Open thou mine eyes that I may see the wonders of thy law."

Sir James Croft, a zealous Protestant, who was appointed viceroy of Ireland, on the twenty-ninth of April,

* Cox, p. 288.

† Ware's Life of Brown, p. 155.

1551, made every possible exertion to induce the archbishop of Armagh, to adopt the English liturgy. But DOWDALL, who, though the Pope had nominated another divine to his see, was conscientiously attached to the church of Rome, refused to comply with the deputy's wishes. His firmness met with the approbation of the great majority of the people, and he was generally regarded as the leader of the Roman-Catholics of Ireland. The primate, however, not only withdrew from the public councils, where his opinions had been disregarded, but refused to hold any intercourse with his conforming brethren, and retired, in disgust, to Saint Mary's abbey, near Dublin. He was rendered still more popular, by the misconduct of those reformists who had been appointed to examine the places of public worship, and to remove "the objects and instruments of popular superstition." These men, in all the pride and insolence of office, executed their commission in the most violent, outrageous and indecent manner. Regardless of the preconceived opinions of the people, they seized upon the most revered utensils and the most valuable furniture of the churches, and exposed them to open sale.* The garrison of Athlone are stated to have pillaged the church of Cluainmacnois, the shrine of the favourite saint, Ciaran; where they defaced or destroyed the ornaments, and removed the books, windows, plates, bells and furniture of every kind. Such acts as these, must have excited in the Roman-Catholics, the strongest emotions of abhorrence both against the perpetrators and the authority by which they were supported. It was deemed necessary, at last, to check this growing evil, and therefore an order was transmitted by the British government, to Sir James Croft, to prevent the sale of bells, church-goods, chantry-lands, &c. and to note them down in regular inventories.†

* Ann. Doneg. Mss. Leland, vol. 2, p. 196. † Cox vol. 1, p. 290.
Leland ut supra.

Another effort was now made to reconcile Primate DOWDALL to the new ecclesiastical arrangements. The lord deputy, in a letter, which he transmitted to him, by the hands of the bishop of Meath, expressed an ardent wish to make some amicable settlement betwixt him and his conforming brethren. To attain this desirable object, he proposed that a place of conference should be named, in which the disputed theological points might be discussed and finally settled.*

The primate replied, that although he thought those points, in which the contending parties were, in conscience and in judgment, at such essential variance with one another, could not be thus easily and satisfactorily adjusted, yet he should be glad to see and converse with the deputy ; and he accepted his friendly proposal. He had, however, he said, retired from the world, and therefore declined appearing at his lordship's palace. DOWDALL was, afterwards, waited upon by the whole body of the clergy, at the abbey, where a theological disputation was held, in the great hall, betwixt him and Staples, bishop of Meath. Each of the polemic champions claimed the victory, and each withdrew from the useless contest, despising the sophisms of his opponent, and triumphing in the solidity of his own arguments.

DOWDALL had heretofore displayed great inflexibility of spirit, and it had been found impossible, either by force of argument or of entreaty, to make him adopt the new liturgy. The court of England now determined to try what effect hostile measures might produce, on his unbending mind. They began, therefore, to wound his feelings in a very tender point, by rendering his see subordinate to that of Dublin. On the 20th of October, 1551, the king and council deprived him of the primacy, which, by letters patent, they vested, with all its powers and privileges, in BROWNE and his successors for ever. Alarmed by this decisive measure, and anticipating

* Mss. Marsh. Lib. Dub. Leland, p. 198.

others, of a still more violent nature, Dowdall seems, at once, to have lost that fortitude and spirit which had rendered him conspicuous, as the head of all the adherents to the Papal see. At the very moment when his popularity had risen to the highest pitch; and when it might have been dangerous for King Edward to have proceeded one step further against him, he deserted his dignified station and fled in alarm to the continent.

Edward, looking upon the flight of Dowdall, as a renunciation of his archiepiscopal rights and duties, appointed HUGH GOODACRE to the see, by privy signet, dated the 28th October, 1552. In his order, the king states that the see, one of the chiefest in the realm, was vacant, that he had a right good opinion, both of the sufficiency of the place and of the virtuous life of HUGH GOODACRE, and had, therefore, appointed him archbishop of Armagh.*

HUGH GOODACRE, the first Protestant prelate who presided over the see, was consecrated in Christ's church, Dublin, on the 2d of February, 1553, together with John Bale, bishop of Ossory, by George Browne, Thomas Kildare, and Eugene Down. A remarkable circumstance attended the coronation of these prelates. The people had been habituated to the Roman ritual, and the reformed liturgy had not been regularly established, nor had any pains been taken, nor much argument used, to convince the inhabitants of this country, that there were any rational grounds, or any necessity for so radical a change. It seems to have been taken for granted, that the theological opinions of the Irish nation ought, as a mere matter of course, to be regulated by those of the English people, or rather of the English court. But Lockwood, dean of St. Patrick's, who seems to have had a clearer view of the subject, proposed that the Roman ritual and ceremonies should be retained, in the consecration of the new bishops, through respect to

* Rot. Pat. 6^o Edw. vi. f. m. 7. Lodge Mss. ut supra.

the preconceived sentiments of the people. The new primate and the rest of the clergy, Bale only excepted, agreed to the proposal. He, however, holding every thing which appertained to the church of Rome in utter abhorrence, not only refused his assent, but ordered the consecrated wafer to be removed, and common bread to be substituted in its place. The people, whose opinions were thus outraged, by a practice altogether novel to them, and by the open contempt shewn for those rites which they had been taught to deem most sacred, could scarcely restrain their indignation and rage. Afterwards, when Bishop Bale began to preach the reformed doctrines, his clergy forsook him, and the populace, infuriated, even to madness, against the prelate himself, slew five of his domestics. His own life was, with difficulty, saved by the exertions of the civil magistrates.*

Archbishop GOODACRE died in Dublin, on the 1st of May, 1553.†

In the year 1552, Ulster was not only miserably wasted by the quarrels, dissensions, and hostile conflicts of Con O Nial, earl of Tyrone, and his son, Shane (or John) O Nial, but afflicted by an alarming scarcity of provisions, so that the current price of five bushels of wheat was 24s. which, in the following year, could be purchased for five.‡

Edward VI. died at Greenwich, on the sixth day of July, 1553, and was succeeded by Mary, eldest daughter of Henry VIII.

The queen, who was zealously attached to the Roman-Catholic religion, recalled George Dowdall from the continent, on the application of the famous Cardinal Pole, the Pope's legate. On the twelfth of March, 1554, she reinstated him in the see of Armagh, and finally, by letters patent, restored to him the title of "Primate of all Ireland," with all the ecclesiastical and temporal rights annexed to his archbishoprick. In the patent of

* Vocatyon of John Bale; Ms. Lib. Mars. Dub. Leland, vol. 2, p. 201.
 † Ware's Bishops, p. 94. ‡ Ware, Cox,

restitution, it is expressly stated, "that he and his predecessors had, from time immemorial, enjoyed the dignity, style and title of "Primate of all Ireland," until, by the patent which granted the same to George bishop of Dublin, he was deprived of it and of the archbishoprick, contrary to justice. The patent of the archbishop of Dublin was surrendered to Mary, who cancelled it, when she restored the primacy to the archbishop of Armagh.*

The priory of Athirdee was also given to him, for life, as a remuneration for the spoil which had been made in his see, during his absence.† In the same year, he held a provincial synod at Tredagh, in which some progress was made in the re-establishment of the Roman-Catholic religion, and in depriving the married clergy of their benefices. In April, he and Doctor Walsh, elect bishop of Meath, received a commission which empowered them to divest all married ecclesiastics of their dignities and functions. Brown, archbishop of Dublin, Staples, bishop of Meath, and Travers, bishop of Leighlin, were expelled from their sees, being, as it is phrased by the author of "*Jus Primatiale Armacanum*," "*uxoratos et impænitentes*," "married and impenitent." Bale, bishop of Ossory and Casey, bishop of Limerick, fled from the island.‡ Other prelates were substituted in the place of those who had either absconded or been deposed. The new bishops took an oath of fidelity to the queen, who yet retained the title of supreme head of the church, &c.§

On the first of June, 1556, Sussex, then lord-deputy of Ireland, convened a parliament,|| in which the lord-chancellor, kneeling down in full meeting, read aloud a bull which had been transmitted by Cardinal Pole, by which they were earnestly exhorted to abrogate every law which impugned the supremacy of the Roman see,

* Rot. Pat. 1mo Mariæ, 1ma pars facie, Memb. 24. Lodge Mss. ut supra
 † Ware's Bishops p. 92. ‡ Cox, Ware. Jus Prim. Armac. c. 26.
 § Rot. Can. H. 1 Mar. Cox vol. 1, p. 300. || Ir. Stat. 3 and 4 Philip and Mary,

that the people might be restored to full communion with the Catholic church. The sentiments of Pole were joyfully adopted and reechoed by the parliament, which having adjourned to the cathedral and heard "Te Deum" chanted for the restoration of unity to the church, proceeded to declare the legitimacy of the queen, and her undoubted title to the regal power. Further, they revived the statutes against heresy, and repealed all laws enacted against the Pope and his supremacy, since 20th Hen. VIII. The grants made by archbishop Brown, either to his own use, or to that of "his bastards," (for so his children born in wedlock were styled,) were declared void; the crown's claim to the first fruits was vacated, and various laws were enacted for the subversion of the Protestant religion.*

It does not appear that any persecution was excited by the Roman-Catholics, against the Protestants in Ireland, during the reign of Mary, with the exception of the laws, passed against the reformed clergy, which we have recited above. On the contrary, many Protestant refugees, who had fled from England, remained unmolested and even unnoticed in this country.† Yet if an anecdote related by Ware,‡ on the authority of Primate Henry Ussher and of Richard, earl of Cork, may be credited, Queen Mary, in the latter period of her life, did not intend to treat the Irish Protestants with such liberal and Christian-like lenity. It is said that a commission had been forwarded to the Irish government, by the hands of Cole, dean of Saint Paul's, authorizing them to proceed with severity against heretics. The dean who was well pleased with this commission, exhibited it triumphantly to the mayor of Chester, who had waited upon him in that town. His hostess, who happened to be present at the conversation, and whose brother, John Esmonds, a Protestant, was a citizen of Dublin, stole

* Ir. Stat. 5 and 4, Phil. & Mar. c. 1—8. &c. † Ware's Annals p. 155.
‡ Life of Brown, p. 165.

the commission from the leathern box in which it was contained, and left something of equal bulk in its stead. The dean proceeded on his voyage, arrived in Dublin presented his box, in due form, to the lord-deputy, in full council. It was opened, the imaginary commission was drawn forth, and a pack of cards with the knave of clubs uppermost presented itself to the view of the astonished spectators. All this was perfectly unaccountable to Doctor Cole, but the lord-deputy humorously said, "Let us have another commission; meanwhile we will shuffle the cards." Cole returned to England, and obtained a new commission, but before he could set sail for Ireland, the queen was dead.

Whilst the court and parliament were occupied in re-establishing the Roman Catholic religion, Shane O Nial, James Mac Connel and some island Scots had excited an insurrection in Ulster. To quell this disturbance, Thomas Ratcliffe Lord Fitzwalters, then lord-deputy, marched into the province, and on the eighteenth of July, 1556, defeated the Scots and their Irish allies. Mac Connel, with two hundred of his followers, was slain by Sir Henry Sydney.*

This victory did not completely terminate the war, and therefore, on the twenty-second of October, 1557, Sussex, then lord-lieutenant, marched into Ulster. On the twenty-fourth, he arrived at Dundalk, from whence he drove the enemy before him to Armagh. On the twenty-fifth, he entered that city, which he wasted with fire, on the twenty-seventh, sparing only the Cathedral. After this act of vengeance, he proceeded through Newry to Dublin, where he arrived on the thirtieth.†

In the year 1577, Archbishop DOWDALL held a provincial synod at Drogheda. On his decease which took place on the fifteenth of August, 1558, "Terence, dean of Armagh, was appointed guardian of the spiritualties of the see. On the third of July, 1559, he held a synod

* Cox, vol. 1, p. 303. † Ibid. p. 305.

of the English clergy of the diocess, in Saint Peter's church, Drogheda."*

Queen Mary died on the seventeenth of November, 1558, and was succeeded by Elizabeth, the only surviving child of Henry VIII.

* Reg. Dowdall, p. 218.

Lodge's Mss. notes, ut supra.

CHAPTER XIV.

*From the death of Queen Mary till the murder of Shane
O Nial*

ADAM LOFTUS, a native of Yorkshire and chaplain to Thomas, earl of Sussex, and afterwards to queen Elizabeth, was consecrated archbishop of Armagh, by Hugh Curwin, archbishop of Dublin, and other prelates, in the latter end of March, 1562. On the eighth of August, 1567,* he was translated to the see of Dublin, which was then more productive with respect to pecuniary emolument than the primacy: for the city of Armagh, with the cathedral itself, had been destroyed by Shane O Nial, and the whole province impoverished and wasted by his conflicts with the British army.

LOFTUS was a man of sound learning, pleasing manners, comely person and florid eloquence. These qualities had strongly recommended him to Elizabeth, who had heard him, with much pleasure, speaking at a public act, in the university of Cambridge, and had promised him promotion. He was made archbishop in the twenty-eighth year of his age, having been the youngest primate of all Ireland, on record, if we except Celsus. Through him the bishops of the church of Ireland, choose to derive their succession. Curwin who consecrated him had himself been consecrated in England, during the reign of Queen Mary, according to the forms of the Roman Pontifical. LOFTUS was twice made keeper of the great seal, and afterwards lord-chancellor, and he was four times one of the lords-justices of Ireland, and was also the first provost of Trinity-College, in whose foundation he took an active part. He died at his palace of Saint Sepulchre's, Dublin, on the fifth of April, 1605, and was buried in Saint Patrick's church.†

* Ware's Bishops, p. 95.

† Ibid, p. 95 96.

The great mental attainments and pleasing qualities of this learned prelate were, in some degree, sullied by his insatiate avarice and unbounded ambition. Influenced by these passions, he sought to monopolize every church preferment that became vacant, either for himself or his family. He took an active part in the ruin of Sir John Perrot, who, in his last will, solemnly protested that he had been foully belied by a declaration made against him by the archbishop.

The pecuniary emoluments of the see, in the days of Primate LOFTUS, must have been very trivial. In 1564, he was elected dean of Saint Patrick's Dublin, and Elizabeth, on the sixth of January, 1564, ratified the election. In the letters patent, she speaks in honourable terms of the primate, and says that his "archbishoprick is a place of great charge, in name and title only to be esteemed, without any worldly endowment resulting from it:" she therefore permits him to hold the deanery of his college, named Saint Patrick's, *in commendam*, until she should otherwise provide for him.*

The clerical duties of the dean and chapter seem, about this period, to have been much neglected. "On the thirtieth of October, 1561, the queen, by letters patent, had ordered the chancellor to direct the dean and chapter to proceed under *Conge d'eslier* to the election of ADAM LOFTHOUSE, and to certify the same that his writ of consecration and restitution might issue." But the deputy Sussex, informed the queen, by letters dated second of September, 1562, that the dean could not proceed to the election, through the absence of sundry of the chapter of Armagh. In consequence of this, her majesty on the fifth of October, 1562, ordered a patent to pass and to continue until he might be established in the bishoprick, by the accustomed ordinary means.†

* Rot. Canc. 6^o and 7^o Eliz. d. m. 4 orig. Fiant, 7^o Eliz. Lodge's Mss. notes, ut supra. † Lodge's Mss. notes, ut supra Rot. Canc. 4^o Eliz. d. Memb: 13.

After the death of *WAUCOP*, the first titular primate of Ireland, the Pope, solicitous to preserve an uninterrupted series of Roman-Catholic archbishops, in the see of Armagh, appointed Richard Creagh, a native of Limerick, his successor. This prelate had been educated at Louvaine, where he had made considerable proficiency in literature.*

We learn from O Sullivan Bearre, that Primate *CREAGH* was the son of a very honourable merchant of Limerick. Here he attained the first rudiments of literature and a taste for Scriptural knowledge. On his arrival at years of maturity, he traded as a general merchant, to and from Spain. At a particular time, he had disposed of a quantity of goods, which he had brought to that country, and shipped various other commodities, as a venture to Ireland. And now the appointed day for sailing had arrived, the wind was favourable and the passengers, merchants and seamen, were hurrying on board. *CREAGH*, however, who had determined to solicit the blessing of Almighty God on his undertaking, told his companions that he deemed it necessary to attend the solemnization of Mass, before he should go on board, but that as soon as he should have effected this pious object, he would instantly embark. His companions, however, left him whilst he was attending the celebration of divine service, and having weighed anchor hoisted sail. *CREAGH* saw the vessel in motion, and called to them from the shore—In vain—for by a sudden gust of wind, or by some mismanagement of the crew, the ship was instantly buried in the sea, and every one on board perished. *CREAGH*, thus providentially saved from death, returned thanks to God for his escape, and determined to adopt a mode of life less perilous to the body and more salutary to the soul. He now addicted himself entirely to literature, and having attained great theological knowledge, he was ordained a priest, and in pro-

* Ware's Writers p. 97. Jus Prim. Armac. §. 27. O Sullivan tom. 2, l. 4. cap. 10.

cess of time, was appointed by the Pope, archbishop of Armagh. His zeal for the advancement of the Roman-Catholic religion, and probably some political considerations rendered him obnoxious to Queen Elizabeth, by whose spies he was seized in Ireland, and transmitted to London, where he was closely imprisoned. O Sullivan asserts that he was fettered, and that various efforts were made both by means of threats and of proffered rewards, to induce him to change his religion, but that he remained steadfast in his original faith. He adds, that the archbishop was falsely accused of having attempted forcibly to deflower the daughter of his gaoler. The day of trial came on, and *CREAGH* was arraigned in a crowded court. His accuser, a beautiful and elegant girl, came forward to give evidence against him. But when she looked steadily on the countenance of this innocent and injured man, a sudden pang of remorse seized her soul. She became conscience-stricken and unable to bear the false evidence against him, which she had previously meditated.

“Vox faucibus hæsit.”

At last, when she had recovered the powers of utterance, she declared that she had never seen a man of more pure and holy life, that he had neither violated her person, nor solicited her to the commission of crime, nor even touched the hem of her garment. The archbishop, thus honourably acquitted, was brought back a prisoner to the tower, where, in a few days, he expired, A. D. 1585.*

Primate *CREAGH* wrote a treatise “De Lingua Hibernica,” partly extant in Ware’s time, and in possession of Thomas Arthur, M. D. “An Ecclesiastical History”—A Dissertation “De Controversiis Fidei”—“Chronicon Hiberniæ” and other learned works.†

* Hist. Cath. t. 2, l. 4, c. 10, Burk. Hib. Dom. 601. † Ware’s Writers, p. 97.

Dr. CREAGH had been imprisoned in the tower of London, in the year 1565, from whence he was liberated after five weeks' confinement, on Saint Patrick's festival, being the anniversary day of his consecration at Rome. After the lapse of many years he was, as already stated, recommitted to prison.*

As soon as Elizabeth was firmly seated on the British throne, she began to adopt the most cogent measures, for the re-establishment of the Protestant religion in Ireland. A parliament, convoked by the deputy, on the twelfth of January, 1559, vested the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the crown; appointed a new oath of supremacy; passed an act of uniformity; repealed the laws against heretics; made regulations to enforce the use of the book of common prayer, and attendance at the public worship of the established church; and in one short session, effectually overthrew the ecclesiastical system which had been so anxiously and so carefully restored by Queen Mary.†

It is remarkable, that a very great majority of the prelates, assembled in parliament, during those times of rapid change from one species of Christianity to another, conformed quietly to the religion adopted by the court, and thus contrived to keep possession of their respective sees; but many of the temporal lords continued attached to the principles in which they had been educated, and their descendants, till this hour, remain steady adherents of the Roman-Catholic church.‡

About this period, the celebrated Shane (or John) O Nial, chief dynast of Ulster, began to manifest strong symptoms of discontent. The subsequent movements of this warrior were productive of infinite mischief to that province, but were particularly calamitous to Armagh. It is therefore necessary that we should recite the causes and consequences of his disaffection to the British go-

* *Analect. de rebus Cath. in Hib. t. 2, p. 36. Edit. Coloniae. 1619.*
 † *Vide Statutes 2d Eliz, c. 1—7, &c.* ‡ *Rot. Can, 2d, Eliz. H.*

vernment, as minutely as the nature of this work will permit.

O Nial was a man of singular character. Proud of his hereditary descent and tenacious of his chiefdom in Ulster, he not only deemed himself the genuine sovereign of the country, but vaunted that the Magennis, the Mac Guire, O Reilly, O Hanlon, O Cahan, Mac Brien, O Hagan, O Quin, Mac Kenna, Mac Cartan and all the Mac Donels, whom he styled "Gallowglasses," were his subjects and vassals.* O Nial was subtle in mind, alert in action, quick in expedient, haughty, vindictive and unrelenting in disposition. He was munificent, social and hospitable, but frequently intemperate at table, addicted to venery, and, if his enemies may be credited, a persevering votary of Bacchus. His cellar, is said to have usually contained at least two hundred tons of wine, of which, as well as of Usquebaugh, he was in the habit of drinking to excess. When, by copious libations to the jolly god, he became intoxicated, his attendants placed him chin-deep in a pit, and then cast earth around him. In this clay-bath he remained, inhumed as it were alive, until the velocity of his blood had abated and his body had attained a cooler temperament.†

* Camden's O Neals, p. 120 Holland's Translation. Appendix, No. XIX.

† Camden's Eliz. p. 106. Hooker, p. 113. Cox, p. 324.

This singular practice of Earth-Bathing was imitated, about the year 1793, by one Graham known in London, by the name of the "Celestial Doctor." This sage had obtained his name, from a certain bed styled "the celestial bed," in which he electrified barren married patients, to render them prolific. Afterwards he adopted O Nial's Earth-Bath, as a powerful tonic and restorative, and on this subject, delivered various lectures to the credulous citizens of London. He made many proselytes, to his opinions, which he not only enforced by argument but by example. It is said that the room in which this son of Cælum and Terra lectured, was lofty and spacious. The floor was almost entirely covered, for the depth of six feet, with earth slightly dried and finely pulverized. In the centre, the sage's head alone was visible, the rest of his body being submersed in the earth, *puris in naturalibus*. His chin rested gracefully on its kindred clay, till his disciples and patients, stript to the skin, like the Pre-Adamites, sank also into holes formed in the earth for their reception. An attendant then loosened the clay with a kind of bar, and moved it into close contact with their skins. The living carcasses being thus inhumed, the heads appeared arranged, in a kind of half moon, pointing at the ends to their great prime mover and attracting power, the illustrious Graham. It was a curious spectacle to view this platform of earth,

O Nial's tenantry, or vassals, were habituated to the use of arms. Six hundred soldiers constituted his body-guard; and he was master of an army of four thousand foot and one thousand horse. And now, when such vital blows were aimed against the Roman-Catholic church, its friends began to look towards this active leader, as their future champion and chief hope. The subordinate clergy, far from submitting, like the more exalted members of the hierarchy, to the mandates of the court, inveighed bitterly against the queen, refused to conform to the established religion, and, in many instances, abandoned their cures. Their places were not yet supplied by Protestant ministers; the neglected churches fell to decay, and the people deeply execrated a government against which the Roman Pontiff had fulminated his wrath.

O Nial himself was hostile to the reformed church. He was not perfectly acquainted with the language in which its liturgy was written, and knew little of the arguments by which its tenets were supported. Independent of these circumstances, he entertained an invincible antipathy to the English nation, founded not only on the injuries which he conceived they had inflicted on his ancestors and his people, but on more recent events, in the course of which he himself had experienced great and manifest injustice.

His father, Con O Nial,* had surrendered his territories to Henry VIII. and renounced the name of O Nial.

studded with human faces divine, which seemed to have sprung from its surface, like mushrooms from a dunghil, or animated visages (as fabled by the ancients) from the slimy mud of Egypt. Lavater, if he had been present, might have contemplated the human countenance in a new point of view, and in a singular and interesting situation. The great man dropped his chin, amid the yielding earth, and proclaimed "silence." Then every eye was turned towards the lecturer, beaming across the level and clayey surface of the room, horizontal rays which centred, as in a common focus, on his irradiated and animated visage. The orator then proceeded, with all the powers of Demosthenes, to lecture on the sublime virtues of mother earth.

* Con was surnamed *Bacach*, because he halted. This chieftain is said, by Camden, "to have cursed all his posterity, in case they should learn to speak English, or should sow wheat or build houses." Such inducements, he said, would allure the English to enter again into their lands: speaking their

On this submission, he had been appointed earl of Tirone, with remainder over to his reputed son Matthew, who was then created baron of Dungannon. Now this Matthew was the offspring of a blacksmith's wife, an inhabitant of Dundalk, whom Con had once kept as a concubine. The boy had been deemed the child of the smith, till he had attained the age of fifteen, when his mother tendered him to O Nial, as his son. Under these circumstances, Matthew could, originally, have had no legal claim to the hereditary estates of the O Nials. It is not, therefore, wonderful, that Shane, a chieftain of a haughty spirit and irascible temper, should have felt indignant, when he saw himself divested of his acknowledged patrimony by the *fiat* of an English monarch, and beheld the lands of his ancestors, arbitrarily entailed on another person, a man of uncertain or of spurious origin.*

Towards the end of the reign of Edward VI. Shane O Nial, aided by a body of Scots,† waged war against his spurious brother Matthew, and wasted the territory of his father Con, whom he forcibly expelled from his habitation.‡ In the subsequent reign, he recommenced hostilities against the detested rival of his power, who was ultimately slain by some of his adherents. Con himself, afflicted by the dissensions of his family and the miseries of his country, pined away and sank in sorrow to the grave. Shane, who was now universally acknowledged by the inhabitants of his hereditary territories, as the lord of Tirone, laid claim to the sovereignty of Ulster. He was therefore viewed, with a jealous eye, by the British government. In the reign of Elizabeth, he was summoned by Sir Henry Sydney, who, in the absence of the then lord-deputy Sussex, presided over the government of Ireland, to appear before him, explain his

language would introduce conversation and familiarity with them; wheat would afford them sustenance, and by building, his posterity would imitate the crows, who make nests to be beaten out of them by the hawk.—*Camden* p. 120.

* Camden's O Neals, Holland's Translation, p. 120. † Ann. Doneg. Mss.

‡ Camden ut supra. Leland, vol. 2, p. 205. Cusack's Letter,

conduct and give assurances of loyalty to his sovereign.* O Nial warily evaded the summons, but invited the deputy to honour him with a visit, and act as a sponsor for his child. Sydney complied with his request, and after the ceremony had been performed, O Nial entered into an eloquent, elaborate and able defence of his conduct. In this he urged the manifest injustice of the entail which had settled his paternal property on the spurious issue of a blacksmith's wife—an entail contrary to the laws both of England and of Ireland, and altogether arbitrary, inasmuch as Tirone, of which he was the legitimate chieftain and the duly-elected "O Nial," had never been reduced to a British county.†

Sydney listened attentively to the cogent reasoning of O Nial, which, he said, should be immediately communicated to the queen. Meanwhile he advised the Irish chieftain to conduct himself as became a loyal subject, and await her majesty's determination which he might be certain would be perfectly equitable. O Nial acquiesced in this advice, and they parted in apparent friendship.

But Shane, far from being reconciled to the existing order of things, brooded secretly over the injuries he had received, and cherished the most inveterate hatred to the English name and nation. Such indeed was his antipathy to that people, that he styled one of his castles, built in an island, on the Tirone side of Lough Neagh, "Fuath-na-Gaill," "the abomination of the strangers," *i. e.* of the Britons.‡

Encouraged by the Pope and the king of Spain,§ who promised to assist him against Elizabeth, he burst, at the head of a large Irish corps, in 1560, into the English Pale, wasting every thing in the line of his march with fire and sword. In November, however, he was compelled to retire into his own territory, through scarcity of provisions, his soldiers having burned the whole proceeds of the harvest.|| But Shane not only waged

* Hooker. † Ibid. Appendix No. XX. ‡ Vesey's Stat. p. 324.
§ Ware Eliz. p. 4. || Ibid.

war against the English, but in the year, 1559, had invaded the territories of O Reilly, defeated him in battle, and compelled him to give hostages and to acknowledge "the O Nial's" superiority. Then pouring his troops into Tirconnel, he took Callach O Donel, lord of that country prisoner, and having confined him and his children, carried away his wife, with whom he formed an adulterous connexion and begat issue.*

At last, the lord-deputy Sussex marched from Dublin, on the first of July, 1561, at the head of five hundred men, to check the progress of O Nial.† This small army was reinforced by Bedlow and Gough, sheriffs of Dublin, with fourscore men at arms, and forty archers. O Nial's adherents, having learned that further reinforcements were to follow the deputy's corps, began to desert their standards and disperse.‡ The Ulster chieftain himself, yielding to the advice of his kinsman the earl of Kildare, entered into a treaty with the lord-deputy, to whom, after an able and friendly discussion of the points at issue betwixt him and the British government, he promised that he would appear in person, before the queen and submit his cause to her decision.§

After various delays, O Nial proceeded to London, where he appeared rather in the style of an independent prince, than of a vassal to the English crown. The citizens of the British capital beheld, with lively emotion, the Ulster chieftain accompanied by a splendid train of Irishmen, arrayed in the costume of their country, on whom they gazed with surprise as on the natives of another hemisphere. A body-guard of Gallowglasses, armed with battle-axes, marched with O Nial. Long curled hair descended from their uncovered heads. Their linen vests were died with crocus. Long sleeves, short tunics and shaggy cloaks rendered the whole dress more singularly

* Camden ut supra. Cox, vol. 1, p. 315. Vesey's Stat. ut supra.
 † Ware's Annals. Eliz. p. 5. ‡ Ibid. p. 6. § Camden, p. 121. Ware's Annals. Leland, vol. 2, p. 229.

conspicuous.* Regardless of the law which prohibited the use of this national Hibernian costume, O Nial appeared at the head of his guards, as if he came in a genuine spirit of conscious independence, to treat on equal terms, with the sovereign of the British empire, in her own capital. This bold and decided conduct seems rather to have excited, in the mind of Elizabeth, sentiments of respect than of anger or resentment towards the Ulster chief. She received his submission with complacency; listened attentively to his interesting narrative of the wrongs which he had endured; and believed, or affected to believe, his earnest promises of future loyalty. Pleased with the simplicity of his manners, the queen not only lent him two thousand five hundred pounds, but super-added various presents, and dismissed him with unequivocal assurances of future protection. Thus distinguished by royal favour, O Nial returned triumphantly to Ireland, and, for a time, acted with apparent zeal for the queen, as if he deemed himself her chosen champion. He assailed the Hebridian Scots who then ravaged Ulster, slew their leader James Mac Conel, and drove them from the country. Yet he continued to augment his army and exercised a despotic authority over the neighbouring chieftains. Mac Guire, lord of Fermanagh, Magennis and others complained to the queen, of his insolence, through the medium of the deputy. Elizabeth, not at all alarmed by his proceedings, replied to Sussex in the following laconic terms:—"Be not dismayed; if he rebel, it will turn out to my friends' advantage; there will be estates for those who want; from me he must expect no favour."†

* Cum securigero Galloglassorum satellitio, capitibus nudis, crispatis cincinnis dependentibus, camisiis flavis croco vel humana urina insectis, manicis largioribus, tuniculis brevioribus et lacernis villosis—*Hist. Eliz. p. 69.*

† Ware's Annals, Elizabeth, c. 7.

O Nial seems to have been galled by some honours which had been bestowed on Mac Arty More, chieftain of Desmond who had been created earl of Clancarthy and lord of Parliament. "A precious earl," said O Nial, I keep a lackey as noble as he. But let him enjoy his honours; they are beneath O Nial. I have indeed made peace with the queen, at her own

O Nial, who perceived that his designs had been discovered, erected his standard and prepared to vindicate his title to the sovereignty of Ulster, *vi et armis*. Enraged at Maguire, who had appealed against him to the British court, he burst impetuously into Fermanagh, wasted the country with fire and sword, and drove its chieftain from his territories.* He marched also, in 1566, against the metropolitan city of Armagh, to avenge himself on Primate LOFTUS, who had transmitted information of his hostile intentions to government, even prior to the complaint preferred against him by the Irish chieftains and the lord-deputy.† O Nial abhorring the primate; destroyed the city, and even the cathedral itself, with fire. So dreadful was the havock perpetrated by this indignant and vindictive chieftain, that Camden describes its effects in the following terms:—

“In our memory, the church and city of Armagh were so foully defaced by the rebel Shane O Neal, that they lost all their ancient beauty and glory, and nothing remaineth at this day, but a few small wattled cottages, with the ruinous walls of a monastery, priory and the primate’s palace.”‡

But O Nial asserted that he had burned the cathedral to prevent the English troops from lodging within its walls.¶ Primate LOFTUS, not satisfied with this pretext, assailed him with the spiritual weapon of excommunication: but the Irish chieftain, disregarding ecclesiastical denunciations, as a mere *brutum fulmen*, marched southward, and besieged Dundalk with a considerable corps of horse and foot. Here, however, his efforts were rendered abortive, by the valour of the garrison and by the timely arrival of William Sarsfield, mayor of Dublin, who marched against him, with a select body of citi-

desire, but I have not forgotten the royal dignity of my ancestors. Ulster was theirs, it shall be mine. With the sword they won it, with the sword will I maintain it.” Such was his answer to some English commissioners who had been deputed to commence a treaty with him.

* Cox vol. 1, p. 317. Vesey’s Statutes, p. 325. † Ware’s Annals, Eliz. cap. 6. 9 Hooker’s Mac Geog. Leland. ‡ Camden’s Ireland, Holland’s Translation, p. 109. Vesey’s Statutes, ut supra, Hooker.
¶ Ware’s Annals Eliz. cap. IX.

zens, and compelled him to raise the siege. Yet the adjacent country was wasted and pillaged by his army.* Thus repulsed, O Nial retired to his strong holds. Sydney, however, succeeded in forming a combination of various powerful northern dynasts, against their restless chieftain. Calvagh of Tirconnel was reinstated in his hereditary territories, which he engaged to hold from the queen, whom he acknowledged to be the sovereign of Ireland, in all ecclesiastical and temporal affairs.† Maguire, also, and several of the Connacian lords entered into the association against O Nial.‡

This formidable alliance terrified the adherents of the Ulster chief, who deserted his standard in considerable numbers. Many of his troops had been slain in the year 1565, in a conflict which had taken place at Derry, with a body of British troops strongly intrenched there, under the command of Colonel Randolph.§ After this event, O Nial himself had sought for a reconciliation with the lord-lieutenant, who appointed the sixth of May, 1566, for an intended conference, in the vicinity of Dundalk. Meanwhile an accidental explosion of gunpowder destroyed the fort and town of Derry. This event, which was attributed to the wrath of Columba, the patron saint of the town, against “the hereticks” who had prophaned his church, infused a new portion of spirit into Shane’s desponding friends.|| But when they saw him baffled in his subsequent efforts to maintain his power; when they beheld his lands wasted by the deputy, and felt the complicated miseries of war and famine, his troops fled from his ranks, in masses, and, in a few months, his army had lost three thousand five hundred men. Thus deserted and harrassed, he began seriously to think of soliciting the mercy of the English government. His friends, however, persuaded him to unite himself to the Hebridian Scots, six hundred of whom were then encamped at Clan-

* Cox, p. 317. Mac Geog. Vesey’s Stat. p. 325 326, et sequentia.
 † Rot. Can. H. 8 Eliz. ‡ Cox. Leland. § Cox vol. 1, p. 321.
 ‖ O Sullivan, tom 2, lib. 4, cap. 3.

Aodh-Buidhe, under the command of Alexander Oge. O Nial had defeated the Scots in two different battles, and had taken Surley-Buidhe, the brother of their commander, prisoner. This officer was now liberated by him, and deputed to explain his views to his countrymen, who received his proposals with apparent satisfaction. O Nial, having thus prepared the way for a reconciliation with the Scots, proceeded to their camp, escorted by fifty horsemen* and accompanied by his concubine, the wife of O Donel, and by his secretary. He was hospitably received and entertained in the commander's tent, with apparent friendship. But an English officer, named Piers,† an agent of the British court, had practised with the Scots, and excited their resentment against their former enemy. Oge himself was particularly enraged at the death of James Mac Connel, whom O Nial had slain in battle. When they had drank and caroused freely, an altercation arose about the widow of Mac Connel, whose nephew Mac Gillaspie, then present, demanded of Shane's secretary, whether he had spread a report, that his aunt had offered to marry the betrayer and murderer of her husband. The secretary avowed himself to have been the author of the report and maintained its truth. He even added, that the queen of Scotland, herself, might be proud of a match with O Nial. Mac Gillaspie gave him, instantly, the lie direct. The Irish chieftain espoused his secretary's quarrel. Loud and boisterous words ensued, and, at last, Alexander Oge, Mac Gillaspie, and the other Scots, eager for revenge, rushed impetuously upon Shane, and, with their drawn swords, hewed him to pieces.‡ His secretary and almost the whole of his attendants were barbarously murdered. Oge, after this unmanly breach of hospitality, this brutal assassination, caused the mangled corse of O Nial to be carried to an old ruinous church near the camp, where, wrapped in a kern's old shirt, it was cas

* Vesey's Statutes, vol. 1, p. 327.

† Hooker.

‡ Camden, p. 121.

into a pit, and there ignominiously inhumed. After it had remained four days in the earth, it was taken up by William Piers, and the gory head was sundered from the body, and delivered, pickled in a pipkin, to the lord-deputy at Drogheda, on the twenty-first of June, 1567. It was then set on a pole, and placed, *in terrorem*, on the top of the castle of Dublin.* Piers was rewarded with one thousand marks, for the part he had taken in stimulating the Scots to this base murder.†

* Cox vol. 1, p. 324.

† Ware's Annals, Eliz. c. 10.

The war with O Nial cost the queen of England £147,407, 3s. 9d. independent of the cesses laid on the country for its support, and of the infinite damages sustained by her subjects. Of her soldiers, 3,500 were slain by Shane and his troops, and a great number of the Irish, as well as of their allies, the Island Scots, perished, during the long-protracted contest. But, on the other hand, the queen probably deemed these evils counterbalanced by the seizure of O Nial's estates, who was attainted by an act of Parliament, passed 23d February, 1569. By the same bill, the name of "the O Nial," with the ceremonies used at its assumption, was abolished. Heavy penalties were enacted against any person who should assume that title. Shane's lands were vested in the crown for ever. It was however enacted that a portion of the country might be held by English tenure, by Turlogh Lynnegh O Nial and his adherents. The same parliament authorized the chancellor to appoint commissioners who were to view such districts as had not been reduced to English counties, and on their certificate and report to subdivide them into regular shires. (*Vesey's Statutes*, vol. 1, p. 322—348.) On the 12th of May, parliament also enacted that schools should be erected in the shire town of every diocese, by direction of the bishop and sheriff. The chief governor was to appoint an English schoolmaster and his salary, of which the bishop was to pay one third, and the other clergy of the diocese two parts. The bishops of Armagh, Dublin, Meath and Kildare were to nominate English schoolmasters for their respective dioceses.

CHAPTER XV.

From the murder of Shane O Nial till the surrender of Armagh to the Earl of Tyrone.

ON the thirteenth of June, 1568, THOMAS LANCASTER, an Englishman, was consecrated archbishop of Armagh, in Christ-church, Dublin, by Adam Loftus, then archbishop of Dublin, Hugh Brady, bishop of Meath, and Robert Daly, bishop of Kildare. LANCASTER had been treasurer of Salisbury, and chaplain to Queen Elizabeth. On account of the extreme poverty of his see, this prelate was favoured with a remittal of the payment of his first fruits,* and was also permitted to hold, *in commendam*, the rectory of South-hill, in the diocess of Exeter, the rectory of Sherfield, in the diocess of Winchester, the archdeaconry of Kells, the rectory of Nobhir and the prebend of Stragony, in the cathedral of Saint Patrick's Dublin, together with his treasurership of Salisbury.† He died in 1584, and was buried in Saint Peter's church, Drogheda, in the vault of Octavian de Palatio.‡ His successor, JOHN LONG, D. D. was born in London, educated in King's college, Cambridge, appointed by order of Sir John Perrot and council, under the queen's authority, to the primacy of Armagh, on the eleventh of July, 1584,§ obtained restitution of the temporalities, on the thirteenth of the same month,|| was sworn a privy counsellor in the year 1585, died at Drogheda, in 1589, and was buried close by his predecessor Lancaster, in Octavian's vault.

* Rot. Canc. 15^o Eliz. f. m. 5. † Ware's Bishops p. 95. ‡ Ibid. p. 96.

An Act of Parliament (15th. Eliz.) empowered Primate Lancaster to set some lands for 100 years at 4d per acre, Fingal measure. This measure had been in use in a part of the county of Dublin, north of the Liffy. It contains 16½ yards to the perch, and is now recognised as the English statute measure.—Harris's Ware's Ant. p. 225.

§ Liber Niger p 183, et Rot. Canc. 26^o Eliz. d, Memb: 25, 12. Lodge's Mss. notes, ut supra. || Ibid,

He was succeeded in the primacy by HUGH GARVEY, a native of the county of Kilkenny, and a graduate of Oxford university, who was translated from Kilmore to Armagh, on the eleventh of May, 1589. After his promotion, he was permitted to hold the deanery of Christchurch,* and the deanery and archdeaconry of Meath, by dispensation. JOHN GARVEY was a very hospitable and benevolent man, and on this account had a remittal of the first fruits of his see, amounting to one hundred and thirty-seven pounds, thirteen shillings and a penny.† In 1591, he contributed, *in concordatum*, seventy-six pounds, towards building the college of Dublin. He is said to have written a treatise, styled “The Conversion of Philip Curwin, a Franciscan Friar, to the Protestant Religion, A. D. 1589. He died in Dublin, on the second of March, 1594.‡

After the decease of Archbishop GARVEY, HENRY USSHER was advanced to the see of Armagh, by letters patent, dated twenty-second July, 1595.§ On the twenty-fourth, he received restitution of the temporalities, and was consecrated in the succeeding month. USSHER was a native of Dublin, and a lineal descendant of the ancient family of the Nevils, one of whom had passed over into Ireland with King John, as usher of the chamber. He had studied at Cambridge, Oxford and Paris. Through the influence of Adam Loftus, archbishop of Dublin, he had been installed archdeacon of Dublin, and was, of course, rector of Tany, Rathfarnham, Donnebrook and Kilgobban, which formed the corps of the archdeaconry.|| He was permitted to hold his archdeaconry *in commendam*, by privy signet, dated twenty-fourth March, 1595.¶

Primate HENRY USSHER seems to have been studious to promote the interest of his family, and probably with this view, he leased fourteen townlands, belonging to the see in the territory of Termonmagurke, to Theophilus

* Ware's Bishops p. 96. † Rot. Canc. 35^o Eliz. d. Mem. 6. Lodge's mss. notes, ut supra. ‡ Ware's Bishops, p. 96. § Ibid. p. 97. || Ibid. p. 96. ¶ Rot. Canc. 36^o 37^o 38^o Eliz. facie, Memb. 12.

bishop of Dromore and Sir Edward Doddington, knight, for sixty years, to the use of his three younger children.* He was very active in the foundation and establishment of Trinity College, Dublin. Archbishop Loftus had sent him with Lucas Challoner, to Queen Elizabeth, to whom he presented a petition in behalf of the intended university, in consequence of which he obtained a mortmain license to hold the lands granted for its site, by the city of Dublin.† And on the thirteenth of March, 1591, according to the computation of the Church of England, Thomas Smith, then mayor of Dublin, laid the first stone of Trinity-College.‡ On the thirtieth of March, 1592, her majesty granted a regular charter to the university. Three fellows, viz. Henry Ussher, Lucas Challoner and Launcelot Mayne; and three scholars, viz. Henry Lee, William Daniel and Stephen White, were appointed, in the name of more.§ Sir William Cecil, Lord Baron Burleigh, lord-high-treasurer, of England, was named the first chancellor, and Adam Loftus, archbishop of Dublin, the first provost.||

Primate USSHER was a learned divine and highly esteemed by the Protestants of Ireland.¶ He died at Termonfeichan, on the second of April, 1613, and was buried in Saint Peter's Church, Drogheda.**

After the death of Shane O Nial, the sons of that chieftain were kept close prisoners in Dublin castle, and Turlogh Linnough (or Leignich) O Nial was nominated his successor, by the Lord-Deputy Sydney, under the

* Man. State of the Diocess in 1622, penes Primate Robinson, in 1770. apud notes annexed to Lodge's mss. † Ware's Bishops, p. 97. Leland, vol. 2, p. 325. ‡ Ware's Annals Eliz. c. 34. § Leland, vol. 2, p. 325.

|| Ware says that Lucas Challoner, William Daniel, James Fullarton and James Hamilton were the first fellows; Abel Walsh, James Ussher and James Lee, the first scholars.—*Ann. Eliz.* c. 35. Appendix No. V.

Shortly before this period, we find that rather a minute kind of attention began to be paid to the state of education in this country, which was exemplified by an order issued in 1587, that no grammar but Lilly's should be taught in this kingdom.—*Ibid.* c. 30. It would perhaps be useful if this rule were yet in force. The Eton grammar is a poor abridgment of Lilly's copious work.

¶ Athen, Oxon, vi. 1, p. 722.

** Ware's Bishops, p. 97.

queen's authority. Turlogh was a son of Con More, O Nial's brother, and a lineal descendant of the illustrious family of Kildare. He had after the death of Shane, assumed the title of O Nial, but had afterwards submitted to the queen's authority, and even made war on the island Scots, whose commander Alexander Oge, the murderer of Shane O Nial, he slew in battle.*

Subsequent disputes which took place betwixt Turlogh and the British government, in the year 1569, were settled in O Nial's camp, at Dungannon, on the twentieth of January, 1570, by the queen's commissioners, Justice Dowdall and the dean of Armagh. But again, in the year 1575, Ulster was agitated by the quarrels and dissensions of Turlogh O Nial and the Scots. Surleybuidhe, at the head of these Hebridians, had besieged Carrickfergus, where he slew Captain Baker, with forty of his men. He was, however, repulsed in his attempt on the town, yet the whole province was in commotion, except Newry, where Marshal Bagnal resided, and a few other districts. Turlogh was also, at this period, disaffected to the English government; but the animosities which subsisted betwixt him and the Scots, gave the lord-deputy, Sydney, a decided advantage over both. This wary officer marched into Ulster, and placed his head quarters at Armagh. His skilful manœuvres soon reduced O Nial to such extremity that he sent his wife, who was aunt to the earl of Argyle, to effect a reconciliation with the British commander. This highly accomplished lady petitioned the deputy that her husband should be ennobled, and that his estate should be legally settled upon him, so as to afford him some security in its possession, and enable him to demonstrate his gratitude to her majesty. But whilst her request was under consideration, Turlogh surrendered himself to Sir Henry Sydney, and having remained two days with the lord-lieutenant, at Armagh, was permitted to return home without molestation.†

* Ware's Eliz. c. 11; Camden p. 122,

† Cox vol. 1, p. 343,

In the year 1576, inquiry was made into the ecclesiastical state of the country, and scarcely any churches or officiating curates could be found.* The people had not adopted the Protestant religion, and the Roman-Catholic clergy had either fled, or had been expelled from their parishes. Many of the laity had never been baptized and knew nothing of religion. A commission was therefore appointed to rectify this deplorable state of ecclesiastical affairs.†

On the twenty-sixth of June, 1584, Sir John Perrot was appointed lord-deputy of Ireland, with very ample powers, and a series of instructions comprised in twelve articles. On the twenty-sixth of April, 1585, he assembled a parliament, in which he compelled the Irish lords to wear robes, and adopt the English dress. Turlogh O Nial, chief dynast of Ulster, to whom the costume seemed a serious incumbrance, requested the deputy that his chaplain might walk through the streets with him in trousers, for then, said he, the boys will laugh at him as well as at me.‡

Turlogh O Nial had, in the preceding year, delivered Henry the son of Shane O Nial, prisoner to the lord-deputy. He was then in high favour with the British court, and the government of Ulster was consigned to him and Sir Henry Bagnall. But in 1586, the lord-deputy, not altogether relying on their vigilance and care, projected a division of a part of Ulster into seven new counties, viz. Ardmagh, Monaghan, Tyrone, Coleraine, Donnegal, Fermanagh and Cavan, for each of which he appointed sheriffs, commissioners of the peace, coroners and other necessary officers.

In the year, 1587, Hugh O Nial who had commanded a troop of her majesty's horse in a war which had been carried on against the earl of Desmond, petitioned the Irish parliament for the restoration of the title of earl of Tyrone and the inheritance annexed to that dignity.

* Hooker 141.

† Cox, vol. 1, p. 347.

‡ Ibid. p. 382.

which had been conferred by Henry VIII. on his father Matthew, the son of Con O Nial by a blacksmith's wife. In consequence of this application, he obtained a grant, under the great seal of England, of the earldom, without reservation of rent, but subject to certain conditions, viz. "that the bounds of Tyrone should be limited; that some places, such as Blackwater, should be reserved for forts and garrisons; that the sons of Shane and Turlogh O Nial should be provided for; and that the earl of Tyrone should exercise no authority over the lords bordering on that country." Other conditions were added for the maintenance of Turlough O Nial, who was thus induced to surrender the district to his spurious relation.*

Hugh O Nial, earl of Tyrone, was admirably fitted by nature for desultory warfare and hazardous exploits. Patient, hardy, spirited, vigilant, athletic, temperate and valiant, he was capable of enduring extreme privations without a murmur.† He was a man of polished manners, liberal education, acute intellect, persevering industry, and deep dissimulation. Though he had attained his fiftieth year, he yet retained the appearance and the vigor of youth.

Elizabeth had granted this chieftain a pension of one thousand marks;‡ and in her service he had acquired considerable knowledge in military tactics.§ After his settlement in Ireland, he was entrusted with the command of six companies of soldiers, to preserve tranquillity in Ulster. When these men were trained to military evolutions, he dismissed them and levied others in their place, and thus diffused a practical knowledge of arms through his tried and confidential vassals. He resided chiefly at Dungannon, and when he began to mature his plans of aggrandizement, he imported considerable quantities

* Fyne's Moryson p. 17. † Pet, Lombard, p. 352. ‡ Moryson vol. 1, p. 16. Camden, ut supra, p. 122. § Pet. Lombard de Hib. Com. s. 24.

of lead, apparently to roof his castle, in that town, but in reality, to afford materials for bullets.*

Tyrone, not content with his sudden exaltation, soon assumed the authority and, in process of time, the very title of "The O Nial," which, in the genuine spirit of an Irish chieftain, he maintained was far more honourable than that of "King of Spain." He levied cesses off Mac Mahon's lands; seized upon two thousand cows, the property of Turlough O Nial;† formed an alliance offensive and defensive with the Ulster Scots; invaded Strabane with a hostile force; caused Hugh O Nial na Gimleach,‡ a spurious son of Shane O Nial, to be hanged, and even seized upon Shane's two legitimate sons, who, in 1590, had escaped from the castle of Dublin and fled to Ulster for refuge.§

Sir William Fitzwilliams had been sworn lord-deputy of Ireland, in the year 1588. The conduct of this corrupt governor had tended mightily to excite a spirit of discontent and insurrection amongst the people of Ulster. In defiance of justice and of common sense, he had, in the year 1589, seized upon Aodh Ruadh Mac Mahon, heir to his brother, who had taken a patent for his hereditary property in the county of Monaghan. Regardless of his rank and his claims on the government, as a British subject, Fitzwilliam imprisoned, bolted, arraigned, condemned and executed this unhappy chieftain, even in his own house, for an alleged breach of an *ex post facto* law. The jury was said by the Irish to have consisted of military men, four of whom were English soldiers, who were

* Fynes' Moryson, lib, 1, p. 28. Peter Lamb. p. 358. † Cox, vol: 1, p. 396.

‡ Hugh na Gimleach (the fettered) was so called either because he had himself been a prisoner, or because his mother, the adulterous wife of O Donel, had been a captive at the time of his nativity. That unfortunate man had, at the instigation of his legitimate brother, Con, accused Tyrone to the British government, of having aided, in the year 1590, the shipwrecked crews of the Spanish Armada, and of having formed an alliance with them prejudicial to the state.—*Moryson, lib. 1. p. 22.*—Such was the reverence paid in Ulster, to the name of O Nial, that not a man could be found in the province who would execute him.—*O Sull. p. 124.*

§ Camden ut supra. Fynes' Moryson, p. 23. Cox vol 1, p. 400.

suffered to withdraw and return at pleasure; the remainder were Irish kerns who were denied all food till they had brought in a verdict against Mac Mahon.* The lands of this chieftain were then divided betwixt Sir Henry Bagnal, Captain Henslow and four of the Mac Mahons, and, for this act, he was accused by the Irish of having basely received considerable bribes.† He also, in a most arbitrary and tyrannick manner, imprisoned Sir Owen Mac Toole and Sir John Dogherty, men well-affected to the British monarch. The former he confined during the whole period of his government, the latter for two years, and then compelled him to purchase his liberty.‡

Although Tyrone was dissatisfied with the English government, yet he had, in July, 1591, permitted his country to be formed into a county, subdivided into eight baronies, with Dungannon for the shire-town and site of the gaol.§ About the same period, he had married the sister of Sir Henry Bagnal, marshal of Ireland, who accused him to the British government, of having forcibly abducted and compelled the lady into a matrimonial alliance with him, though his real wife was still alive. Tyrone, on the contrary, asserted that he had been lawfully divorced from his wife, and that the marshal's sister had spontaneously accepted his proposals of marriage.

We have already stated that *RICHARD CREAGH*, Roman-Catholic archbishop of Armagh, died a prisoner in the tower of London, in the year 1585. This prelate was succeeded in the see by *EDWARD MAC GAUVRAN*, who, in the beginning of the year 1594, was appointed by the Pope his envoy to the Irish, for the purpose of animating the Roman-Catholics to take up arms in defence of their religion. He was charged also with a

* Fynes' Moryson, lib. 1, p. 24. Cox, vol. 1, p. 599. Baker's Chron. fol. 378.

† This conduct excited such horror in the Irish against the British law, that in the great treaty near Dundalk, in January, 1595, they all desired to be exempt from sheriffs and other officers. Moryson p. 20 26. Cox, p. 399.

‡ Wares Annals, Eliz. cap. 32. § Moryson ut supra, p. 26.

commission from Philip II. of Spain, to the Irish chieftains, to whom that monarch promised effectual aid. *MAC GAUVRAN*, in the execution of these commissions, visited the leading men of Ulster, but resided chiefly with Maguire, lord of Fermanagh.* This chieftain not only refused to give him up to the lord-deputy, Russel, but, accompanied by his primate, invaded the province of Connaught in the beginning of the year 1594. Against him the British commander, Sir Henry Bingham, detached a corps of his troops under Sir William Guelfort. The two armies met at a place called Sciath na Feart (*Scutum miraculorum*). The day was misty and dark, and the cavalry, which had preceded the foot in total silence, met unexpectedly front to front. Maguire, transfixing Guelfort with a spear, and slew him on the spot. At a short distance from the place where the British commander fell, Archbishop *MAC GAUVRAN* advanced, accompanied by two horsemen, Felim Mac Caffry and Cathal Maguire. On these, a troop of the British cavalry rushed impetuously, and the primate and his friend Mac Caffry were, in a moment, prostrated by the shock. Meanwhile a body of Maguire's foot soldiers who had heard and known the prelate's voice, rushed to his aid. These men, in the obscurity of the mist, mistook Cathal, who was valiantly defending his fallen friend, for one of the British cavalry, and slew that chieftain. The archbishop himself was transfixing with a horseman's spear.†

It is said by the Irish historians that Maguire was the victor in this conflict, but Camden, Ware and Cox assert that the English, who were commanded by Sir H. Bingham, gained the battle.‡

* Pet. Lamb. de Hib Com. p. 345. † Hist. Cath. tom 3, lib. 2, cap. 6. Pet Lombard, p. 345 et sequen. Jus Prim. Armac, c. 27, Mac Geog tom. 3, p. 491.

‡ De Burg in his *Hib. Dom.* p. 602, relying on the authority of David Reth, says that Archbishop Macgauran was slain near Armagh, in the year 1598, but we prefer the above account, as more consonant to the truth. In its main particulars, both the Roman-Catholic and the Protestant historians agree.

PETER LOMBARD, the successor of Edmund Mac Gauvran, in the Roman-Catholic primacy of Ireland, was the son of a Waterford merchant, who gave him a most liberal education. He was an *alumnus* of Westminster School, where, under his preceptor, the celebrated antiquary, Camden, he gave strong indications of talent and made rapid advances in literature. Camden himself bears honourable testimony to his pupil's abilities, styling him "a youth of admirable docility," and boasting that he had converted him to the Protestant church, though he had been "popishly bred and affected."* But the effects produced on *LOMBARD*'s mind, by the polemic arguments of his learned preceptor, were probably counteracted at Louvain, where he pursued his studies, passed through the usual courses of philosophy and theology, and graduated doctor of divinity. He was then made provost of the cathedral of Cambray,† and subsequently promoted, by the Pope, to the see of Armagh. Pleased with his literary attainments and religious zeal, his patron, Clement VIII. gave also the strongest manifestations of his high esteem for *LOMBARD*, by nominating him his domestic prelate and assistant.‡

It is probable that, at this period, the Roman-Catholic primates of Ireland could have derived but little, if any, emoluments from their sees: and *LOMBARD*'s promotion, in Rome, may have been of essential service to him in pecuniary matters, independent of the honour he derived from his confidential intimacy with the Pope. It was, in fact, at that period, and for a considerable time prior to it, difficult or impossible for any titular archbishop to fulfil the functions of his office in Ireland. Such were the jealousy of the state and the intolerant spirit of the times.§

* Vide Camden's Letter in Aikin's Life of Usher, p. 322. † See the Title-Page of his Book "De Regno Hiberniæ," and Ware's Writers p. 103. ‡ Athen. Oxon. vol. 1, p. 481: Jus Prim. Armae. c. 93. Hib. Dom. p. 628. § Jus Prim. Armac. c. 27.

DR. LOMBARD published at Antwerp, in the year 1624, a dissertation entitled “*Casus circa Decretum Clementis Papæ VIII de Sacramentali Confessione, et absolutione non facienda, in absentia.*” But the work, by which he is principally known, is entitled “*De Regno Hiberniæ, Sanctorum Insula, Commentarius, &c.*” This work was re-published after his decease, at Louvain, in the year 1632, by the widow of Stephen Martin, with a preface written by the author, and addressed to his patron, Pope Clement VIII. *LOMBARD*’s book excited the wrath of the British government, and the king had ordered the lord-deputy, Strafford, to suppress the work and prosecute the author: but the prelate had escaped the power of all earthly tribunals; for he died at Rome, about the year 1626, or according to De Burgh, (p. 628) in 1625. It is stated by O Sullivan Bearre (*tom. 4, lib. 1, cap. 17.*) that Primate *LOMBARD* could not with safety reside in Ireland, and therefore had appointed a vicar to preside in his province. This is highly probable, for on the first of May, 1614, King James had spoken of him, in parliament, with some asperity, as a nominal bishop and doctor, who had endeavoured to excite the youth of the country, educated in foreign colleges, to disturb the public peace.*

PETER LOMBARD was succeeded in the Roman-Catholic primacy by *DR. HUGH MAC CAGHWELL*, (*Latinè CAVELLUS,*) a man of singular humility, piety and learning. He was an acute metaphysician, and perfectly acquainted with every branch of Scholastic divinity. He delighted in the works of his countryman Duns Scotus, whose doctrines and abstruse reasonings he defended against Abr. Bzovius with much talent and ingenuity. This archbishop was born in the county of Down, in the year 1572, and studied at the university of Salamanca, in Spain. He became a Franciscan friar, and was instrumental in founding, at Louvain, the col-

* *Hib. Dom. p. 628.*

lege of Saint Anthony of Padua. Over this establishment he presided, for many years, with assiduity and zeal. Here, as well as at the convent of Ara Cœli in Rome, he was divinity professor, besides being definitor general of his order. The Pope, in approbation of his character and talents, promoted him to the see of Armagh, about the year 1626. *Dr. Mac Caghwell*, who probably possessed much personal courage and religious zeal, determined, in defiance of all danger, to revisit his native country. He had, therefore, taken leave of his Italian friends, and prepared for his journey to Ireland, but was seized with sudden illness, and died on the twenty-second of September, 1626, in the fifty-fifth year of his age. He was buried in the church of Saint Isidore, where John O Neal, earl of Tyrone, erected a monument to his memory with the following inscription:—

ILLUSTRISSIMO ET REVERENDISSIMO
DOMINO,
FR. HUGONI CAVELLO,
ORDINIS MINORUM STRICTIORIS OBSERVANTIÆ,
LECTORI DEFINITORI GENERALI,
ARCHIEPISCOPO ARMACHANO,
PRIMATI HIBERNIÆ;
DE PATRIA, RELIGIONE, LITERIS,
BENE MERITO;
CUJUS IN PATRIAM REDITUM
MORS PREVENIT:
EXCELLENTISSIMUS DOMINUS,
JOHANNES O NEALL, TIRONIÆ COMES,
HUNC LAPIDEM PONI FECIT.

OBIIT
XXII. SEPT: M,DC,XXVI
ÆTATIS LV.*

The following works were published by this learned divine :—

“*Scoti Commentaria in quatuor libros Sententiarum, cum Annotationibus Marginalibus. Antwerp 1620.*”—
 “*Apologia pro Johanne Duns-Scoto, &c.*” Nicholas Jansennius answered this book, and to him *MAC CAGHWELL* replied under the assumed name of Hugh Magnesius.—
 “*Scoti Commentaria seu Reportata Parisiensia.*”—
 “*Questiones Quodlibetales.*”—“*Questiones in Metaphysicam, &c. Venetiis, 1625.*”—“*Questiones in Libros de Anima.*”—A posthumous work, in Irish, was published in 1628, styled, if translated into English, “*The Mirror of Penitence.*”*

The life of Archbishop *MAC CAGHWELL*, was written by his intimate friend Patrick Fleming, the son of Captain Garret Fleming of the county of Louth, and a near relation to the lords of Slane. Fleming was a Franciscan friar, a man of talents and research, but I have not been able to procure a copy of his works.†

* Ware's Writers, p. 104.

† Ibid. p. 112.

CHAPTER XVI.

From the year 1595, till the discomfiture and death of Marshal Bagnall.

IN the year 1595, Tyrone, having formed an alliance with the various branches of the O Neals, Magennises, Mac Mahons, Mac Donels and O Cahans, was appointed commander in chief of their joint forces.* Emboldened by this union, he assailed and stormed the fort of Portmor, built on the verge of the Blackwater, on the south side, leading into the county of Tyrone.† O Nial razed the fort, burned down the bridge, marched into the Brenny, and aided by Mac Mahon and Maguire, commenced the siege of Monaghan.

Alarmed by the movements of this active chieftain, the British government appointed one of its most experienced generals, Sir John Norris, to quell the insurrection in Ulster.

On the twenty-fourth of May, Marshal Bagnall, at the head of one thousand five hundred foot and two hundred and fifty horse, marched from Newry and encamped at Eight mile Church. On the twenty-fifth, he forced his way, after a conflict of three hours, through a narrow pass, fortified and defended by Tyrone in person. The British army now proceeded directly to Monaghan. and, after some resistance, compelled the Irish chieftain to raise the siege of that town.‡ The marshal, having reinforced and revictualled the garrison in the castle of Monaghan, began to return homewards, but was attacked

* Peter Lombard. † Moryson. l. 1, p. 34.

This river called by the Irish, The Great River, and sometimes *An Mhor* was named by the English, The Black Water, either because its waters were less limpid than the other streams in the neighbourhood; or because (says O Sullivan,) they were to them the signal of black and inauspicious events in war.—O Sullivan, p. 137.

‡ Cox vol. 1, p. 405.

by a corps of Tyrone's troops amounting to eight thousand foot and one thousand horse, posted advantageously in a narrow pass, and in the direct line of their march. A conflict ensued in which ninety of the English were wounded and twenty slain. About three hundred of the Irish fell in the battle. Tyrone's troops were deficient in ammunition, and to this circumstance it was owing that the English escaped with so little loss in this encounter.* On the succeeding day, Bagnall, by changing the line of his march, evaded his enemy and made good his retreat to Newry.

Tyrone, though thus engaged in actual hostilities, wrote letters to the earl of Ormond, Sir Henry Wallop and General Norris, requesting them to intercede, with the queen, for his pardon and permission to exercise his religion without restraint; and promising future obedience to her authority. Marshal Bagnall, his avowed enemy, carefully intercepted and suppressed these letters, lest his brother-in-law, whom he utterly abhorred, should again be received into royal favour.†

On the twenty-fourth of June, Sir William Russel, then lord-deputy, with General Norris, marched against the northern insurgents, from Dundalk, where he had collected a considerable force. Two Irish chieftains his allies, alternately bore his military ensign; O Molloy on the first day, and O Hanlon, chief of Hy-Meith-Tir, and hereditary regal standard-bearer of Ulster, on the second.‡ His opponents were masters of a thousand horse and six thousand two hundred and eighty foot, besides a corps of two thousand three hundred men in Connaught. A troop of Irish hovered around him at a distance, but on the twenty-ninth he marched through Armagh, which he garrisoned on the third of July. On the seventh he occupied Monaghan, reinforced the detachment stationed

* Cox vol. 1, p. 406. † Ware's Eliz. c. 38. Cox vol. 1; p. 406.
Moryson, lib. 1, p. 35. ‡ Cox, p. 407. O Sullivan, tom 3, lib. 3, cap. 1.
De Bello Quin. Ann,

there, and then withdrew towards Dnblin, where he arrived on the eighteenth of July.*

Tyrone, on the advance of the British troops to Armagh, withdrew his forces stationed in the neighbourhood of Portmor, (or the Black-Water Fort,) burned the town of Dungannon, set fire to the neighbouring villages and then retired to the obscure recesses of deep woods.†

On the twenty-seventh of October, a truce was entered into by the contending parties, which was to terminate on the first of January. Fruitless efforts were also made to negotiate a peace. But in the interim, Tyrone's son, Con O Nial, and the auxiliary chieftains O Donel and Mac Mahon, surprised and took the castle of Monaghan.‡

O Sullivan gives a curious and circumstantial narrative of a single combat in which Tyrone was personally engaged, in the neighbourhood of that town. The British army, under General Norris, had endeavoured to force a pass at Cluain Tibhir, (the Lawn of the Spring,) at a little distance from Monaghan. Tyrone's troops, separated from their opponents by the confluent waters of surrounding marshes, defended the strait, or shallow through which the English were to pass. Norris, baffled in repeated efforts to beat back his vigilant enemy, rallied his troops and rushed forward at their head to the conflict: but the general's horse, struck with a bullet, fell dead beneath him. His brother Thomas Norris and the commander himself were wounded in the heat of the battle. Meanwhile Sedgrave, a Meathian officer, a man of vast bodily strength and great prowess, galloped impetuously forward at the head of a troop of cavalry, and made good his passage across the ford. O Nial met him in mid career and the spears of the two champions were shivered on their armour. But Sedgrave, with desperate valour, seized his adversary by the neck and

* Cox, vol. 1, p. 407. † Ware's Annals, Eliz. p. 48. Fyne's Moryson, lib. 1 p. 37; ‡ Cox vol. 1, p. 408. Mac Geog. tom. 3, p. 509.

dragged him from his horse. O Nial also firmly grasped his enemy, and the warriors fell struggling to the earth. The earl was undermost, and the contending armies already deemed him slain, when he thrust his dagger into Sedgrave's groin beneath his mail, and killed him in a moment. Norris's troops, dispirited by the issue of this single combat, retired from the conflict in dismay.*

After the lord-deputy's return to Dublin and the termination of the truce, the military affairs of Ulster were committed to the care of General Norris, who, in the year 1596, had stationed a considerable corps at the church of Kiloter.† Tyrone, who viewed with horror the city of Armagh, which he deemed sacred on account of its founder, garrisoned by enemies to the Roman-Catholic faith, determined to make a grand effort to regain that important place. He therefore assailed the British forces with such desperate valour, that he compelled them to retire in confusion. Tyrone pursued them to Armagh, and slew many of Norris's troops in the flight. The English commander, as he passed through the city, left five hundred men under Francis Stafford for its protection, and withdrew to Dundalk.‡

O Nial, master of the field of battle and of the whole adjacent country, took effectual measures to prevent all communication betwixt the town and the English army. Famine and disease soon reduced Stafford's little corps, as well as the inhabitants of Armagh, to a most deplorable situation. Norris, anxious to relieve the garrison, forwarded a quantity of provisions from Dundalk, under an escort of three companies of foot and a squadron of horse. O Nial surprised, defeated and captured the convoy by night, and having stripped the British soldiers of their dress, he equipped an equal number of his own troops in their uniforms. With these men, thus disguised, he marched in the obscurity of the night, to the ruined

* Hist. Cath. tom. 3, lib. 3, cap. 2. See also Pet. Lombard p. 395. et sequentia. Mac Geog. tom. 3. p. 309. † Hist. Cath. tom. 3, lib. 3, cap. 5, ‡ Ibid. Mac Geog. tom. 3, p. 512.

monastery on the eastern side of the city, in whose dark recesses one corps, under Con O Nial, lay in ambush. Tyrone, with the remainder, appeared at dawn of day, in full view of the garrison. Here a sham fight commenced betwixt the troops who wore the British uniform and another body of O Nial's army. The men, on each side fired their guns, which were only charged with powder, and here and there soldiers fell to the ground, as if smitten by the shot of their antagonists. Stafford, deceived by this *ruse de guerre*, sent forth the half of the garrison to the aid of his supposed compatriots. When these men had advanced to the conflict, they were astonished to find themselves assailed by the troops whom they had been so eager to succour, as well as by Tyrone's forces. Con O Nial also sprang forth at the head of his corps, from his ambuscade in the ruined monastery, and attacked them in the rear. The English detachment thus surrounded, was massacred, in the very view of the garrison. Stafford, weakened by this disaster, surrendered the city and was permitted to retire with the residue of his troops to Dundalk.*

Shortly after this period, Tyrone was necessitated, through scarcity of provisions and other causes, to evacuate Armagh, which was again occupied by British troops. Notwithstanding these events, O Nial, in order to amuse the English court, and gain time to mature his plans, solicited a suspension of hostilities, preparatory to a final reconciliation with government. Commissioners were therefore appointed by the queen to treat on the subject, to whom, with much apparent humility and sincerity, he made the most solemn promises of future loyalty to her majesty, if he should be reinstated in her favour, and protected from injury. Various proposals which he made were transmitted to the English ministry, who appointed a second conference to be

* Mac Geog. tom. 3, p. 512, 513. See also O Sullivan, de bello quin, ann. p. 145.

held on the 16th of April, 1597, with intention of accepting his proffered allegiance, and finally terminating the war. But the earl, having gained time to augment his army, and to strengthen his alliances with other Irish chieftains, refused, under various plausible pretexts, to attend the meeting, unless a more distant day should be appointed, for discussing the various subjects included in the proposed treaty.*

About the end of May, 1597, the Lord De Burgh was appointed deputy of Ireland, and Sir John Norris was abruptly ordered to retire to the government of Munster; where secret grief and anxiety of mind so depressed his spirits, that he sank prematurely to the grave. He died in the arms of his beloved brother, Sir Thomas Norris, two months after his departure from Ulster.†

The new deputy, on Tyrone's application, granted him a truce of one month, notwithstanding the failure of the late treaty; and during this cessation of hostilities, the contending parties were busily occupied in augmenting their forces and in maturing their plans of future operations.

On the expiration of the truce, the deputy, attended by the earl of Kildare and other lords of the Pale, marched towards Ulster, having ordered Sir Conyers Clifford to proceed with seventeen hundred men through Connaught, and meet him at Blackwater fort.‡

A considerable part of this scheme was rendered abortive, by the precautionary measures of the wary Tyrone, who detached five hundred infantry troops, to excite the people of Leinster to arise and make a powerful diversion in that quarter. The command was given to Tirrel, a judicious officer, of English origin, but a zealous Ro-

* Moryson lib. 1, p. 46.

† Ibid. p. 48.

Peter Lombard (*De Hib Com.* p. 397.) says that General Norris had received many wounds in the battles which he had fought in Ulster. These, he adds, were ill cured, and became putrid, and to this cause he attributes his death.

‡ Sullivan, p. 146.

man-Catholic, and firmly attached to the Irish. This commander passed rapidly over Meath, and encamped at the barony of Fertullach, to give some repose to his weary troops. Sir Conyers Clifford detached young Barnwell, a son of Lord Trimbleston, against him, with a thousand men, from Mullingar, where his army had collected. Tirrel, aware of their approach, seemed to fly before them, and having gained a defile concealed with trees, (since called Tirrel's-Pass,) he detached the half of his little army under Lieutenant O Connor, a skilful and intrepid soldier, who posted his men in ambuscade, in a hollow ground near the road, over which the British troops were to pass. Barnwell, eager in pursuit of Tirrel, hurried rapidly past his concealed enemies. O Connor's forces immediately sallied forth in his rear, with drums beating and bagpipes sounding aloud. Warned by this signal, Tirrel returned to the conflict, and thus the English, placed betwixt two fires, were at once assailed in front and rear. They defended themselves valiantly, but were completely defeated. Barnwell himself was taken prisoner, and so dreadful was the carnage, that of the private soldiers only one, who escaped through a marsh, survived the conflict. It is said by Mac Geoghgan, that the hand of O Connor (who on that day had exhibited much prowess in the battle,) was so swollen with violent and incessant muscular action, that it could not be removed from the guard of his sabre, until the steel was separated with a file.*

Clifford, whose army was by this defeat diminished to seven hundred men, found himself suddenly surrounded by two thousand insurgents, whom Tirrel's exertions had stimulated to action. He, therefore, retired; and after a march of thirty miles, managed with consummate skill and judgment, regained his quarters.†

Lord De Burgh, not deterred by these untoward events, marched straight forward to the North, where

* Mac Geog, tom. 3, p. 517. O Sullivan, de bello quin, an. p. 147.
† Moryson, lib. 1, p. 50.

every tenable post, except the castles of Newry, Knockfergus, Carlingford, Green-Castle, Armagh, Dundrum, and Olderfleet were in the hands of his enemies. As he advanced to Armagh, he found Tyrone's troops strongly posted at a narrow pass, in the neighbourhood of the city. Trunks of trees, which they had felled, barricadoed the way, and the low boughs of the woods, which the Irish had interlaced with one another, presented a serious obstacle to his further advance. The British commander, however, charged O Nial's troops, sword in hand, drove them from their position, and marched directly through Armagh to the fort of Blackwater, (Portmor) which he assailed, took and garrisoned.*

Pleased with this achievement, the lord-deputy and his troops were occupied in returning thanks to God for their success, when they were suddenly alarmed by the appearance of Tyrone's forces, who issued unexpectedly from the woods where they had lain concealed. The Irish were seen descending a neighbouring hill, and against them Henry earl of Kildare marched, at the head of a body of volunteers. A conflict ensued in which Francis Vaughan, brother to the lord-deputy's wife, R. Turner and two of Kildare's foster-brothers were slain. Sir Thomas Waller and many of the British army were wounded, but Tyrone, after a severe conflict was finally compelled to retire.†

Kildare's foster-brothers had fallen in rescuing the earl from the Irish. He himself did not long survive these affectionate friends, whose zeal and fidelity had endeared them to his heart. He mourned incessantly over their loss, pined away and died lamenting their premature fate.

The lord-deputy having thus secured the forts of Armagh and Blackwater, returned to the Pale. Immediately Tyrone commenced the siege of Portmor which

* Ware. Camden. Cox: † Camden p. 127, 128, Ware's Annals Eliz. cap. 40. Cox vol. 1, p. 413.

he environed round with a very strong force. Informed of this, the Lord Burgh marched rapidly into Ulster, passed through Armagh, compelled O Nial to raise the siege; and then crossed the river, with intention of proceeding to Dungannon, Tyrone's chief seat. Here, however, he fell sick, and having been thus rendered unfit for active service, he returned towards Dublin, but died on the way.*

The death of the deputy and the issue of the battle are related, in a very different manner, by Irish historians. These writers state that after Lord Burgh had passed the Blackwater, his further progress was stopped by Tyrone. This commander had placed a body of troops under his brothers Cormac and Art O Nial, at Druim-Fluich, (the Moist Hill,) on the road to Bean-Borb, (now called Benburb,†) along the left bank of the river. A second division of his army was commanded by himself in person, at Tibhir-Masain, where he was aided by James Mac Donel, chief of the Glinnes. Through these forces, the lord-deputy endeavoured to cut his way, sword in hand. Tyrone's two corps formed an immediate union, and in the very commencement of the engagement, the Lord Burgh was mortally wounded. He was removed from the field of battle and conveyed to Newry, where he died in anguish. The conflict was now maintained by the English under the count of Kildare, who assumed the command, after the lord-deputy had retired. He, also, in the course of the battle, was wounded and fell from his horse, and his two foster-brothers were killed in endeavouring to remount him. A dreadful carnage ensued. Many of the English were slain in the field of battle, and numbers perished in the river. Kildare escaped from the fight, but died in a few days, from his wounds. Here also fell Francis Vaughan, Thomas Walen and Turner.‡

* Camden. Ware. Cox. Leland. Moryson vol. 1, p. 51. † *Beinn-Boirb* signifies "The Hill-Brow." ‡ O Sullivan, de bello quin. an. p. 147, Peter Lombard, 398 399, 400. Mac Geog. tom 3, p. 518.

On the death of Burgh, the government was, for a short time, vested in Sir Thomas Norris, but soon afterwards transferred to Archbishop Loftus and chief-justice Sir Robert Gardiner, whilst the earl of Ormond was appointed lord-lieutenant of the army.*

Tyrone, having now obtained certain intelligence that the British government was collecting a considerable force, to assail him in his strong holds, made application to the earl of Ormond, who, at his urgent request, obtained a commission from Elizabeth to treat with the Ulster chief. A cessation of hostilities was agreed upon for two months, and O Nial engaged to furnish the fort of Blackwater with forty beeves, and allow the garrison free liberty of forage. He seems to have been inclined to fulfil this engagement honourably, but the commander of Portmor absurdly refused the cattle, though fairly tendered by Tyrone.

After considerable deliberation, Queen Elizabeth granted O Nial a free pardon, on his own terms, on the eleventh of April, 1598. But the earl, having received intelligence that a Spanish force would soon arrive to his assistance, disdained to plead this pardon and recommenced hostilities. He had already, at the end of the truce, assailed Portmor fort by scalado, but the garrison precipitated his soldiers headlong to the earth, as they were vainly toiling to ascend the mound; and forced them to retire. Tyrone therefore changed the siege into a regular blockade.† The garrison, animated by their commander Captain Thomas Williams, kept possession of the place, though they were necessitated, after having eaten their horses, to live on the herbs growing in the ditches and on the walls which enclosed the fort.‡

Determined also to cut off all supply of provisions from the garrison at Armagh, Tyrone formed an encampment at Mullach-ban, (Whitehill-Summit,) and des-

* Moryson, lib. 1, p. 51.
p. 150, † Moryson, p. 58.

† Ibid, p. 58. O Sullivan, de bello quia,

patched his brother Cormac with five hundred men to block up the avenues to the town.*

In August, 1598, Field Marshal Sir Henry Bagnall was despatched to quell the insurrection in Ulster. This commander marched from Newry to relieve the fort of Armagh. Con, an illegitimate son of the earl of Tyrone, displeased with his father, had deserted to the English, and from him the marshal learned an unfrequented road, by which a large corps of his troops evaded Tyrone's army altogether, arrived safe at Armagh and revictualled the garrison, in despite of the efforts of Cormac O Nial, who valiantly disputed their passage. Thus encouraged, Bagnall proceeded by night, under the guidance of the deserter Con, to Tyrone's encampment, where he surprised and slew the earl's advanced guard. But the spurious O Nial who, though he was offended with his father, did not wish to be instrumental to his death, led the British commander to a tent in which Terence O Hanlon, an ally of Tyrone, lay, as Con imagined, in deep sleep. He was mistaken, for the earl himself reposed in this quarter of the camp. The soldiers burst impetuously into the tent, but O Nial, roused from his slumbers, escaped precipitately in his shirt. At break of day he re-collected his troops and compelled the English to retire.†

In the month of August, Bagnall, at the head of a well-appointed army of four thousand five hundred foot, and four hundred horse, composed of veteran British troops and of Irish auxiliaries, prepared to relieve Portmor.‡ To oppose this formidable force, Tyrone had formed a junction with "the O Donnel," chief dynast of Tirconnel, "the Mac Guire," of Fermanagh, and "the Mac William," who commanded a body of Connecian troops. Their joint forces formed an efficient corps of four thousand five hundred foot and six hundred horse. O Nial and his antagonist entertained a deadly

* O Sullivan, *ut supra*, p. 148, 149. Mac Geog. tom, 3, 521. † O Sullivan, *de bello quind. an.*, fol. 149. ‡ Ibid. fol. 152.

antipathy to each other, and they had communicated the same rancorous spirit of hatred and of revenge to their respective armies. But the Irish were animated to deeds of valour by motives peculiar to themselves. An ancient prophecy, in which they placed implicit confidence, had promised them the victory and had menaced their "heretical enemies" with total ruin. Hence they felt that particular species of confidence in their own prowess, which at once anticipates and ensures success.

Bagnall marched from Armagh, just before sunrise. His spear-men were divided into three corps. The wings consisting of musketeers and cavalry followed, at a little distance; and the air, pure and serene, resounded with the clangor of trumpets and drums, and with the shrill tones of the fife (*tibia*). The army passed unmolested over a level and open tract of ground. About seven o'clock, they entered a narrow pass where trees and thickets were thinly scattered over the surface of the land. Here O Nial had advantageously stationed five hundred active and lightly armed youths, who, protected by the trees,* poured in volleys of shot upon the British troops. In this desultory warfare, Bagnall's army experienced considerable loss, yet he succeeded in forcing his way, till he arrived at a large plain, which extended even to Tyrone's camp. But at the very entrance into the plain, the wily Irish chieftain had dug pitfalls and trenches, which he had carefully covered with a network of wattles, whose surface was strewn over with herbage. Many of the British cuirassiers, fearless of danger, and galloping precipitately into these invisible fosses were desperately bruised or maimed. Undaunted by the success of this stratagem, Bagnall, at the head of his troops, pushed right forward into the open plain. Here a desperate but desultory conflict, took place betwixt the British cuirassiers and Tyrone's light-armed troops. The cuirassiers, furnished with

* ♀ Sullivan says they were juniper trees. A curious circumstance, if it be not a mistake.

spears, six cubits in length, which rested on the right thigh, made ponderous charges, when they were able to assail the foe hand to hand. Tyrone's light troops were armed with even longer spears, which they grasped in the middle with their hands, whilst the weapons rested on their right shoulders. These they used with advantage, when a favourable opportunity occurred. Bagnall was repeatedly arrested in his progress, by these men, and was necessitated to fight his way with toilsome perseverance, till he arrived, about eleven o'clock, at a short distance from Tyrone's camp, within about three miles of Armagh. Here the plain was skirted, on one side, by a marsh, on the other by a moor and a wood, and thus narrowed to a strait. Across this strait, O Nial had thrown up a rampart of four feet high, and had sunk a fosse of considerable depth. The ground, in front of the mound was moist with turbid waters, which flowed from the marshes, and hence the place was called *Beal na ath Buidhe*, "the mouth of the yellow ford."*

The British commander made the most desperate and persevering efforts, to surmount these obstacles, whilst O Nial's troops defended the pass with the most determined valour. In the very tempest of the fight, a quantity of gunpowder was ignited in the English ranks, through the rashness and unskilfulness of a gunner. Many of the troops were blown into the air, and many thrown into utter confusion by its sudden and awful explosion. But Bagnall having restored order and assailed O Nial's troops, with a heavy cannonade, succeeded, after various efforts, in levelling a part of the rampart, and in beating back its defenders. Instantly two strong corps burst into the level ground, one of which attacked the right wing of the Irish army commanded by O Nial, whilst the other charged the left under O Donnel. Bagnall himself led forward a third division as a *corps de reserve*. Meanwhile, the Irish light-

* O Sullivan (page 154) calls it *Beal-antha-Bui*,

armed troops, who had been driven back by the cannon, returned to the conflict, when they saw the two armies commixed in fight, and engaged horse to horse—man to man. And now, Marshal Bagnall, who already deemed the victory his own, raised his beaver that he might have a fuller view of the field of battle, and be enabled to give the necessary orders with better effect. At this instant he was smitten by a musket ball and fell dead to the earth. Astounded by this unexpected event, his division fell into utter confusion, and though the two other corps fought with valour, the British army was finally and totally defeated. In their rout, many of the conquered troops tumbled headlong into the fosse and were trodden to death by the fugitive cavalry.*

Mælmorra O Reily, a valiant Irish chieftain, and Bagnall's auxiliary, made repeated efforts to rally the flying troops, and was at last slain in endeavouring to cover their retreat. Fynes Moryson and Camden state that there fell with the marshal, thirteen valiant captains and fifteen hundred common soldiers, many of whom had served in Brittany, under General Norris. But O Sullivan, their contemporary writer, asserts that two thousand five hundred of the queen's soldiers, twenty-three superior officers and a number of lieutenants, ensigns and sergeants were slain in the fight. Thirty-four military standards, twelve thousand pieces of gold, all the musical instruments, artillery and provisions were captured by the victors. Of Tyrone's troops two hundred were slain and six hundred wounded.†

The British commander, Montagu, fled with the cavalry and the survivors of the infantry to Armagh, and took refuge in the churches of that city. He, however, withdrew in confusion from that station, during the

* O Sullivan, de bell. quin. ann. folio 154, 155. See also Baker's Chron. p. 381. Peter Lombard. Camden, ut supra, p. 129. Fynes Moryson, vol. 1, p. 59. Ware's Annals, Eliz. cap. 41. Cox, vol. 1, p. 414, 415. Mac Geog. tom. 3, p. 522. Leland. † O Sullivan, ut supra, folio 156. Pet Lombard, p. 405.

night, closely pursued by Terence O Hanlon, at the head of O Nial's horse.* Meanwhile the victorious Tyrone, master of the field of fight, prepared, with a generous solicitude, to inhume the slain.†

* Camden says that the British soldiers were put to such "shameful flight that they were disparkled all over the fields and cut to pieces." One of these wanderers, an English officer, named Romly, was taken on the day after the battle, smoking a pipe of tobacco, near the high way and killed.—*O Sullivan, ut supra.*—A curious amusement at such a time and in such a place.

† Irish Annals, citante Curry, vol. 1, p. 25.

Before we close this chapter, it may be useful to remark that the ruins of the ancient abbey mentioned in page 279, were very extensive in the sixteenth century. About the year 1765, materials with which some houses were then built were drawn from one of its walls; but the great mass of the building had been removed for various purposes long before that period. Yet the east side of the rampart and fosse with which it had been surrounded still remained. About the year 1769, these were levelled by Primate Robinson, who trenched a field to the north of the present ruins, and from the colour of the ground, and the mortar and stones found beneath its surface, the form of the edifice, comprising about two English acres, could be distinctly traced, on that side. How far it may have extended in any other direction, has not been ascertained.

The word Benburb, of which we have given a derivation in page 283, may, with some probability, be deduced from *Borb* "fierce," and *Bean* "a horn," as if it were styled "The Horn of Defiance"—and the *Fuath na Gail* of Shane O Nial, (page 255,) does not merely signify the "Abomination," but the "Scarecrow or Terror of the Strangers." *O Sullivan* (page 147) styles Benburb, "*Beaun-Bhoruib, Pinna superba.*"

CHAPTER XVII.

From the death of Marshal Bagnall till the flight of Hugh Earl of Tyrone.

THE decisive victory gained over Bagnall, was instantaneously followed by the surrender of Portmor and Armagh. The insurrection in Ulster was soon more widely extended; all Connaught rose in arms; the malecontents of Leinster burst into the English pale; whilst Tyrrel and Owny Mac Rory O More traversed Munster, with some thousand troops.* Here the English colonists were driven from their settlements and their houses consumed with fire. Many of the men were slaughtered without mercy, and the women were subjected to the gross and savage brutality of the victorious party.†

Tyrone, who was every where hailed as the champion of Ireland, received, from Spain, supplies of men and money, with assurance of effectual military aid. The Pope also transmitted to him, by the Spanish envoys, Don Martin de la Cerva and Don Matthæo Oyiedo, titular archbishop of Dublin, a number of indulgences and a hallowed plume, said to have been formed from the feathers of a phœnix.‡

Meanwhile Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, who was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, had landed at Dublin on the fifteenth of April, 1599.§ This courtier, who neither in natural talents, nor in political experience and military skill, was at all able to cope with Tyrone, was, in every instance, duped and baffled by his wily antagonist, whose reputation rose, in proportion as that of the British earl sank, in public estimation. The command, therefore, was withdrawn from Devereux and committed to the abler management of Charles Blunt, Lord Mount-

* Moryson, vol. 1, p. 59, 60, 61. † Cox, vol. 1, p. 415. Ware's Ann Elizabeth, c. 41. ‡ Moryson, vol. 1, p. 102. Ware's Annals, Eliz. c. 42 Camden ut supra, p. 133. § Ware, cap. 42.

joy, who landed at Howth, on the twenty-fourth of February, 1600.*

The new deputy was a man of studious habits, refined manners and capacious intellect. Versed in theology, mathematics, history, cosmography and natural philosophy, and delighting in rural amusements and domestic enjoyments, he was viewed by those who were unacquainted with the treasures of his mind and the versatility of his talents, as a mere scholar, unfit for active enterprise and warlike exploits. Hence he was prematurely characterized by Tyrone, as "a commander who would lose the season of action, whilst his breakfast was preparing." Yet Mountjoy was prudent in counsel, prompt in act, cautious and secret in maturing his plans, but bold and decisive in their execution.†

The deputy soon determined to commence hostilities against the northern Irish, with a flying army fit for rapid marches and desultory warfare. In order, therefore, that his troops might have secure resting places, he stationed at Dundalk, one hundred horse and six hundred and fifty foot; in Ardee, fifty horse and seven hundred foot; in Kells, fifty horse and four hundred foot; in Newry, fifty horse and a thousand foot, and in Carlingford, one hundred foot. He also placed a garrison at Lough-Foyle, and formed a plan for fortifying and securing Derry.‡ These active precautionary measures terrified many of O Nial's allies, who made immediate submission to the lord lieutenant. Amongst these were Turlogh Mac Henry, chieftain of the Fews, Ever Mac Cooly of the Ferny, O Hanlon, regal standard-bearer of Ulster, Phelim Mac Pheagh, chief of the O Beirnes, and Donald Spaniagh of the Cavanaghs, &c.§

On the fifth of May, 1600, Mountjoy marched towards Ulster, passed the Moyry on Whitsunday morning, and came to Newry.|| Here he received information that

* Ware ut supra. Camden ut supra. Moryson p. 103. † Moryson, vol. 1, p. 107, et sequentia. ‡ Cox, p. 423: Moryson, vol. 1, p. 141. § Ware's *Annals* Eliz. c. 43. Moryson vol. 1, p. 227. || Moryson vol. 1, p. 150.

Tyrone had razed Blackwater fort, set fire to Armagh, and then retired into the fastnesses of Lough Lurkin, where he made intrenchments and fortifications three miles in length. On the fifteenth of May, the deputy marched towards Armagh, with one thousand five hundred foot and two hundred horse. On the way he learned that the earl of Southampton and Sir Oliver Lambert were in advance towards him, with recruits. He halted, therefore, and on the seventeenth he sent Captain Blaney with five hundred foot and fifty horse to conduct them to the army. This corps formed a junction with the earl of Southampton's troops at Foghard, and they proceeded together towards Newry. At the pass of Moyry, Tyrone, who had gained intelligence of their movements assailed them with twelve hundred foot and two hundred and twenty horse. Mountjoy who had penetrated O Nial's design, arrived to their relief at the critical moment, and repulsed the Irish with considerable loss.*

On the fourteenth of September, the deputy (who in the interim had returned to Dublin,) made another incursion into Ulster, and on the fifteenth encamped at Foghard, three miles beyond Dundalk,† where he mustered his army, amounting to two thousand four hundred foot and three hundred horse.‡ Inclement weather prevented his advance till the ninth of October.§ Meantime O Nial, with his usual activity, had seized upon the Moyry pass, which he had secured with strong fences, and wooden stakes pitched,|| and driven firmly into the ground. These were connected with hurdles and stones in the midst. Mounds of earth were thrown across the hills, woods and bogs, and the whole pass was powerfully manned with soldiers.

As soon as the rains had subsided and the rivers had retired within their banks, Mountjoy attacked Tyrone

* Cox, vol. 1, p. 424. Moryson, p. 151, 152. † Moryson, p. 185.
 ‡ Cox, p. 428. § Moryson, p. 185. || Camden, p. 134.

in his intrenchments, and drove him, sword in hand, from this important and difficult pass. The deputy now proceeded unmolested to Dundalk, prostrating the woods and opening the country as he advanced. Having here refreshed his troops, he marched on to Newry, where he remained till the second of November. On that day, he proceeded eight miles on the Armagh road, and having learned that Tyrone had wasted the country round that city, and thus rendered it impracticable, for a time, to maintain it as a military post, he halted and determined to build a fort on the spot which he then occupied. This fort he called Mount-Norris, in honour of General Sir John Norris, under whom he had attained the first rudiments of the art of war.* Whilst he proceeded in this undertaking, Tyrone, day after day, endeavoured to interrupt his progress, but was baffled in every attempt. The fort was finally completed, garrisoned with four hundred men and placed under the command of Captain Blaney. A reward of two thousand pounds was now offered, by proclamation, to any man who should bring in Tyrone alive; and one thousand pounds to any who should surrender him dead; after which the English returned to Newry, from whence they proceeded by the pass at Faddem to Carlingford. Here they were attacked by the indefatigable O Nial, who was eventually routed, if we may credit the English writers, with a loss of two hundred men. Peter Lombard however and Mac Geoghegan assert that he was completely victorious, and that the deputy was severely wounded in the battle.† It is certain that in the course of the conflict, Sir Henry Danvers was wounded in the thigh, Captains Hansard and Trevor were also severely hurt, and Sir Garret More's ensign, with Hugh O Hanlon, and the lord-deputy's secretary, George Cranmer, were killed. Lord

* Camden. Cox. Moryson, lib. 1, p. 186, et lib. 3, p. 138.

O Sullivan informs us that Sir John Norris had himself begun to build a fort there, but Tyrone destroyed the work.

† Moryson, p. 188 et sequentia. Cox, 429. Camden p. 134. Mac Geog. tom. 3, p. 560. Peter Lombard, p. 449.

Mountjoy, after this battle, retired into the Pale and withdrew to Dublin.*

During these transactions, Armagh and Portmor forts continued in Tyrone's possession; but on the twenty-second of May, 1601, Mountjoy left Dublin with intention of recovering those posts and firmly establishing the English power in Ulster. On the twenty-fifth he entered Dundalk, and on the eighth of June, he came to the Moyry pass, and built a fort there at Three mile Water. On the fourteenth he passed through Newry.† After this he entered Evaugh, Magennis's territory, and having taken Down‡ and performed various other exploits, encamped near Newry on the twenty-first. Sir Henry Danvers was then despatched to seize the abbey and city of Armagh, which his lordship intended to garrison. In this attempt he completely failed, and was necessitated to return to Mount-Norris, where he was met by Mountjoy, on the twenty-second of June.§ The united British force now marched, on the same day, passing Armagh at one side, without entering the city, to the river Blackwater, where the deputy minutely examined various positions in its neighbourhood, and particularly the strait where Bagnal had been defeated. Having thus reconnoitred the country, he directed his march to Armagh, which the Irish garrison, alarmed by the approach of his army, had already abandoned. Here he left one hundred horse and seven hundred and fifty foot, under Sir Henry Danvers. On the same night he returned to Mount-Norris, and on the twenty-fourth encamped at Dunanury, within two miles of Newry.||

On the twenty-eighth of June, Danvers, at the head of the garrison of Armagh, scoured a considerable portion of the adjacent country, wasted the lands of Brian Mac Art, killed a number of his men, seized his horses and destroyed his baggage. From the chieftain Magenis, he took three hundred cows and compelled him,

* Moryson lib. 1, p. 192, 194. † Ibid. lib. 2, p. 242, 244. ‡ Ibid. p. 255.
§ Ibid. p. 256, 257. | Cox:

as well as Rory Oge Magenis and Patrick Mac Mahon, to make their submissions.* Shortly after this, the same active officer made a sudden predatory incursion into Tyrone's camp, from which he took some horses, and then rapidly scoured and spoiled Mac Carty's country.†

The deputy, on the ninth of July, marched from Dundalk to Latenbur, beyond Newry;‡ on the twelfth, he passed through Armagh and encamped within two miles of the city. On the thirteenth, he advanced to the vicinity of the Blackwater; on whose opposite bank Tyrone's army appeared, but on the discharge of two small pieces of artillery retired into the woods. Three hundred of the English passed the river on the fourteenth, and with the loss of twenty-two men, drove the Irish from their intrenchments.

Mountjoy, having, on the fifteenth, in person reconnoitred the woods and fastnesses, despatched, on the succeeding day, Sir Christopher Lawrence's regiment to Benburb, where was the ancient residence of Shane O Nial, environed round with woods. Here a considerable Irish force had assembled, and a sharp conflict of three hours duration ensued. The battle was fought in view of the deputy's camp, from whence reinforcements were detached to the English, as occasion required. Tyrone's troops were finally defeated with the loss of two hundred men. On the side of the British, two Englishmen and twenty-six kernes were slain and seventy-five wounded.§

Mountjoy, who had already got possession of the ruins of Portmor, began on the seventeenth and eighteenth to build a new fort, not far from the site of the old one. On the twenty-third, Captain Williams and his company were left to garrison it, and the deputy caused public proclamation to be made "that the queen would not ex-

* Cox. Ware.
2, p. 261.
Ware,

† Moryson, lib. 2, p. 260.
§ Moryson, l. 2, c. 1, p. 264.

Cox. ‡ Moryson, lib.
Cox vol. 1, p. 438, 439.

tend mercy to Tyrone, and that therefore he again offered two thousand pounds to any person who should surrender him alive, and one thousand pounds to any who should bring him the earl's head.*

The deputy began now on the thirtieth of July to cut the woods and clear the passes in the neighbourhood of the Blackwater river, and particularly of the new fort. On the first of August, whilst his men were thus employed, some of Tyrone's troops made such a prodigious alarm, that the English horses broke their headstalls in terror, and galloped off, some to Armagh and some to Newry; the troopers however recovered them all†.

On the second of August, Mountjoy returned to Armagh, and from thence marched to Ralawtany, having despatched Sir Henry Danvers with two hundred foot and forty horse to burn about twenty houses. This he effected, but on his return, was attacked by O Nial's army. Succour arrived opportunely from the camp, and he was thus enabled to make good his retreat. Tyrone, however pursued him even to the camp, into which he discharged a volley of shot and then escaped through the woods.‡

On the fourth of August, the deputy marched with some companies northward of Armagh, in order to fell the woods and lay open the country, for military operations. In this he persevered uninterruptedly during the whole day, but when his troops had returned in the evening to their station, Tyrone's forces appeared in an adjacent meadow and with loud cries, and the sound of drums and bagpipes, poured two or three thousand shots into his camp. The deputy who had been informed of their movements, had placed four hundred men in ambush, and these saluted the Irish, from their concealed station, with an unexpected volley. Many of Tyrone's most active men were slain; amongst whom fell Pierce Lacy of the Brough, in the county of Limerick, a zealous

* Cox, vol. 1, p. 439.

† Moryson, lib. 2, p. 270.

Ware.

‡ Ibid.

Fynes Moryson, lib. 2 p. 265, 266.

lous Catholic and one of the most alert of the Munster chieftains. The rest fled in confusion.*

Reinforced by Sir John Barkley's regiment, from Annaly, the deputy spent two days more in clearing the passes, and on the seventh marched to Mount-Norris,† where he remained till the fourteenth, when he revictualled the forts of Armagh and Blackwater, and on the twenty-fourth he withdrew to Newry, having placed the following forces in garrison :—

	Foot.	Horse.	
At Carrickfergus	850	125	Sir Arthur Chichester.
Lecale -	300		Sir Richard Moryson.
Newry - -	450	50	Sir Francis Stafford.
Mount-Norris	600	50	Sir Samuel Bagnall.
Armagh -	800	125	Sir Henry Danvers.
Blackwater	350		Captain Williams.‡

On the twenty-third of September, 1601,§ a body of Spanish troops landed at Kinsale, as allies to Tyrone and the other Irish chieftains.¶ The deputy therefore deemed it necessary to collect and concentrate his forces. Sir Henry Danvers was, on this account, despatched for the garrison of Armagh, and Sir John Barkley for that of Navan.¶ No advantage seems to have been derived, by Tyrone, from the subduction of these garrisons. His whole mind and energies were put forth in aid of his Spanish allies, but the issue of their enterprise was unfavourable to his cause, and terminated in the rout of his army and the surrender of the Spaniards. For the detail of these events, which, though highly interesting, is rather foreign to our present subject, we must refer our readers to the “*Pacata Hibernia*” and the various historians who have written minutely and explicitly on the subject.

* Moryson, lib. 2, p. 272 Ware. Cox. † Fynes Moryson, p. 272.
‡ Cox vol. 1, p. 440. § Camden. Moryson, vol. 1, p. 310. ¶ Camden.
¶ Cox, vol. 1, p. 443.

In the beginning of June, 1602, the lord-deputy marched through Dundalk and Armagh, and proceeded to the passage over the Blackwater river, five miles eastward of the fort.* Sir Richard Moryson's regiment was sent to the north side of the river, over which Mountjoy built a bridge, and erected a castle, which he fortified and called Charlemont,† after his own Christian name. Here he planted a garrison of one hundred and fifty men, under Captain Toby Caulfeild.‡ Sir Richard Moryson then marched forward to take possession of Dungannon, which, with Tyrone's mansion-house in that town, was plainly discerned from the camp, on fire.§ The deputy, at the head of the rest of the army, followed immediately to Dungannon, where the whole force was reunited. Thus Tyrone was expelled by the cease-

* Moryson lib. 3, p. 149, 150.

† Camden p. 138.

‡ Captain Toby Caulfeild was descended from an illustrious and ancient family which had been settled in Oxfordshire, many centuries before the reign of Elizabeth. In his youth he had served under Sir Martin Frobisher and had performed many remarkable exploits in the Low-Countries and in Spain. For his services in Ireland he was knighted by King James, called to the privy council, and made governor of the fort of Charlemont. He had large grants of lands and employments, and in 1613 represented the county of Armagh in parliament. On December 22, 1620, he was created baron of Charlemont, subsequently refused an earldom and died unmarried on August 17th, 1627. He was succeeded by his nephew, Sir William Caulfeild, who died in 1640. His son Toby Caulfeild, third baron of Charlemont, was surprised and taken in the year 1641, by Sir Phelim O Neil, and afterwards put to death by his order. This nobleman was succeeded by his brother Robert, who died prematurely in consequence of having taken too large a prescription of opium. His brother William, the fifth Lord Charlemont, was created Viscount Charlemont, October 8, 1665, and died in April, 1671. His son and successor, William Caulfeild, the second Viscount Charlemont, served in Spain, under the earl of Peterborough, signalized himself particularly at Barcelona, and died July 21, 1726, being then the oldest nobleman in his majesty's dominions. He was succeeded by his son James Caulfeild, who died April 21, 1744. His son and successor, the illustrious patriot and truly learned James Caulfeild, was born in 1728, created Earl of Charlemont, December 23, 1763, appointed Knight of St. Patrick, in 1783, and chosen president of the Royal Irish academy in 1785. As every thing relating to the Earl of Charlemont is interesting to the Irish nation, it is with pleasure we mention that he declined to have his own merits recorded in the preamble to the patent for the earldom, chusing rather to refer to those of the first peer of his family. A remarkable instance this of singular modesty, as well as of reverential respect to the memory of a collateral ancestor.—*Hardy's Life of Lord Charlemont*, p. 200. He died August 4, 1799, and was succeeded by his eldest son Francis-William Caulfeild, present earl of Charlemont.—*British Peerage*, vol. 4, p. 80, edit. London, 1817:

§ Moryson, vol. 2, p. 150.

less activity of this vigilant commander, from his headquarters, the very centre and focus of his power.

In the midst of these tumultuous scenes, the deputy not only found time to complete the fort of Charlemont, but actually built and garrisoned another, on the banks of Lough Neagh, which he denominated Mountjoy, from his own title.* At Augher, also, after some time, he placed an active and formidable corps, and was thus enabled to harrass his enemy in every direction.†

After the building of Mountjoy fort, orders were given to Sir Henry Dockwra, who had planted many garrisons about Lough-Foyle and one of considerable force at Omagh, to proceed against O Nial's troops by the way of Dungiven, whilst Sir Arthur Chichester with the Carrickfergus garrison and Moryson's regiment was to annoy them, *via* Toome, and the deputy himself to march against them by Killeetro, which was situated on the borders of Tyrone's country.‡

These operations were to have been carried into effect, on the termination of twenty days. In the interim, however, Mountjoy marched on the nineteenth of July, to Monaghan, where he left a body of troops under Sir Christopher Lawrence and Captain Esmond,. Having wasted the whole of the adjacent country, he stationed Connor Roe Maguire on the borders of Fermanagh, in the house of Mac Mahon, chief dynast of Monaghan, and then retired to Newry. On this Maguire, Queen Elizabeth had conferred the chieftdom of Fermanagh, and thus secured him in her interest.§

Tyrone unable to resist the growing power of his enemies, had sought a temporary refuge in Castle-Roe, on the Bann,|| from whence, notwithstanding the perils which environed him, he escaped with a small body of infantry and sixty horse, to a difficult post, named

* Camden, p. 138. Fynes Moryson, vol. 2, p. 151. † Moryson, vol 2, p. 170—208. ‡ Ibid, p. 164. Cox, vol. 1, p. 447. § Moryson, vol. 2. p. 170. Cox. Camden, || Moryson, vol, 2, p. 150.

Gleann-cin-cein, (the remote head of the Glen,) near Lough-Erne, where he strongly intrenched his little army.*

On the tenth of August, Sir Arthur Chichester marched from Massarene, and Sir Henry Dauvers from Newry, whose joint forces attacked and took the strong fort of Ennishlaghlin, situated in the centre of a deep bog and only accessible through thick and almost impervious woods.† This fort had been encompassed with ditches, strong palisadoes, ramparts of earth, and formidable timber bulwarks. Here the captors found a considerable quantity of plate and other highly valuable articles belonging to O Nial. His principal magazine had been already taken in Magherlowny, in a predatory excursion of the English, who, in the month of June, had wasted the country as far as Enniskillen.‡

On the nineteenth of August, the garrison of Ennishlaghlen were brought prisoners to Newry, from whence the deputy himself marched on the twentieth, and encamped midway betwixt that town and Armagh.§ Afterwards he crossed the Blackwater by the bridge near Mountjoy, and placed a body of troops at Dungannon. He spent some time at Tulloghoge, the chief residence of the ancient Clan O Hædhagain, (or O Hagan,) and here he broke in pieces the stone chair of state|| in which, from remote antiquity, the sovereigns of Ulster had been successively inaugurated into the regal title and authority of the O Nial.¶ During his residence in this quarter, his troops miserably wasted the adjacent country in every direction; so that many of the native chieftains were necessitated to renounce their connexion with O Nial, and submit to the British government.**

* Hist. Cath. p. 181. Mac Geog. tom. 3, p. 592. Moryson, vol. 2, p. 198. Cox, vol. 1, p. 447. Ware cap. 45. † Moryson, vol. 2, p. 184, 190. ‡ Cox vol. 1, p. 447. § Moryson, vol. 2 p. 192. || Appendix, No. XX. ¶ Moryson, vol. 2, p. 197. Cox, vol. 1, p. 447.

Several stones, said to have been fragments of this royal chair, were in the glebe land belonging to the Rev. James Lowry, rector of Desert-Creagh, about the year; 1768. The present incumbent is the Rev. John Buck, D. D. late a fellow of Trinity College, Dublin.

•• Moryson ut supra. Cox.

In every quarter of the kingdom, Mountjoy carried on the war with the same persevering activity and unvaried success. He harassed his Irish opponents by day and by night, sowed dissensions amongst their chieftains and sought, by every means in his power, to reduce them to obedience. Ravaged by his troops, the country was totally inadequate to support its wretched inhabitants. Multitudes of the Irish, hunted from hill to hill, perished by famine, and lay, horrid spectacle! unburied in the fields and in the open highways. The following quotation from Fynes Moryson, who was himself an actor in this tremendous scene of misery and blood, will convey to the imagination of our readers, a lively and affecting image of the almost unexampled calamity with which this unhappy country was then afflicted.

"Now," says that writer, "because I have often made mention of our destroying the rebels' corn and using all means to famish them, let me by two or three examples shew the miserable estate to which the rebels were thereby brought.

"Sir Arthur Chichester, Sir Richard Moryson (his brother) and the other commanders of the forces sent against Brian Mac Art aforesaid, in their return homeward, saw a most horrible spectacle of three children, (the eldest not above ten years old,) all eating and gnawing, with their teeth, the entrails of their dead mother, on whose flesh they had fed twenty days past, and having eaten all from the feet upward, to the bare bones, roasting it continually by a slow fire, were now come to the eating of her entrails, &c."*

And again after narrating that the peasants were driven to eat horseflesh, kites, &c. he adds, "Captain Trevor and many honest gentlemen lying in the Newry, can witness, that some old women of those parts used to make a fire in the fields, and divers little children, driving out the cattle in the cold mornings and coming thither to

* Fynes Moryson, vol. 2, p. 282, 283.

warm them, were by them surprised, killed and eaten." The childrens' skulls and bones, he adds, were found and some women were convicted and executed for the crime.*

Again, he states (*page 284*) that it was a common practice "to thrust long needles into the horses of our English troops, and they dying thereupon, to be ready to tear out one anothers throats for a share of them; and no spectacle was more frequent in the ditches of towns and especially in wasted countries, than to see multitudes of these poor people dead with their mouths all coloured green by eating nettles, docks and all things they could rend up above ground."

Again Moryson states "that from O Kane's country, northward of Tyrone, we have left none to give us opposition, nor of late have seen any but dead carcasses, merely starved for want of meat."†

And again, he says, "that O Hagan protested unto us that between Tullaghoge and Toome, there lay unburied a thousand dead and since our first drawing this year to Blackwater, there were above three thousand starved in Tyrone, and sure the poor people of those parts never yet had the means to know God, or to acknowledge any other sovereign than the O Neals, which makes me commiserate them and hope better of them hereafter."‡

Moryson cannot be suspected of exaggeration in the portraiture of human misery which he has thus depicted in such lively colours. Spenser, the English poet, speaking of the war which had depopulated Munster, writes thus:—

"Ere one year and a half, they were brought to such wretchedness, as that any stony heart would have rued the same. Out of every corner of the woods and glynnes, they came creeping forth upon their hands, for their legges could not bear them. They looked llke anatomies

* Fynes Moryson, vol. 2, p. 283.

† Ibid. p. 172.

‡ Ibid. p. 200.

of death—they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves. They did eate the deade carrions—happy where they could find them ; yea, and one another soon after, insomuch as the very carcasses they spared not to scrape out of their graves ; and if they found a plot of water-cresses, or shamrocks, there they flocked, as to a feast, for the time, yet not able to continue long therewithal, that in short space, there were none almost left and a most populous and plentiful country suddenly left void of man and beast.” &c.*

O Nial, deserted by his adherents, and destitute of resources, began now to think seriously of throwing himself on the mercy of the British government. His country was a wilderness, the remnant of his people was dispirited by misfortune and miserably afflicted with famine. To add to his complicated distress, the sons of John O Nial, the genuine dynast of Ulster, had escaped from prison and cast themselves at the feet of the lord-deputy. Sir Arthur O Nial, son to Turloch Lynnogh O Nial, had also solicited the protection of the British government. Rory O Donnel, the *de facto* chieftain of Tirconnel and Neal Garuff O Donnell† had in like manner submitted to its authority. Thus forlorn, deserted and distressed, Tyrone made overtures of accommodation, which the queen was at first determined to reject. She, however, at last directed Mountjoy to assure him of life and liberty, and to grant him a full pardon, by the title of baron of Dungannon, or some other honorary appellation. At the period of this negotiation, Elizabeth laboured under an incurable disease, the malady of the mind. Mountjoy, soon afterwards, received private information that she was dead, Alarmed at this event, and dreading the unknown consequences that might eventually result, he resolved instantly to bring the treaty with Tyrone to a final conclusion. He had indeed previously despatched Sir William Godolphin and Sir Garret Moore whom he appointed commissioners

* Spenser's Works, vol. 8, p. 43, Edit. London 1805.
supra, p. 231, 232.

† Moryson, ut

to O Nial, with a protection for his safe conduct, dated Tredagh, (Drogheda,) twenty-fourth March, 1602—3.*

These commissioners, on the twenty-sixth of March, sent one Bath from Armagh to the earl, to settle the preliminaries of their meeting.† On the twenty-seventh, Sir Garret Moore rode to Tulloghoge and conversed with Tyrone, and on the twenty-ninth, Sir William Godolphin shewed him the lord-deputy's safeguard. Relying on this, Tyrone, on the thirtieth of March, surrendered himself at Mellifont, on his knees, to Mountjoy, and on the succeeding day made a most humble and comprehensive submission in writing, which he presented to the lord-deputy and council, in the presence of a great assembly.‡

O Nial was now pardoned and restored to his earldom, with letters-patent for his lands, excepting the country held by Henry Oge O Neal, and the Fews possessed by Turlogh Mac Henry. Three hundred acres of land were also reserved in the grant, which were to be annexed to the fort of Mountjoy, and three hundred to that of Charlemont, during the sovereign's pleasure.§

After these events "the multitude" says Sir John Davis, "who ever love to be followers of such as could master and defend them, admiring the power of the court of England, being brayed as it were in a mortar with the sword, famine and pestilence together, submitted themselves to the British government, received the laws and magistrates, and gladly embraced the king's pardon."||

Thus terminated this long-protracted and sanguinary war, in which the whole kingdom of Ireland was so deeply interested.

Queen Elizabeth died at Richmond on the twenty-fourth of March, 1602—3, in the seventieth year of her age, and the forty-fifth of her reign. She was succeeded

* Moryson, vol. 2, p. 300, 301, 312.
305. § Ibid. p. 306. || p. 17.

† Ibid. p. 301.

‡ Ibid. p. 304.

by James Stuart, the sixth of Scotland and first of England, who, on the day of her decease, was proclaimed king at Whitehall gate, and again in Dublin on the fifth of April, A. D. 1603. In the person of this prince centred every claim to the British sceptre. He was the lineal descendant and genuine representative of the British, Saxon, Danish and Norman kings of England. He traced also his pedigree, through a long line of ancestors who ruled Albanian Scotia, to the chief regal family of Ireland.

The Roman-Catholic inhabitants of this country viewed the new king with a favourable eye, not only because he derived his origin from the ancient Scoto-Hibernian sovereigns, but because they hoped to obtain from him the full exercise of their religion, free from all penal statutes and arbitrary restraint. Hence we find some of the most learned of their authors eulogizing the monarch in almost adulatory terms,* and adjuring him in pathetic language to relieve his oppressed people. King James's popularity in Ireland was not diminished by the kindness with which he received the earl of Tyrone and Rory O Donel. O Nial was confirmed by him in his dignity and possessions, and his friend O Donel was created earl of Tirconnel.†

* David Roth, the learned author of "Anal. de Reb. Cath." writes thus, (p. 276) in a part of his work composed some years before it was printed:—

"Exurge itaque Jacobo rex, et dissipa hanc caliginem, tu gemma principum, germen Hibernorum, culmen honoris nostri, spes seminis, jubar sanguinis, speculum dignitatis, fulcrum infirmitatis, sustentaculum fiduciæ nostræ, Exorere stella justitiæ, et resplende radiis honorificentiae tuæ; discute hanc nubem suspicionum et errorum; discute spissam nebulam quam prava malignantium suggestio inter oculos tuos, et populum tuum Hibernigenam, proavorum tuorum protoparentum interjecit. Expergiscere ex illo sopore quem medicata nugacitatis fascinatio, nulli majorum tuorum potuit inducere; nec decet, aut fas est, ut tam sapienti et oculato capiti diutius illudat. Cernes in lucidissima illa Christallo judicii tui (dummodo pusillum introspicias) quam non difficile sit hanc gentem, tuæ stirpis, et gentis originem, sic regere et gubernare, ut nomini tuo ingentem gloriam possis accumulare, et ipsi genti, jam in tenebris agenti, in ignominia, egestate et opprobrio vitam degenti; angustiatæ, afflictae, et omni solatio indigenti; miseriarum levamen, afflictionum sublevamen, honoris et copiam et honestatis copiosam terrenæ opulentiae ac felicitatis aggeriem, cum incremento securitatis eorum, et pacis ac dignitatis tuæ valeas conciliare." This is either gross flattery or severe irony:

† These chieftains were accompanied by Lord Mountjoy and were nearly shipwrecked in passing over to England, on the Skerries. At Beaumorris,

‘ But never can true reconciliation grow
 “ Where wounds of deadliest hate have pierced so deep.”

Tyrone soon became suspected and accused of meditating new designs against the state. All his motions were watched with the most jealous and unceasing vigilance. We learn from Sir John Davis,* that all “ the fastnesses of the Irish had been discovered and laid open ; all their passes cleared, and notice taken of every person that is able to do either good or hurt. It is known not only how they live and what they do, but it is *foreseen* what they *purpose* or *intend* to do : Insomuch as Tyrone hath been heard to complain, that he had so many eyes watching over him, that he could not drink a full carouse of sack, but the state was advertised thereof, within a few hours after.”

That Tyrone had, at that period, really intended to excite a new insurrection, has never been satisfactorily proved. It is, however, certain, that he had extensive possessions whose forfeiture must have been advantageous to his enemies, and that he lived under a system of espionage, intolerable to a man of his proud and daring spirit. The spies of that day, if we may credit the sagacious and correct Davis, arrogated to themselves a species of prescience which must have been terrible to those who were unfortunately placed under their surveillance. Be that as it may, O Nial, either actuated by a consciousness of guilt, or mistrusting the justice of the state and dreading a fate similar to that of Mac Mahon, dynast of Monaghan, determined to escape from impending danger. He and his friend Rory O Donel, fled to the continent in the year 1607, and abandoned their lands and hereditary honours to the crown.† Tyrone remained a short time in Normandy, from whence he

a multitude of women who had lost husbands and children in the Irish war, assembled to fling dirt and stones at the earl of Tyrone and to revile him as he passed along. Mountjoy with difficulty restrained the violence of these pugnacious females.—*Moryson*, vol. 2, p. 344, 345, 346.

* Hist. Rel. p. 56, edit. by Andrew Crook, Dublin, 1704. † Cox vol. 2, p. 12.

JAMES MARGETSON, D. D. chaplain to the earl of Strafford, was translated to the primacy, by letters-patent, issued by Charles the second, on the twentieth of August, 1663. He was born at Drighlington, in Yorkshire, in 1600, and educated in the university of Cambridge. His first promotion was to the parish of Watlas, where he attracted the notice of Wentworth, whom he accompanied to Ireland, A. D. 1633. In May, 1635, he was made dean of Waterford, and in 1637, was promoted to the deanery of Derry. On the second of December, 1639, he was installed dean of Christ-Church, and was enabled, by a dispensation from the primate, granted to him on the thirteenth of November, and confirmed by patent, on the eighteenth, to hold with that preferment, the prebend of Christ-Church, Cork, and the rectory of Gallewyne, in the diocess of Clogher.*

In 1641, the rebellion burst forth, and the dean, who was a man of most benevolent heart, spent much of his personal property, in feeding, clothing and supporting multitudes of unhappy fugitives, who had been compelled to seek refuge in Dublin. At last, about the year 1648, he was himself obliged to fly to England, for security and subsistence ; but he was there seized by the Parliamentarians, thrown into Manchester gaol, and then hurried about from prison to prison. After some time, he was set at liberty, in exchange for a few officers, whom the royalists had taken prisoners. He then removed to London where he lived in the most retired manner, although he was actively employed in the distribution of alms to the needy and reduced cavaliers, dispensing the charity of others, when his misfortunes had deprived him of the means of indulging his benevolent inclinations, at his own private expense. In the exercise of this hazardous and singular species of humanity, he repeat-

Bramhall : Taylor's funeral sermon on the same subject ; Harris's Ware's Bishops, and Chalmer's Biographical Dict.

* Pat. 15th Car. I. 8a pars d, Memb. 31, 32. citante Lodge ut supras

edly travelled through England and Wales, bringing essential aid to both the clergy and laity of the royalist party. Amongst others, he had the happiness of relieving Chappel, bishop of Cork and Ross, then a persecuted refugee.

After the restoration, he was promoted, on the twenty-fifth of January, 1660, to the see of Dublin, and consecrated, in that city, on the twenty-seventh, with eleven other prelates, by the archbishop of Armagh. On the first of the same month, he had been nominated a privy counsellor.

After the death of Primate Bramhall, MARGETSON was translated to Armagh, by letters-patent of donation, dated twentieth of August, 1663, and his patent of restitution, issued on the twenty-ninth of same month.* In 1667, he was appointed vice-chancellor of the University of Dublin, in the room of the celebrated Dr. Jeremy Taylor, bishop of Down and Connor, then deceased. He discharged the duties of the office, as well as those of the primacy, with due decorum, gravity and wisdom.

MARGETSON was in his disposition, mild, sincere, generous, modest, hospitable, ingenuous and humane. His heart was pure, his eloquence persuasive.

In the winter of the year 1677, he was afflicted with a jaundice, which daily gathered strength, and at last confined him to his house. Yet such was his zeal for religion, that on the sixth of May, 1678, he was one of the public communicants of the holy sacrament, at Christ-Church, contrary to the express advice of his physician. On the approach of death, numbers of persons who revered his character, resorted to his bed-side, to receive his benediction, and to hear his dying prayers. On the twenty-eighth of August, 1678, he departed this life, in the seventy-eighth year of his age, and was buried in Christ-Church, within the rails of the altar.

* Pat. 15 Car. II. 4a p. d. memb. 129, citante Lodge ut supra.

Both the private and public charities of this prelate were extensive. To meritorious but indigent individuals, our humane primate has often granted donations of one hundred pounds and upwards. In 1678, he gave fifty pounds to the college of Dublin, to be laid out in additional buildings. In his native town, he erected a free school, and endowed it with sixty pounds per annum. He liberally contributed to the repairing and adorning of the two cathedrals in Dublin, and he raised contributions through the diocesses appertaining to his metropolis, for rebuilding the ancient church of Armagh, which had been consumed with fire, by Sir Phelim O Neil. The donors, however, of these grants, were tardy in their promised payments, and the sum, thus raised, was insufficient to defray the expenses of the building. His own bounty supplied the deficiency, and he had the gratification of seeing the fabric perfected at last. The episcopal palace was also repaired and adorned by Primate MARGETSON, at his own peculiar cost. From this prelate, the noble families of Caulfeild (Charlemont), and Ponsonby (Besborough), are descended, in the female line.*

MICHAEL BOYLE, D. D. succeeded Primate Margetson, in the primatial see. He was the son of Richard Boyle, archbishop of Tuam, and was educated in Trinity-College, Dublin. He had been dean of Cloyne, and on the twenty-second of January, had been promoted to the sees of Cork, Cloyne and Ross, by letters-patent, from Charles II. Dr. BOYLE seems to have been at once rapacious in the attainment of wealth, and liberal and public-spirited in its expenditure. Not content with his three bishopricks, he held possession of six parishes, in the west of his diocess, as sinecures, under the fictitious and shameful pretext, that he could not procure officiating, resident clergymen. When admonished by his near relation, Roger, earl of Orrery, lord-president

* See his Funeral Sermon by Dr. Henry Jones; and Harris's Ware's Bishops, p. 126.

of Munster, and informed by him, that he would sequester his profits, if he did not provide rectors for the vacant livings, his fear overcame his avarice, and he complied reluctantly with the directions and wishes of his friend.

BOYLE was translated, by letters-patent, dated twenty-seventh of November, 1663, to Dublin, where he repaired and beautified the archiepiscopal palace of St. Sepulchers. He was promoted to the see of Armagh, by the king's letters, dated twenty-first January, 1678; and by virtue of letters-patent, issued on the twenty-seventh of February, he was installed, "on the tenth of March, by Roger, bishop of Clogher", his proxy.* With the primacy, he held the office of lord high chancellor, from 1663 till 1678, but was removed from that dignity, after the accession of James the second, to the throne. The primate was thrice one of the lords-justices of Ireland, in conjunction with Sir Arthur Forbes, Lord Granard. He lived to extreme old age, but his mental faculties were then greatly impaired, for his hearing and eye-sight had failed, fifteen years prior to his death, and latterly he had lost even his memory. In the ninety-third year of his age, he finished his mortal career, on the eleventh of December, 1702, and was buried, at midnight, without any pomp, in St. Patrick's church, under the altar.

Primate BOYLE, in his lifetime, gave two hundred pounds, for erecting a new gate to Trinity-College, Dublin, and in conjunction with Dr. Jeremy Hall, and the bishop of Ossory, granted to the university, one hundred pounds, to purchase books for the library; and he is said to have left forty pounds per annum, to the dean and chapter of Armagh, and their successors, from his estate in the county of Louth, for the repairs of the church, under direction of the primate, for the time being.† Delighting in useful improvement, he founded the town of Blessington, where he erected a magnificent

* Rot. Canc. 31 Car. II. 2da par. p. facie, Memb. 3. Idem 3tia p. d, Reg. Boyle, 2. citante Lodge ut supra. † We are not certain of this devise.

country house, an elegant chapel, and a parish church, the steeple of which was furnished with a ring of six bells. Hence originated the title of Viscount Blessington, created on the twenty-third of August, 1675, and first granted to his son Morough Boyle.

A monument was erected by the viscount, to the memory of his father, in St. Mary's church, in Blessington, with an appropriate inscription.

NARCISSUS MARSH, D. D. was translated to the primatial see, by the queen's letter, dated at St. James's, twenty-sixth of January, 1702-3, and by patent, on the eighteenth of the ensuing month.* This prelate was born at Hannington, in Wiltshire, and was descended, *à parte paterna*, from an ancient Saxon family, of Kent, and *à parte materna*, from the Coleburns of Dorsetshire. He was admitted into Magdalene Hall, Oxford, in July, 1654, and elected probationer fellow of Exeter-Hall, on the thirteenth of June, 1658.† On the third of June, 1671, he graduated D. D. and on the twenty-seventh of February, 1678, he was admitted, *ad eundem*, into Trinity-College, Dublin. For some time, he acted as chaplain to the bishop of Exeter, and afterwards to the earl of Clarendon. On the twelfth of May, 1673, he was appointed principal of St. Alban's Hall, Oxford; and in December, 1678, he was nominated provost of Trinity-College, Dublin, by King Charles the second, and sworn into that office, on the twenty-fourth of January, 1678-9. Here he devoted his time and talents to study, and to the correct performance of his duty. For the use of the students, he published in 1681, his "*Institutiones Logicæ*," &c. usually called "*The Provost's Logick*." On the twenty-seventh of February, 1682-3, he was promoted to the sees of Leighlin and Ferns, and consecrated on the sixth of May following. From hence, he was translated to Cashel, on the twenty-sixth of February, 1690;

* Rot. Can. 1mo. Annæ, 3tia p. D. Memb. Lodge's mss. notes, ut supra.

† Athen. Oxon. 2 vol. p. 960.

again, to Dublin on the twenty-fourth of May, 1694, and lastly to Armagh, on the eighteenth of February, 1702.

Dr. MARSH built in Dublin, near the palace of St. Sepulchers, a noble library which he not only enlarged, after his promotion to the primacy, but enriched with a choice collection of valuable books, at an expense of four thousand pounds. To his own library, he super-added that of Bishop Stillingfleet, a man famous in the literary world; and he liberally endowed the institution, with two hundred and fifty pounds per annum, for the support of a librarian and his deputy, who are to attend at certain stated hours. It is said, that the books of Tane-guy Le Fevre, Madame Dacier's father, form a part of Marsh's library, which was further augmented by a collection of literary works, bequeathed to it by Dr. Smith, archbishop of Dublin, about the year, 1772. For this highly useful institution, the founder obtained national protection, by procuring an act of parliament, for its final settlement and regulation. In Armagh, he rebuilt and repaired a dwelling house, for himself and his successors; and he formed an eleemosynary establishment, at Drogheda, for the reception and maintenance of twelve widows of decayed clergymen, who had been curates in the diocess of Armagh. To each of these widows, a comfortable residence and an annuity of twenty pounds are allowed from funds, appropriated by the primate, at his own cost, to that benevolent purpose. He provided also, that if there should, at any time, be a deficiency of such widows, in the diocess of Armagh, the funds might be applicable to those of the whole province, and if there should yet happen to be a deficiency, then to the apprenticing or educating the children of clergymen: and he appropriated forty pounds per annum, out of the general endowments, to be paid to the dean and chapter of Armagh, for the support of the cathedral. Many decayed churches were repaired by him, in his own diocess, and many impropriations purchased at his own private expense, and restored to the church. Primate

MARSH gave essential pecuniary aid, towards the propagation of the Gospel, in the Indies, and was indeed a prelate of extraordinary learning, piety and benevolence. He had applied himself to the study of mathematics and natural philosophy, and was deeply versed in the learned languages, particularly in the oriental tongues. He was eminently skilled in both vocal and instrumental music, comprehending the theory and principles of harmony scientifically, and displaying, as a practitioner, considerable taste and execution. Many valuable works in Goliard's collection of Oriental manuscripts, were purchased by him, and presented to the Bodleian library.*

Besides his "*Institutiones Logicæ*," he published Philip de 'Trieu's "*Manuductio ad Logicam*," to which he added the original Greek text and some notes on Gassendus's tract "*De Demonstratione*," printed at Oxford, in 1678. He wrote also an essay on the doctrine of sounds, with proposals for the improvement of acoustics, which was presented to the Royal Society, on the twelfth of March 1683, and printed, in the *Philosophical Transactions*, No. 156. He published also, in quarto, a charge to the clergy of the diocese of Dublin.

Primate MARSH, though zealously attached to the church of England, displayed a spirit of liberality, towards dissenters. Mr. James Fleming, Presbyterian minister of Lurgan, had been deputed, in the year 1708, by the Presbytery of Armagh, to preach in Drogheda, where he experienced some persecution, both from the mayor of the town, and from Dean Cox. His successor, Mr. William Biggars, was imprisoned, by those intolerant gentlemen, and confined for six weeks. Dr. MARSH's name and alleged certificate were used, as authority, for these harsh proceedings, but the primate resented the conduct of the dean and the mayor exceedingly, and declared that "such severity towards his dissenting brethren was both against his principles and his inclination."† He died on the second of November, 1713, in

* Chalmer's, article Marsh.

† Presbyterian Loyalty, p. 512, et seq.

the seventy-sixth year of his age, and was buried in Dublin, in a vault, in St. Patrick's church-yard, adjoining to his library. A monument of white marble which was then erected to his memory, with a classic and appropriate inscription, was afterwards removed into the church, and placed on the south side of the west aisle, under one of the large arches.*

THOMAS LINDSAY, D. D. was translated from Raphoe to the see of Armagh, by privy-seal, dated twenty-second of December, 1713, and by patent, on the fourth of January, 1713-14. On the thirteenth of the same month, he was enthroned, *in propria persona*, in the cathedral; and soon after this period, was made one of the lords-justices of Ireland.† He was a native of Blandford, in Dorsetshire, and having been educated in Wadham-College, Oxford, where he obtained a fellowship in 1678, he was afterwards appointed minister of Woolwich, in Kent; and in 1693, came to Ireland, as chaplain to Henry, Lord Capell, then one of the lords-justices, and subsequently lord-lieutenant of the kingdom. About the same year, he graduated D. D. at Oxford, and was soon promoted to the deanery of St. Patrick's Dublin; and again, in March, 1695, to the bishoprick of Killaloe, from which he was translated to Raphoe, by privy-signet, dated at St. James's, in May, 1713.‡

In 1699, Dr. LINDSAY, by his influence and address, procured the insertion of "a clause, in the act of resumption, then in progress through the British parliament, for applying the profits of all forfeited rectories impropriate, tithes, &c. for a period of twenty years, on the rebuilding and repairing of such parish churches, as the chief governor of Ireland should, with the consent of

* Harris's Ware's Bishops, p. 131, 399, 362, 445.

Various relatives of Dr. Marsh reside in Ireland. The late Digby Marsh, F. T. C. D. the present Philip Crampton, F. T. C. D. Mrs. Annesley of Ballsax, county of Kildare, Jeremy Marsh, rector of Montmellick, and many others class amongst the relations of Primate Marsh.

† Rot. Canc, 12^e Annæ, 4ta p. f. memb. Ibid. 4ta. p, d, m. 41. ‡ Ibid

passed into Flanders and afterwards to Rome where he was supported by the Pope. Old, blind and worn down by misfortune, he died in the year 1616. Some years afterwards, his son was found strangled in his bed, at Brussels, and thus ended the race of this active chieftain.* His conqueror, Mountjoy, had been created earl of Devonshire. But the anguish resulting from disappointed love, an incurable malady in minds susceptible of the tender passion, preyed on his spirits.† A burning fever ensued and he died on the third of April, 1606.‡

* Borlase, p. 184. † Moryson, vol. 1, p. 112. ‡ Ibid. vol. 2, p. 346.

Dr. Henry Jones, bishop of Meath, gives the following account of Tyrone's alleged conspiracy:—

"Anno 1607, there was a providential discovery of another rebellion in Ireland, the Lord Chichester being deputy; the discoverer not being willing to appear, a letter from him, not subscribed, was superscribed to Sir William Usher, clerk of the council, and dropt in the council-chamber, then held in the castle of Dublin: in which was mentioned a design for seizing the castle, and murdering the deputy, with a general revolt, and dependence on Spanish forces; and this also for religion: for particulars whereof, adds the bishop, I refer to that letter, dated March the 19th, 1607."—*Preface to Borlase's History of the Irish Rebellion.*

Temple writes to the same effect, but Dr. Carleton, bishop of Chichester, a contemporary writer, states to the following effect, viz:—

"Montgomery, bishop of Derry, suspected, or was told, that Tirone had gotten into his hands the greatest part of the lands of his bishoprick; which he intended, in a lawful course to recover; and finding there was no man could give him better light or knowledge of these things than O Cahane (who was intimate with Tirone,) made use of such means that he (O Cahane) came to him of his own accord, and told him he could help him to the knowledge of what he sought, but that he was afraid of Tirone; yet he engaged to reveal all that he knew of that matter, provided the bishop would promise to save him from Tirone's violence, and not deliver him into England, which the bishop having promised, he brought O Cahane to the council in Dublin, to take his confession there. Upon this, processes were sent to Tirone to warn him to come up to Dublin, at an appointed time, to answer the suit of the lord-bishop of Derry. There was no other intention but in a peaceable way, to bring the suit to a trial; for the council then knew nothing of the plot. But Tirone having entered into a new conspiracy, of which O Cahane was, began to suspect, when he was served with a process to answer the suit, that this was but a plot to draw him in, and that surely the treason had been revealed by O Cahane. Upon this bare suspicion, Tirone with his confederates fled out of Ireland, and lost all those lands in the North."—*Thankful Remembrance*, p. 168. *citante Curry.*

Anderson in his "*Royal Genealogies*," page 787, writes to the following effect:—*citante Curry.*

"Artful Cecil employed one St. Lawrence to entrap the earls of Tirone and Tyrconnel, the lord of Delvin, and other Irish chiefs into a sham plot, which had no evidence but his. But those chiefs being basely informed, that witnesses were to be hired against them, foolishly fled from Dublin, and so taking guilt upon them, they were declared rebels, and six entire counties in

CHAPTER XVIII.

Dr. Christopher Hampton and Dr. James Ussher.

CHRISTOPHER HAMPTON, D. D. was advanced to the see of Armagh, by letters-patent, dated Westminster sixteenth April, 1613, with the mesne profits from his predecessor's death, a remittal of the first fruits and an appointment to the council board.* On the succeeding day, he was consecrated archbishop, in St. Patrick's, Dublin, by Thomas archbishop of Dublin, George bishop of Meath, William bishop of Kildare and John bishop of Killaloe. "He was the first who enjoyed the office of king's almoner, after its institution by King James, with the fee of one hundred pounds English.† **DR. HAMPTON**, who was born at Calais, had been bishop elect of Derry, but had never been consecrated to that dignity. In 1612, he was vice-chancellor of Trinity-College, Dublin, and conferred the degree of doctor of divinity on the celebrated scholar, James Ussher. **DR. HAMPTON** was a man of grave deportment, and of considerable learning. He delighted in improving the churches committed to his care. In Drogheda, he erected a handsome palace‡ for himself and his successors, and, in Armagh, he repaired the cathedral which Shane O Nial had ruined. He adorned the south and north walls of this edifice with Gothic windows, roofed the south and north ailes, made platforms on both sides of the church, rebuilt the steeple and recast the great bell of the Cathedral. He also repaired the episcopal house, at Armagh, "to which he added a

Ulster were at once forfeited to the crown, which was what their enemies wanted."

Such are the vague accounts we have of this curious part of Irish history.

Intrenchments made by O Nial, in the neighbourhood of Loughgilly, &c. are at this day denominated "Tyrone's Ditches."

* Rot. Canc. 10° 11° Jac. 1 f. m. 34. Lodge ut supra. † Lodge ut supra.

‡ It cost, in 1622, £2064 1s. 4d.

new building, at an expense of two hundred and sixty pounds, and intended to have built more, if God had spared him life.”* This prelate also laid out three hundred acres of ground contiguous to the city as mensal lands to the see.† He seems to have been averse from even the semblance of religious intolerance and persecution, a crime against the peace of society, to which the theologians of that age, both of the Roman-Catholic and of the Protestant persuasion, were strongly addicted. In October, 1622, Dr. James Ussher had preached a sermon before the lord-deputy Falkland, upon the text “He beareth not the sword in vain.” Though this learned divine had not, in fact, sought to stimulate the lord-lieutenant to the adoption of sanguinary measures; yet his sermon appears to have contained exceptionable passages, and his discourse, on such a text, gave high offence to the recusants. Primate HAMPTON, therefore, in a true conciliatory spirit of Christian love, addressed to Ussher an admonitory letter, in which he advised him, voluntarily to retract the harsher parts of his discourse, and to adopt “a milder interpretation of the offensive points, especially of drawing the sword.”‡

DR. HAMPTON settled his brother in some of the see lands, situated at Kilmore, where his posterity resides at this present hour. We have reason to believe that the leases of some of the Hampton farms have been renewed, without fines, from time to time, by the archbishops of Armagh, through respect to the memory of primate CHRISTOPHER. We have been also told that the countenance of the present representative of the eldest branch of the Hamptons, bears a strong resemblance to the portrait of his great collateral ancestor, which, with accurate likenesses of all the other Protestant primates, is now in the episcopal palace of Armagh. Thus his claim to exemption from pecuniary fine, on the re-

* Manuscript State of the diocess. ut supra. † Harris's Ware, vol. 1. p. 97. 98, and Visitation Book in Marsh's Library p. 69. ‡ Aikin's Life of Ussher, p. 226.

newal of his lease, is stamped, as it were, on his visage. Whether the Hamptonian aspect will be transmitted to posterity, time alone can demonstrate.

Primate HAMPTON died a bachelor at Drogheda, on the third of January, 1624, o. s. in the seventy-third year of his age, and was buried in St. Peter's church.

King James, by letters patent which issued in the twentieth year of his reign, granted to Primate HAMPTON and his successors a power of issuing licenses or faculties for marriages, &c. at uncanonical hours, with a right of appointing commissaries for granting such prerogative licenses. The patent was founded on The Act of Faculties, 28 Hen. VIII. and on 2 Eliz.*

On the twenty-first of March, 1624, JAMES USSHER, D. D. bishop of Meath, a man of imperishable fame, was translated to the see of Armagh. This prelate was a lineal descendant of the ancient family of the Nevilles; and one of his ancestors, *à parte paterna*, was usher of the chamber to King John, when he first visited Ireland. Hence the family name, as in many other instances, merged in that of the office. His father, Arnold Ussher, a man of known integrity and honour, was one of the six clerks in chancery. His mother, Margaret, was the daughter of James Stannihurst, recorder of Dublin, who had been elected speaker of the house of commons, in three distinct parliaments, during the reign of Elizabeth, and had digested and proposed a plan for re-establishing and endowing the university of Dublin.

JAMES USSHER was born on the fourth of January, 1580—1, in the parish of Saint Nicholas, Dublin. He gave early indications of an ingenuous, active and vigorous mind, as well as of an extraordinary solicitude for the attainment of literary knowledge. He had two aunts, blind from their infancy, but possessed of acute intellects and retentive memories, who, by an ingenious process, taught him to read.† In the eighth year of his age, he

* Boulter's Letters, vol. 1, p. 61, 62:

† It is said that these ladies could recite the greater part of the Scriptures distinctly and without mistake. They possessed a pure taste and a correct

was sent to a grammar school, kept by two able masters, James Fullerton and James Hamilton afterwards Viscount Clandebois. These were men of considerable rank and talents, who had been sent to this country by James VI. of Scotland, to encourage his adherents and secure his interest in Ireland. They had, therefore, assumed the character and office of schoolmasters, to conceal the real objects of their mission.

In 1593, USSHER was admitted a student of Trinity-College, Dublin, under his preceptor Hamilton, then a fellow of that university. At this period of his life, he manifested a strong inclination to poetry, and is said to have been addicted to the idle amusement of card-playing. A sentence, however, in the works of Cicero determined him to emancipate himself from the trammels of gambling, that bondage of the soul, and to enter with the whole energies of his mind, on a system of intense and useful study. "Nescire," says Tully, "quid antea quam natus sis acciderit, id est, semper esse puerum." "To be ignorant of what occurred before you were born is still to remain a child." Such was the impression made by this concise passage on the young but vigorous mind of USSHER, that he dedicated his whole time to historic and philosophic research, and, at fourteen years of age, had reduced to synoptical tables, the most memorable events of ancient times. In the two succeeding years, he drew up a Latin chronicle of the Bible, as far as the book of Kings, arranged in a highly luminous order.

In 1596, he took his degree of bachelor of arts, and in 1598, exhibited much talent as respondent in a philosophy act, held in the university before the earl of Essex, lord-lieutenant of Ireland and chancellor of that establishment.

At this period he had attained considerable skill in the Greek and Hebrew tongues, and having been thus fur-

ear, and by frequent repetition taught their young pupil the proper pronunciation of the English tongue.

nished with the means of investigating the points at issue betwixt the Protestant churches and that of Rome, he commenced the study of polemic divinity, and appropriated a portion of every day to the perusal of the works of the fathers, who had written from the very infancy of Christianity, till the sitting of the council of Trent. In this laborious task he persevered, during eighteen years of his life.

His father was anxious that he should study the law, as a professional pursuit; but USSHER had determined to dedicate his time and talents to the service of the church. Yet through filial reverence, he acquiesced in his parent's commands. The death, however, of Nicholas, which shortly after took place, left him at full liberty to pursue his own inclination. The family estate, which was of considerable value, descended to him, as the eldest son of his deceased father, but he vested it in his uncle and other trustees, for the use of his only brother Ambrose and his seven sisters, reserving a mere competence for his own support in college, and for the purchase of books. In the nineteenth year of his age, A. D. 1599, he spontaneously accepted a general challenge issued by a learned Jesuit, named Fitz-Simon, who had offered to maintain the truth of the Romish doctrine in those points which were deemed by Protestants the weakest, and to overthrow those tenets of its adversaries which were held to be the strongest. A subtle debate ensued, which terminated as similar discussions have uniformly done: each of the polemic champions retained his own opinions, and deemed himself the victor.

In 1600, USSHER graduated M. A. and was chosen proctor and catechetic-lecturer of the University, the duties of which office he fulfilled with assiduity and zeal. About the same period he was appointed one of the three state preachers, at Christ-Church, Dublin. In 1601, he was ordained deacon and priest by his uncle, Primate Henry Ussher; and in 1603, he was deputed with his

friend Dr. Challoner, to purchase books in England for the public library of Trinity-College. To aid in effecting this important purpose, the officers of the English army, which had quelled the formidable insurrection excited by Hugh, earl of Tyrone, had generously subscribed the sum of one thousand eight hundred pounds, from their arrears of pay. A donation which entitles them to the respect, the gratitude and the admiration of posterity.

USSHER proceeded with alacrity on his mission, and was so fortunate as to form an intimate acquaintance with Sir Thomas Bodley, who was then collecting books for his famous library at Oxford. Thus the Bodleian library and that of Dublin, like twin sisters, began at the same instant, to co-exist. In 1606, he was introduced, by a similarity of pursuit, to the celebrated antiquaries, Camden, Cotton and Allen, with whom he was ever after connected by ties of friendship and esteem. Camden not only consulted him on various points in Irish history and on his intended edition of Nennius, but with a candour which is honourable to his character, publicly acknowledged himself "indebted to the diligence and learning of JAMES USSHER, whose variety of learning and soundness of judgment far surpass his years."

In 1607, he graduated B. D. and was promoted by Archbishop Loftus to the chancellorship of Saint Patrick's, Dublin. He was also professor of divinity in Trinity-College, the duties of which office he discharged for nearly fourteen successive years with much diligence and zeal. Yet he found leisure to digest the ancient canons of the church into methodical order. This work was not published, but some of the observations which it contained, are extant in a letter to Dr. Samuel Ward, printed in Parr's collection. About this period, he endowed the church at Finglass, where he preached every Sunday, with a perpetual vicarage. In fact, he seemed more solicitous to add respectability to the church than

to aggrandize himself by the accumulation of wealth. His income was therefore chiefly expended in acts of hospitality and benevolence, or in the purchase of books.

In 1609, he wrote a very learned disquisition on the Herenach, Termon and Corban lands, the substance of which has been translated into Latin, by Sir Henry Spelman, in his glossary. In this year he visited England where he formed an acquaintance with various learned men, particularly Sir Henry Bourchier, Henry Briggs, Gresham-professor of astronomy, Sir Henry Saville, John Selden, John Davenant, Samuel Ward and the famous Thomas Lydiat, his great precursor in chronological research, and the victorious opponent of the arch-critic Scaliger. USSHER, on his return, brought that admirable but neglected scholar (Lydiat) to Dublin, where he accommodated him with chambers during two years, in Trinity-College, and was anxious to procure him a final settlement in Ireland.

In 1610, he was unanimously elected provost of Trinity-College, but he declined this highly important trust, lest its duties might interrupt his literary labours. William Temple was therefore chosen in his place.* In

* James Ussher was one of the first matriculated students, on the opening of Trinity-College, in the year 1593, and his name was said to have stood at the very head of the then existing roll. But this document is lost, and the oldest admission book extant begins in the year, 1637. There is, however, in an ancient registry, a list of all the scholars, from the establishment of this seminary, for several years, in which Ussher seems to be the fifth scholar of the house, and the eleventh fellow. Three fellows had been originally appointed by the crown, in the name of more, viz. Henry Ussher, Lucas Challoner and Launcelot Mayne, and three scholars, viz. Henry Lee, William Daniel, and Stephen White, had been nominated in a similar manner. The next names in succession after that of White, are A. Walshe and James Ussher. It appears, therefore, that Walshe was the first person who had been elected scholar by the fellows, after a public examination, and James Ussher the second.

The names in the old registry, to which we have alluded, stand thus :—

Henricus Lee,
Gulielmus Daniel,
Stephanus White,

Simon Baly,
Edwardus Dawson,
&c. &c,

— A. Walshe,
Ja. Ussher,
Ge. Richardson,
Ge. Lee,
Bar. Bonlyn.

1612, he became D. D. an honour conferred on him by Primate Hampton, then vice-chancellor of Trinity-College. On this occasion, he made a prelection on the seventy weeks of Daniel, and another on the Apocalyptic Millennium. In 1613, he published in London, a very elaborate work entitled "*Gravissimæ Questiones de Christianarum Ecclesiarum in Occidentis præsertim partibus, ab Apostolicis temporibus ad nostram usque ætatem, continua successione et statu, Historica Explicatio.*" This learned treatise was highly eulogized in Greek verses by the famous Isaac Causabon, and in Latin lines by Abraham Sculter, as well as by the erudite Anthony Martin. It was solemnly presented to James I. to whom it was dedicated, by Archbishop Abbot, as the first fruits of Dublin-College.*

In the same year he formed a matrimonial connexion with Phœbe, only daughter of Luke Challenor, D. D. a descendant of an ancient family in Yorkshire, and a great benefactor to the infant college of Dublin. This pious divine, who entertained the warmest friendship for USSHER, had, on his death-bed, solemnly exhorted and enjoined his daughter to accept him for her husband, if he should solicit her hand. Her inclination coincided with his parental request, and the union which he had so earnestly recommended ensued. This lady, who was an heiress, brought him a considerable fortune, and they lived together in connubial happiness for forty years. The only issue of their marriage was a daughter, the Lady Tyrrell.

Thus it appears that the register had omitted the names of these five scholars, in their proper places, and afterwards inserted them on discovering his error. If this were not the case, and the names were to be considered as following the whole of the first column, beginning with Henry Lee, Ussher would be the sixty-second in order, which would be quite inconsistent with fact.—See *MSS Trin. Col. Dublin*

* But in the year 1602, there was published a translation of the New Testament from the Greek into the Irish language, made by William Daniel, one of the very first elected fellows of Trinity-College, (*Harris's Ware's Bishops*, p. 616,) and the first or second person who had graduated D. D. in that seminary. His translation of the Book of Common Prayer into Irish was printed in 1608.

In 1615, a parliament and a convocation of the clergy were held in Dublin. Here it was determined to assert the independence of the church of Ireland, by the formation and adoption of a distinct series of articles of religion. The task of digesting and arranging these was committed to USSHER. When completed, they were manifestly of a Calvinistic nature, retaining the doctrines of predestination and reprobation, in unequivocal terms. They were one hundred and four in number, and in these the nine Lambeth articles were inserted, with strict injunctions to keep the Sabbath day holy. These circumstances afforded, to USSHER's enemies, an opportunity of insinuating to the king, that he had a bias to Puritanism, which James, though originally a Presbyterian, then held in utter abhorrence. But the lord-deputy and the privy council of Ireland gave him such honourable testimonials, and bore such evidence to the purity of his character as perfectly satisfied the monarch, and when he passed over to England, in 1619, he had a personal interview with James, by whom he was graciously received. His majesty, who was himself an acute and disputatious theologian, examined USSHER on various doctrinal points, and was so highly pleased with his extensive learning, that he promoted him, in the year 1620, to the see of Meath, then vacant by the death of Bishop Montgomery. Nay, he was accustomed, afterwards, to boast with manifest delight, that "USSHER was a bishop of his own making." A few days after his promotion, the new prelate preached in St. Margaret's, Westminster, before the house of commons, whose members, highly gratified by his eloquent discourse, ordered it to be printed.

He was consecrated bishop of Meath, at Drogheda, in 1621, by Primate Hampton and two other bishops, and after this period he continued his usual practice of earnest preaching, as zealously as before his late promotion. Nay, he even caused the words "Væ mihi si non evangelizavero!" to be engraven on his episcopal seal, and afterwards on that of the primatial see. His efforts,

however, to convert the Roman-Catholics of his diocese, were in a great measure unavailing. They uniformly declared that they would adhere to the religion of their ancestors; and as they were prohibited, by their clergy, from listening to the primate's discourses, his efforts for their general conversion were completely baffled. Thus disappointed, he endeavoured to effect, with his pen, the great object which he had failed to attain by the persuasive powers of oral eloquence. With this view he wrote a book entitled "A discourse of the religion anciently professed by the Irish," in which he endeavoured to shew that it was widely different from that of Papal Rome. This book was dedicated to Sir Richard Sibthorp and republished in 1631.

In 1621, DR. USSHER was made a privy counsellor, and in October, 1622, he preached before the lord-deputy, Falkner, a sermon on the text "He beareth not the sword in vain," of which we have already spoken, in the life of Primate Hampton, (*page 309*). On the twenty-second of November, he was appointed to deliver an admonitory caution, in the Star-Chamber, to some Irishmen of rank, who, on their nomination to public offices, had refused to take the oath of supremacy. He appears to have executed this task with such persuasive eloquence, that some of those whom he had addressed acknowledged the force of his reasoning and took the oath. The king, having subsequently read a copy of his argument, not only expressed his approbation of it, by a letter addressed to him under the royal signet, but wrote to the lord-deputy and privy-council of Ireland to grant him a license of absence, that he might have an opportunity of perusing various manuscripts, in the British libraries, which were necessary for perfecting his great work, "The Antiquities of the British Churches." In this year he published a treatise in English, concerning "The Religion of the Ancient Irish and Britons," which he maintained to have been coincident, in doctrinal points, with the established Protestant church. On the twentieth of June, 1624, he preached before the king

on "the universality of the Christian church and the unity of the faith." In the same year he published a treatise entitled "An Answer to a Challenge made by a Jesuit in Ireland, wherein the Judgment of Antiquity on the points questioned is truly delivered, and the novelty of the Romish Doctrine is plainly discovered." Malone, the challenger, published an answer, in 1627, entitled "A Reply to Dr. USSHER's Answer about the Judgment of Antiquity concerning the Romish Religion." Rejoinders to this were published in Dublin by three divines, Hoyle, Synge and Puttock.

On the twenty-first of March, 1624-5, six days before the decease of James I. DR. USSHER was promoted by that monarch to the see of Armagh, and shortly after this, he was elected archbishop by the dean and chapter. He was, however, detained nine months in England, by a quartan ague, and was besides involved in a controversy with a Jesuit, named Rockwood, who had changed his name into Beaumont. It is said by USSHER's biographers, that Lord Mordaunt, a zealous Roman-Catholic, wished much to convert his lady to that religion. She, when earnestly importuned by her husband, on this subject, proposed that two experienced theologians should, in their presence, discuss the points at issue, betwixt the Roman and the Protestant church, and promised to adopt that religion which should appear most consonant to truth. The proposed terms were accepted; USSHER was appointed by the lady Beaumont; his lordship's confessor, by her husband. The parties met at the family seat in Drayton, Northamptonshire, where they had access to a well-furnished library. The conference lasted three days, and during five hours in each day, Primate USSHER impugned the doctrine of transubstantiation and various other points maintained by the church of Rome. On the fourth day, (if Dr. Bernard and other biographers of USSHER may be relied on,) the Jesuit declined further controversy, alleging "that through a just judgment of God, he had totally forgotten

the argument which he had digested for the occasion, having dared to undertake the defence of the Catholic cause, against an antagonist of such profound learning, without the license of his superiors." Be this as it may, it is certain that Lord Mordaunt himself became and continued, till his decease, a Protestant, and the countess of Peterborough, his wife, remained ever after the unalterable friend of USSHER.

In August, 1626, Primate USSHER returned to Dublin and began with great activity to reform the ecclesiastical courts.* He spent much time in admonishing the clergy to perform their duty with regularity and zeal. But he opposed every species of concession to the Roman-Catholics, and against that religious community, he and other Protestant prelates displayed a spirit bordering on intolerance. The lord-deputy, Falkland, had summoned a national assembly, which was to include both Roman-Catholics and Protestants, as alike interested in the measures which he intended to submit to their consideration. The assembly was to have been held at Dublin-Castle, and a relaxation of the penal laws and a system of religious toleration were to have been proposed for its adoption; in consideration of which truly liberal and politic act, it was expected that the Roman-Catholics would contribute, by a permanent tax, to the maintenance of five thousand foot and five hundred horse, as an augmentation to the military force employed

* A curious circumstance is narrated in one of Dr. Ward's letters to Dr. Ussher, dated June 1626:—

"There was the last week a cod-fish brought from Colchester to our market (Cambridge) to be sold; in the cutting up of which, there was found in the maw of the fish a thing which was hard, which proved to be a book of a large 16mo. which had been bound in parchment: the leaves were glewed together with a gelly, and being taken out, did smell much at the first; but after washing of it, Mr. Mead did look into it. It was printed, and he found a table of the contents. The book was entitled "A Preparation to the Cross," (it may be a special admonition to us at Cambridge.) Mr. Mead, upon Saturday, read to me the heads of the chapters, which I very well liked of. Now it is found to have been made by Rich. Tracy, of whom Bale maketh mention. He is said to flourish then, 1550; but I think the book was made in King Henry the Eighth's time, when the six articles were on foot. The book will be printed here shortly."

in the defence of Ireland. The primate, however, assembled the bishops at his own house, where, on the twenty-sixth of November, they entered into a protest against granting any toleration to the Roman-Catholics, from temporal motives, which they styled "setting of religion to sale." In this protest, they accuse the church of Rome of being a "superstitious, idolatrous, erroneous, heretical and apostatic church," and they assert, that a toleration or consent, to permit the free exercise of its religion and profession of its faith and doctrine, is a grievous sin." The marked asperity introduced into this protest, exhibits an unfavourable but genuine specimen of the illiberal spirit of the times. It had, however, the intended effect, and the idea of conceding any thing to the Catholics was relinquished.

Primate USSHER, having by his promotion as well as by his marriage and other causes been rendered independent, in his pecuniary circumstances, appropriated annually a considerable sum of money for the purchase of valuable books and manuscripts. Thomas Davis, chaplain to the Turkey company at Aleppo, procured him a curious copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch, (one of the first which had reached the west of Europe,) and the Old Testament, in the Syriac language, more complete than any other which had been previously seen in these countries. From the Samaritan Pentateuch, USSHER made various transcripts for the use of his friend Selden's "Marmora Arundelliana." His Oriental books were also of considerable service to Dr. Walton, in the compilation of his Polyglot Bible. They are now in the Bodleian library.

In 1628, Dr. USSHER, through the instrumentality of Archbishop Laud, obtained many important favours for the university of Dublin and the church of Ireland. In 1630, he laboured with much assiduity to correct the abuses which had taken place amongst the inferior clergy who shamefully neglected their duties; and to enforce obedience to the ecclesiastical canons through

his diocess and province. The primate, who felt considerable interest in the controversy about Predestination, published in 1631, an elaborate history of Gotteschalche, a Benedictine monk, who, in the ninth century had endured much persecution for his faith in that doctrine. This history which was the first Latin work ever printed in Ireland, is entitled "*Goteschalci, et Predestinariæ Controversiæ ab eo motæ Historia.*" It was dedicated to J: Gerard Vossius, whom USSHER wished to settle in Ireland, as dean of Armagh.

Primate USSHER, who had in vain endeavoured to convert the Roman-Catholics both by public preaching and by written controversial works, now cultivated a general acquaintance with the members of that community, and is said to have made many proselytes, by the powers of his persuasively eloquent conversation. The incumbents of Irish livings were, at that period, viewed with marked aversion by the great mass of the people. Totally separated from their parishioners, by diversity of language, habits, manners and preconceived opinions, they possessed neither zeal nor ability to effect any radical change in the religion of the country. Hence USSHER yielded to the earnest solicitations of an English mechanic who expressed an ardent wish to be ordained. This man, by intense application, had attained a considerable knowledge in practical divinity and in the Irish language. He was therefore perfectly understood by the people, and thus enabled to make many converts to the Protestant faith.

In 1632, Dr. USSHER published a collection of ancient letters, entitled "*Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge, quæ partim ab Hibernis, partim ad Hibernos, partim de Hibernis vel rebus Hibernicis sunt conscriptæ.*" This work comprises a period of time commencing with an epistle of Pope Gregory's, A. D. 592, and ending with a letter of Girald Barry Cambrensis, A. D. 1190.*

* Vet. Syll. Epist. p. 1, 114.

It contains much curious and important matter, and ought to be attentively perused by every writer on the ecclesiastic and historic affairs of Ireland.

Through the powerful influence of Laud, Primate USSHER procured the revocation of several grants, which had been made to courtiers, out of the patrimony of the church, and in particular, a patent, which a Scot had artfully procured from the king, was vacated through his means. Several crown appropriations, then leased out *pro tempore*, were vested in the primate in trust for the church.

In 1634, the archbishop of Dublin advanced a claim to the primacy of Ireland. The king, therefore, directed the lord-deputy, Wentworth, to have the point at issue fully investigated. USSHER was, of course, called upon for a statement of the argument, on behalf of his own see. He would have declined the task, as being personally concerned in the contest, but his objection was overruled, and he supported his claim by such invincible reasoning and conclusive proofs, that the matter was finally determined in favour of the see of Armagh, by the lord-deputy and council, whose decision was ratified by the king.*

In the same year, the primate, influenced by the lord-deputy, Strafford, and Archbishop Laud, proposed in the convocation then assembled, that the thirty-nine articles of the church of England should be adopted as containing the faith of the church of Ireland. Dr. Bramhall, bishop of Derry, was anxious that the whole body of the English canons should be also received, in the form and words established in the sister isle. Dr. USSHER however resisted the proposed measure, as inconsistent with the independence of the Irish church. After a considerable debate it was finally determined that a certain number of the English canons should be selected and adopted, and such others added or retained

* See Strafford's Lett, vol. 1, p, 156,

as should be consonant to the genius of the church of Ireland and the peculiar circumstances of the kingdom. A book of constitutions and canons was accordingly compiled, which having received the approbation of the king, was ratified by the broad seal and published in Dublin, in 1635.*

In 1638, Dr. USSHER published in Dublin, a treatise styled "Immanuel, or the Mystery of the Incarnation of the Son of God," and about the end of the succeeding year, his far-famed work "*Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*," was printed in that city. To this most erudite work, he added a chronological index of events, commencing forty one years before the Christian era, and terminating in the year 1502. It was republished in London, in the year 1687, and has afforded materials, of inestimable value, to every subsequent writer, on the ecclesiastical antiquities of Great-Britain and Ireland.

In 1640, the Primate crossed over to England with his wife and family. He had, at that period, strong presentiments of the miseries with which the British isles were shortly to be visited. After an interview with Charles, by whom he was most graciously received, he retired to Christ's church, Oxford. Having, at this university, devoted some time to study, he visited Cambridge and then returned to London, where, after the meeting of the long parliament, he laboured to reconcile the contending political parties, whose feuds and animosities seemed ready to overwhelm the state.

Whitelocke,† in his memorials, asserts that in a parliamentary debate concerning church government, Primate USSHER "offered an expedient for conjunction, in

* See Strafford's Letters, vol. 1, p. 342, vol. 2, p. 15, 24, 26, 27.

† The father of this Whitelocke was one of the Justices of the King's Bench, and a man of extraordinary learning. When he was once opening the assizes at Oxford, some foreigners of rank entered the court. Instantly he recapitulated in elegant Latin, the heads of his charge, to the grand jury, that they might be enabled to form some idea of the manner of our judicial proceedings. Which of our present judges would or could imitate this example?

point of discipline, that episcopal and presbyterial government might not be at a great distance, reducing episcopacy to the form of a synodical government in the ancient church." This is not at all improbable, for USSHER held that bishops and presbyters differed not in order, but in degree. Nay, he is said by the non-conformist Baxter, a man of known veracity, to have asserted, in a conversation with King Charles, that ordination by presbyters was valid, and that he could produce authentic cases in antiquity, where presbyters alone successively ordained bishops, and instanced in Hierom's words, "Epist. ad Evagrium," of the presbyters of Alexandria chusing and making their own bishops, from the days of Mark till Heraclius and Dionysius.*

Yet he strenuously maintained the antiquity of Episcopacy, on which subject he published a treatise in 1641, entitled "A Discourse on the Origin of Bishops and Metropolitans," in which he endeavoured to shew that these dignities existed in the Christian church, ever since the days of the Apostles. In a second tract published at Oxford, in the same year, styled "A Geographical and Historical Disquisition concerning the Asia properly so called, the Lydian Asia, &c." he laboured to prove that the seven cities contained in these districts were metropolital seats of civil government under the Romans.

In this year, Earl Strafford was tried and executed. USSHER's enemies made some efforts to traduce the Primate's character, and to render him odious in public estimation, by insinuating that he had induced the king to consent to the death of this unfortunate minister, by some metaphysical and casuistic distinction betwixt a personal conscience and a political conscience; as if compliance with the one would justify a flagrant offence against the other. But the Primate was utterly incapable of such gross duplicity. His character has been

* Baxter's Life, p. 206.

completely cleared from this unjust aspersion, by the king himself, as well as by his own solemn declaration, at a moment when death seemed inevitable, and by an accurate relation of the whole business, which his chaplain Dr. Bernard has laid before the public. Nay King Charles asserted in the presence of Colonel William Legge and Mr. Kirk, that after the bill for Strafford's attainder had passed, USSHER said to him, with tears in his eyes, "O Sire, what have you done? I fear that this act may prove a great trouble to your conscience, and pray God that your majesty may never suffer by the signing of this bill." Besides, the primate performed many kind and pious offices for Strafford even after his condemnation.

The rebellion now suddenly and unexpectedly broke forth in Ireland, and all Dr. USSHER's personal property in this country was totally destroyed, except his library and the furniture of his house in Drogheda. These, during the siege of that town, were saved by the activity of Dr. Bernard, and transmitted to him in the ensuing Summer, *via* Chester, to London. He was now reduced to the necessity of selling his plate and jewels, for immediate support. But his value in the literary world was rendered more apparent by misfortune; for the university of Leyden offered to elect him their honorary professor, and to increase the stipend annexed to the office. Cardinal Richelieu, who greatly admired his book "*De Primordiis Ecc. Brit.*" invited him to reside in France, and promised that he should enjoy an ample pension and perfect freedom of religion.* He had already presented him with a very valuable gold medal, adorned with his own portrait. But USSHER, who bore his misfortunes with Christian magnanimity, determined not to desert the British isles, and the sovereign to whom he was bound by ties of gratitude and affection, and therefore rejected these friendly offers. In January,

* D'Alembert, *Eloges Academiques*.

1641, the king granted him the bishoprick of Carlisle, to hold *in commendam*. This see had been greatly diminished in value by Scotch and English troops, quartered in that district. He did not long enjoy, even the insignificant emoluments resulting from this promotion, for the house of commons soon seized upon all bishops' lands. Yet, in consideration of his extraordinary merits, and of the great losses he had experienced in Ireland, they afterwards granted him in the year 1646, an annual pension of four hundred pounds. This annuity he received (as is said by Dr. Parr,) but once or twice. Aikin, however, asserts that a new parliamentary order issued in July, 1649, for its continuance till the next October.*

In 1642, he retired to Oxford, where the king himself soon after fixed his residence. In the succeeding year, he was nominated by the parliament to be a member of that body of divines, who assembled at Westminster to settle the religion of the state, and there digested "The Confession, of Faith" used in some of the Presbyterian churches. When a question was started as to the propriety of admitting USSHER to the debates of the assembly, the celebrated Selden, in a species of keen and refined irony, remarked "that they might as well inquire, whether Inigo Jones (the famous architect) might be admitted to a company of mousetrap-makers." The Primate, however, not only absented himself from this meeting of divines, but controverted their authority. Enraged at this disrespectful neglect of its order, the house of commons confiscated his library, then deposited in Chelsea-College, as the property of a delinquent. Dr. Featly, however, through the instrumentality of Selden, purchased the books for a small sum, as if for his own use, but in reality to preserve them for USSHER. Even in this period of misfortune and of peril, our indefatigable scholar republished his very learned and curious treatise on the Geography of the Lesser Asia, and in 1644, he edited the Epistles of Ignatius, and that por-

* Aikin's Life of Ussher, p. 275.

tion of the Epistle of Saint Barnabas which the great fire at Oxford had not consumed. In an old Latin version of Ignatius, which he published from two manuscripts found in England, he noted, in red letters, the interpolations of the former Greek impression. He subjoined some curious annotations, and a comparison of the various readings contained in the Greek and the Latin translations.*

In 1645, a report was circulated that the Parliamentary forces would proceed against Oxford. Dr. USSHER therefore retired to Cardiff, in Wales, which was then protected by a strong garrison. Here he remained nearly a year, with Sir Timothy Tyrrel, who had married his only daughter, and was, at that period, governor-general of the ordnance under the Lord Girard, lieutenant-general of the king's forces, in South-Wales. To this place he brought some chests of books, and here he calmly pursued his studies and wrote a considerable portion of his chronological annals. The monarch himself retired to Cardiff, after the battle of Naseby, and was there highly delighted with the friendly and instructive conversation of the Primate, who, on his part, was powerfully affected by the dangers which impended over the king and the church, as well as by the effusion of Christian blood, and the various other horrors, attendant on civil war. Charles, however, was soon necessitated to withdraw the garrison, and Tyrrell to retire from the station. Dr. USSHER was then obliged to remove to the castle of St. Donates, in Glamorganshire, where the Lady-Dowager Stradling had offered him an asylum. On his journey he was stopped by a straggling party of Welch mountaineers, who insulted the Primate and his

* When this work was in the press the doctors and masters of Oxford resolved, in a solemn convocation, on the tenth of March, 1644, that Ussher's effigies should be engraven in copperplate and prefixed to the work, with the following inscription :—

Jacobus Usserius Archiepiscopus Armachanus, totius Hiberniæ primas; Antiquitatis primævæ peritissimus, Orthodoxæ Religionis Vindex ἀναντιρρητος, errorum malleus, in concionando frequens, facundus, præpotens, vitæ inculpatæ exemplar spectabile.

daughter, rudely pulled them and some ladies who accompanied them, from their horses, and seized upon his books and manuscripts. These were instantaneously dispersed amongst the illiterate individuals of this unmanly rabble. Some officers, however, arrived, who indignant at such base conduct, caused restitution to be made of the horses and of such parts of the baggage, as could then be found. But the books and manuscripts could not, at that period, be recovered. The Primate was respectfully escorted by his protectors, to Sir John Audley's house, where he was hospitably received and entertained for the night. Here the loss of his manuscripts and books seemed greatly to depress his spirits. "I know," said he to his daughter, "that it is in God's hand, and I must endeavour to bear it with patience; though I have too much human frailty not to be extremely concerned. I am touched in a very tender place, and he has thought fit to take from me, at once, all that I have been gathering together, above these twenty years, and which I intended to publish for the advancement of learning and the good of the church."

On the succeeding day, the Primate proceeded to St. Donates, where his drooping spirits were cheered by the animating voice of friendship. His books and papers were also recovered, in the course of three months, by the active search of the country gentlemen, who returned to him, in small parcels, his highly valued literary treasure. A few volumes however were totally lost, amongst which were a curious and esteemed manuscript history of the Waldenses, a written catalogue of the Persian kings, a volume of various readings of the New Testament, Tully's works, printed, and some books of minor moment. At St. Donates, he made excellent collections of British and Welch antiquities, from manuscripts in the castle library, gleaned by Sir Edward Stradling, an antiquary and friend of Camden. Here, he was seized with a strangury, followed by a profuse hemorrhage from the nose, which continued, with little intermission,

nearly forty hours. The disease seemed to baffle all medical aid, yet at last the effusion of blood stopped of itself, and he recovered. When USSHER lay thus afflicted and the awful hour of death seemed fast approaching, he solemnly cleared himself of the charge of having advised the king to pass the bill against Strafford.

In 1646, he intended to remove to the continent, probably for the benefit of his health, and had procured a passport for his proposed voyage. Admiral Melton, however, threatened to seize and deliver him to the parliament. Meanwhile the countess-dowager of Peterborough invited him to her house in London. He accepted the invitation and was supplied with money for the expenses of his journey by the gentlemen of Wales, who were perfectly aware of his pecuniary embarrassments. Without consulting one another, they sent him, separately, various sums of money, and thus made some reparation for the insults he had received from the rabble of the country.

After his arrival at the countess of Peterborough's house, in June, 1646, he was summoned to attend before a parliamentary committee. Here he was asked whether Sir Charles Coote or any other person had urged him to use his influence with the king, to procure a toleration for the Romish religion in Ireland. He not only answered in the negative, but asserted that he had always deemed such concessions injurious to the Protestant religion. When pressed to take the negative oath, required from the adherents of the king, and from all who came from any of his garrisons, he demanded time for mature consideration, and through the influence of his friend Selden, escaped all further importunity on that subject.

In 1647, he was elected preacher to the honourable society of Lincoln's-Inn, where he had handsome lodgings and convenient apartments for his library. Here he preached during term time, for nearly eight years, and received the honor justly due to his amazing talents

and literary attainments. Age and misfortune had now manifestly impaired his constitution. His eyesight and his teeth had failed him. He ceased to be audible, and through conscientious motives resigned the office, whose duties he could no longer perfectly fulfil.

His literary labours were, however, unremitted, and he now published his "*Diatriba de Romanæ Ecclesiæ Symbolo Apostolico vetere aliis fidei formulis &c.*" To this he annexed an appendix of various remains of ecclesiastical antiquity, with a curious account of the Apostles' creed. He dedicated this work to Vossius, and in the year 1648, he printed an erudite dissertation on the solar year, anciently used in Macedon, Syria, and Asia Proper. In this elaborate work he gives canons for perpetually finding the cycles of the sun and moon, and the time for celebrating Easter. An Ephemeris, for the whole year, is also annexed, which his biographer, Aikin, conceives to have been the first attempt, in these countries, to frame a true astronomical calendar. The historic and philologic knowledge displayed in this work, is truly astonishing.

Whilst the king was confined in the Isle of Wight, in the year 1648, Dr. USSHER was permitted to visit his beloved but unfortunate monarch. Parliamentary commissioners were then treating with Charles for the abolition of the British and Irish hierarchies. During the discussion of this business, Primate USSHER, who held that bishops and presbyters differed only in degree, not in order,* suggested a plan for combining the Episcopal with the Presbyterian form of government. He proposed that as many suffragans should be appointed as there were rural deaneries in each diocess, who should be empowered to hold monthly synods of the rectors and ministers of their precincts; that diocesan synods, consisting of suffragans and rectors, and presided over by a bishop or superintendant, should be held once or twice

* See his letter to Dr. Bernard, in which he says, "*Episcopus et Presbyter gradu tantum differunt, non ordine.*"

in the year, and that provincial synods of all the bishops and suffragans and other elected clergy, should be assembled, once every third year, in which the archbishop of the province should be moderator. USSHER's efforts to preserve a kind of episcopacy, by this singular expedient were unavailing. For though the Presbyterian clergy were willing to acquiesce in the Primate's plan,* yet parliament had predetermined on the total abolition of episcopacy; and the execution of the king which soon after followed, blasted the hopes of the royalists.

Dr. USSHER resided at the countess of Pembroke's, Charing-Cross, when preparations were making for the king's immediate decapitation. When Charles was led forth for execution, the gentlemen and domestic servants of the establishment are said to have brought the afflicted Primate to the leads of the house, that he might take a farewell view of his beloved friend and revered sovereign. He ascended, with reluctance, and cast a mournful look of anguish, on the awful scene of horror. His eyes were suffused with tears, involuntary sighs burst forth, and he stood with uplifted hands, as if silently addressing the merciful Creator, in behalf of his unhappy king. But when the masked executioners began to tuck up the hair of the royal victim, a deadly paleness passed over his countenance, his heart seemed bursting with unutterable sorrow, and his attendants were obliged to bear him, almost lifeless, from the dismal and tremendous scene.

As long as Dr. USSHER lived, he dedicated the anniversary of that day, to solemn fasting and mourning.

In the year 1650, he published the first part of his great chronological work, entitled "*Annalium Pars Prior, a temporis historici principio usque ad Maccabaicorum initia producta; una cum rerum Asiaticarum et Ægyptiarum Chronico.*" In this work, he settled three grand epochs in history: the deluge, the departure of the Israelites from Ægypt, and the return of the Jews from

* See Baxter's Life by himself.

captivity in the first year of Cyrus; and thus harmonized sacred with profane chronology. He has also accurately settled the succession of the Babylonish, Persian and Macedonian monarchies, with the concurrent olympiads, and the times of the most remarkable eclipses of the sun. In 1654, he published the second part of this immortal work, comprising a period of time from the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, till the destruction of Jerusalem. In this volume, he has reduced the affairs of the Macedonian and Roman empires, and the reigns of the Asiatic and of the Ægyptian kings, to a more certain chronologic order, than any previous writer had been able to suggest. The two volumes form a grand and noble repository of ancient history. The Primate had intended to complete this work, by the addition of a third part, which was to terminate at the beginning of the fourth century, but he did not live to execute his plan. His system of chronology has been adopted by subsequent writers, except, indeed, in a portion of Greek history, which Sir Isaac Newton has arranged according to a scheme invented by himself.

Cromwell was now paramount lord and autocrat of the British isles. This consummate politician requested a conference with USSHER, to whom he communicated a plan, for the general advancement of the Protestant religion. He settled also a small pension on the Primate, out of the money arising from deodands, and promised to grant him a lease of part of the lands belonging to his own see of Armagh; a promise which he never fulfilled. Yet USSHER conversed reluctantly with Cromwell, and never deigned to flatter his vanity or to solicit his patronage. On the contrary, in a dialogue which took place betwixt these two extraordinary men, in the year 1655, he manifested a spirit of candour highly honourable to his memory. Cromwell was under the hands of his surgeon, who was in the act of dressing a boil on his breast. "If this core" said the protector, pointing to the boil, "were once out, I should soon be

well." "Alas," replied the Primate, "the core lies deeper! There is a core even at the heart which must be taken out, or all will not be well." "Ah!" rejoined the great but miserable man, with an involuntary sigh, "so there is indeed."

On the thirtieth of November, 1654, Dr. USSHER's invaluable friend, the illustrious Selden, died. The Primate, his associate in historic and scientific research, his sole equal in literary fame, was judiciously selected to preach his funeral sermon. The eulogy, which he pronounced before a splendid audience, on the departed patriot, was worthy of the orator and the subject. Yet his modesty and humility seem to have been too strongly portrayed, when, in the course of his sermon, he described himself, as "scarcely worthy to carry Selden's books after that great author."

In 1655, he printed the last of his works, which was published during his lifetime. It was entitled "*De Græca Septuaginta Interpretum, Versione Syntagma, cum Libri Estheræ Editione Origenica et vetere Græca altera, ex Arundelliana Bibliotheca nunc primum in lucem producta.*" In this curious work he coincides in opinion with the Jewish literati, that the Greek interpreters had translated no more than the Pentateuch of Moses, and that their version had perished in the Alexandrian library, by fire. A translation, made by a Jew in the reign of Ptolemy Philometer, was, he alleged, substituted in its place. This, which contained both the Pentateuch and the rest of the Old Testament, was received by the Hellenistic Jews, though its author had interpolated the text in various places. From them it was transmitted to the primitive Christian church, and from hence proceed the various readings of the Hebrew and Greek copies.

About the beginning of February, the Primate retired to the countess of Peterborough's house, at Ryegate, where he was occupied, during the remainder of his life, in perfecting his *Chronologia Sacra*. His mind was still

vigorous and active, but his eyesight had so far failed him, that he could only write in the glare of the sun. Intent on his literary labours, he was seen, on clear days, following the retiring sunbeams from window to window, and committing his thoughts to writing with indefatigable perseverance. Yet was he not wholly absorbed, in these patient and useful labours, nor did he, for a moment, forget the prime end of his existence, but prepared himself for eternity, by intense meditation on his approaching dissolution. In his almanack, he every year noticed the day of his age, opposite to that of his birth. In this year he made the following observation, with his own hand: "Now aged seventy-five years—My days are full. RESIGNATION.

On the twentieth of March, the sciatica began violently to afflict him, and on the succeeding morning, he was seized with pleuritic affections which baffled all medical aid. During thirteen successive hours, he endured the most excruciating torture, with resignation and magnanimity. He became elevated in hope, fervent in prayer, and earnest in his pious exhortations to his surrounding friends. To the countess he bade a solemn, grateful, affectionate and impressive farewell. Finally, about one o'clock, in the afternoon, he addressed himself in a dying ejaculation to the Almighty: "Oh Lord, forgive me, especially my sins of omission!" and resigned his pure soul to him who gave it.

Primate USSHER was moderately tall in stature, elegant in form, erect and graceful in carriage. A dignified and placid gravity characterized his intelligent countenance, where Benevolence had so plainly stamped her *imprimatur*, that "he who ran might read." Vigorous in constitution, alert in mind, athletic in body, he was formed by Nature to endure the fatigues both of an active and contemplative life. Passion, pride, self-will, avarice, ambition and the love of the world were aliens to his heart. In conversation he was candid, affable, unaffected and polite. Hospitable in his disposition, he

lived in a style devoid of pomp and simply elegant. His temper was placid, his spirits uniform, neither suddenly elated with prosperity, nor depressed with adversity. Hence when Fortune smiled upon him, he was humble yet dignified, unostentatious yet munificent, and hence also he was enabled to endure the most unparalleled calamities, and even death itself, ushered in by excruciating tortures, with the most undaunted fortitude and the most exalted magnanimity.

Bishop Burnett describes Primate USSHER as possessing "all the innocence of the dove." "He had" said he, "a way of gaining people's hearts and of touching their consciences, that looked like somewhat of the Apostolic age revived."* In fact, his eloquence, in itself eminently powerful, was rendered almost irresistible by the reverential awe which the unimpeachable integrity of his mind, and his stupendous literary attainments excited in the bosom of his hearers. Great-Britain has produced no scholar superior, and if we except Selden, none equal to USSHER. These two illustrious friends not only attained the first rank amongst the literati of Europe, but drew the attention of the whole republic of letters to the British Isles.† Posterity has ratified the judgment, formed by that age, on the merits of these two transcendent scholars.‡

* Burnet's *Life of Bedell*, p. 67.

† In the same century, Harvey also started into fame. Haller, speaking of this celebrated man, says, "*Ex ea ipsa Anglia, in qua hactenus anatome fere nulla fuit, exstitit novum artis lumen, cujus nomen ab ipso retro Hippocrate in medicina, secundum est.*"—*Biblioth. Anatom.*

‡ A letter written in the year 1775, by the late Rev. Dr. Thomas Campbell, gives a curious account of an interesting conversation betwixt that learned antiquary and the celebrated Dr. Samuel Johnson, on the comparative learning of England, Scotland and Ireland. The letter is now in possession of Dr. Campbell's nephew, the Rev. Charles Campbell, vicar of Newry, by whom we are favoured with the following extract:—

"The Scotch, (said the great critic) have learning enough for common use, but not to support the dignity of literature. They have learning enough for a surgeon but not for a physician. They are like a hungry lion which in time may get his belly full like the English lion, but at present, it is very empty. Scotland hath never yet produced *one* writer indisputably classical, unless Buchanan may be so called. You have done more in Ireland, you have produced *one* scholar, Ussher, and one philosopher, Boyle."

We by no means agree in opinion with Dr. Johnson, on the subject of Scottish literature. Many of the writers of Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, &c. have done honour to the republic of letters. Science, history and the

Dr. USSHER was thought, by many of his admirers, to have been endowed with a prophetic spirit. This opinion seems to have been derived from a sermon which he preached in the year, 1601, before the government, at Christ-Church. His text was taken from the fourth chapter and sixth verse of Ezekiel. In this discourse, he was believed to have explicitly foretold the miseries with which the country was visited, in the year 1641. He is said also to have predicted the fire of London. But USSHER himself laid no claim to prophetic powers, though he was inclined, like many other speculative and learned divines and philosophers, to make deductions concerning futurity, from the Apocalyptic writings of Saint John.*

belles-lettres are highly indebted to Scotland. We quote the passage merely to shew in what estimation the character of Ussher, as an eminent scholar, is still held.

* Amongst the various supposed prophecies delivered in the seventeenth century, the following is the most curious :

Rice Evans, in the second edition of his "Echo from Heaven," A. D. 1653, writes thus: "A vision that I had presently after the king's death. I thought that I was in a great hall, like the shire-hall, in the castle in Winchester, and there was none there but a judge that sat on the bench and myself. I turned to a window north-westward, and looking into the palm of my hand, there appeared to me a face, head and shoulders, like the Lord Fairfax's, and presently it vanished. Then arose the Lord Cromwell's and he vanished likewise. Then arose a young face and he had a crown upon his head, and he vanished also; and another young face arose with a crown upon his head, and he vanished also; and another young face with a crown upon his head, and he vanished also; and another young face with a crown upon his head and he vanished in like manner, and as I turned the palm of my hand back again to me and looked, there did appear no more in it. Then I turned to the judge and said to him: there arose in my hand seven, and five of them had crowns, but when I turned my hand the blood returned to its veins, and there appeared no more. So I awoke. The interpretation of this vision is that after the Lord Cromwell, there shall be kings again in England, which thing is signified unto us by those that arose after him, who were all crowned; but the generations to come may look for a change of the blood and of the name in the royal seat, after five kings' reigns are passed.—*2 Kings, v. 30.*

On this curious passage Warburton, in a letter to Dr. Jortin, comments thus. "The restoration of the monarchy is here plainly predicted, with the crown's passing from the house of Stuart into another family. But the prophet, at first sight, seems doubtful about the number of reigns before that event. He reckons up in his hand, only four successions to the monarchy, yet in his speech to the judge, he calls them five. In his interpretation, he says the change shall be after the reign of five kings. Yet referring in conclusion to a text in the Book of Kings, we are brought back again to the number four. But it is this very circumstance which makes the prodigious part of the affair. The succession of the house of Stuart, during these

Perfection belongs not to man, nor to any other order of created beings. Two faults, and only two, can be discovered, even by the scrutinizing eye of Malice itself, in the bright character of this incomparable divine. The first is a spirit of intolerance, against the Roman-Catholics of Ireland. This illiberality was not peculiar to USSHER. It was the predominant vice of the times in which he lived. Roman-Catholics and Protestants tyrannized over one another in turn, and vainly imagined that they were rendering essential service to God, when they were insulting or persecuting his creatures. But under Dr. USSHER's primacy, the Presbyterian clergy were treated with kindness. Many of them were ordained by the bishops of the established religion, who omitted, in the form of ordination, all those expressions which these ministers deemed objectionable. These divines, though they remained Presbyterians, enjoyed in their respective parishes, both the churches and the tithes. They frequently met and consulted with the bishops, about the affairs of common concernment to religion, and some of them were members of the convocation, in 1634.* The second failing was a want, not of inclination, but of perseverance and of energy, in reforming the abuses of the ecclesiastical courts, where venal chancellors and their proctors usurped the power, which ought to have vested in the church; and levied the most unjust and villanous exactions off the people. He did not afford due support to the manly, incorrupt and persevering Bishop Bedell, in his noble efforts to rescue the episcopal order and his country, from the fangs of these

four generations was disturbed, and that circumstance our prophet has distinctly marked out. The four crowned heads in his hand, denote Charles the Second, James the Second, Mary and Anne. They are afterwards called five, and so they were, for William the Third shared the sovereignty with Mary, and reigned alone after her, but he, being of another family, after the succession in the house of Stuart is reckoned up, he could not be numbered, so they must be then called four. When the prophet reckons the reigns King William then comes in, and then they are called five. The key to this explanation is the text he concludes with: "Thy children to the fourth generation shall sit on the throne."

* Presbyterian Loyalty, p. 162.

rapacious harpies, He was indeed "too gentle" as is well remarked by Burnett, "to manage the rough work of reforming abuses."* And hence it was energetically said of him by his physician, Dr. Bootius, "that if the primate of Armagh were as exact a disciplinarian as he is eminent in searching antiquity, defending the truth and preaching the Gospel, he would, without doubt, deserve to be made the chief churchman of Christendom."

Cromwell claimed the honor of burying Primate **USHER**, at his own expense. His friends, particularly the countess of Peterborough, reluctantly consented to what they dared not refuse; for who could resist the despot Cromwell? By his orders he was embalmed, and kept till the seventeenth of April, when the corse was removed to Westminster-Abbey, attended by all the clergy and by an immense concourse of the people. Dr. Bernard, his chaplain, preached his funeral sermon, on the text, "And Samuel died, and all Israel were gathered together, and lamented him and buried him." His ashes rest without a monument, in St. Erasmus's Chapel, beside the grave of his preceptor James Fullerton, but his memory shall descend from age to age, buoyant on the stream of Time, till all things shall have merged in the ocean of Eternity.

Primate **USSHER**, in the hour of his prosperity, had intended to bequeath his library, which comprised nearly ten thousand books and manuscripts to Trinity-College, Dublin. The misfortunes, however, with which he was visited, compelled him to leave it to his daughter, then the mother of a numerous family. The king of Denmark and Cardinal Mazarin were competitors for the purchase. But the officers of Cromwell's army who had served in Ireland; actuated by a noble spirit of liberality, bought the books for two thousand two hundred pounds, in order to present them to the university, for which they

* Life of Bedell, p. 66.

had originally been destined by their owner. They were of course transmitted to Dublin; but a plan was soon afterwards adopted for the establishment of a new university in that city, and USSHER's library was deposited in the castle for its use. Here many of the books were purloined or lost, till the Restoration enabled Charles II. to bestow the remainder on Trinity-College.*

* For the authorities on which this account of Dr. Ussher rests, see his life by Dr. Nicholas Bernard, and that by Dr. Parr. See also Dr. Thomas Smith's "*Vita quorundam eruditissimorum et illustrium virum*;" also Harris's life of Ussher in his edition of Ware's Bishops. p. 98, and Aikin's life of Ussher. Dr. Richard Parr was the primate's chaplain. He was a native of Fermoy, in the county of Cork, and a canon of Armagh, having refused the deanery.

The reader will find a catalogue of Primate Ussher's works in Appendix No. V.

It may gratify the lovers of literature to be informed that Dr. James Ussher was the eighth person who obtained, by merit, a fellowship in Trinity-College, Dublin. The series of fellows stands thus:— Henry Ussher, Lucas Challoner, Launcelot Moine, James Fullerton, James Hamilton, Matthias Holme, William Daniel, Charles Dun, John Brereton, Abel Walshe, James Ussher, &c. Of these the three first were named by the crown. Fullerton and Hamilton were Ussher's preceptors.

CHAPTER XIX.

From the Flight of Hugh, earl of Tyrone, till the death of James I.

THE flight of Hugh, earl of Tyrone, compelled the last remnant of Augustine friars, who had still lingered at Armagh, after the seizure of their lands, to withdraw from that city. They had been patronized by O Nial and supported from his own resources. His ruin left them desolate, and they were necessitated to desert the scene of their former power and seek refuge in Limerick.*

These monks had been possessed of very great property, prior to the dissolution of monasteries. In 1539, an inquisition, then held, found that the abbot, Patrick O Hagan was not only seized of the site of the abbey, but of twelve gardens in the town; the third part of the townland of Drumcote, the sixth of Tyrnarnunagele, the fourth of Tyllagloyst, the fourth of Enaghboy, the third of Aghanoyce and Tullaghelmayne, the sixth of Downallagher, situated near Armagh, and a parcel of land, called Knock-Ederyn, near the abbey. These were his mensal lands.† The reader will find some account of the other vast possessions appertaining to the monastery, in Appendix No. V.

An inquisition taken first November, 1557, found that James Donnelly, the last prior, had surrendered the abbey, with the site thereof whereon there was a large church, some stone chambers, a dormitory with cellars beneath it,‡ a hall, a storehouse, a great court, a cemetery, garden, orchard, &c.

In 1605, the customs of Tanistry and Gavelkind were abolished in Ireland, and by a judgment in the court of

* Cox, Appendix 9, p. 39.
yet in being.

† King, p. 253.

‡ Some of these are

King's-Bench, Irish estates became descendible, according to the common law of England.* In the preceding year, a commission of grace had issued, to secure James's Irish subjects, against the claims of the crown. Under this commission, the lords had surrendered their estates, and received them again by a new investiture. Inquiries were instituted as to the limits of the various lands; the claims of the tenants; the nature of the Irish duties and customs; and all these points were fixed by a regular estimate. The tenants were confirmed in their holdings, at a stated and equitable rent, payable to the landlord, who was permitted to retain such lands as were actually in his own possession. Trading towns and corporations shortly after imitated the example, surrendered their charters, and accepted new ones, with such regulations annexed as were deemed by the king not only advantageous to commerce and conducive to peace, but likely to strengthen the hands of government.†

About this period, itinerant judges visited the whole province of Ulster, and were well received by the people, who anxiously wished for just and uniform laws. In the first year of King James's reign, Sir George Carey appointed the first sheriffs that ever entered into Tyrone, or Tirconnel, and shortly after Sir Edward Pelham, chief baron, and Sir John Davis, his majesty's attorney-general, were the first justices of assize, who presided in these counties.‡ For though a plan had been formed in 1584—5, for dividing a part of Ulster into counties, and O Nial had, in 1591, permitted Tyrone, to be subdivided into baronies, yet subsequent events had prevented the measure from being carried into effectual execution at that period.§

* Davis's Reports. † Carte Ormond, lib. 1, p. 14. ‡ Davis's Historical Relation ut supra, p. 55.

§ Cox says that the lord-deputy, Perrot, had sent sheriffs, &c. into Tyrone, in 1584, but this is a mistake.—Cox, vol. 1, p. 382. Ware's Ant. p. 31, 32.

An act of oblivion ratified by the king with the great seal of state, was about this period published by proclamation, extinguishing all offences against the crown, to all such persons as should, at an appointed day, claim the benefit of the act before the going judges of assize.—Davis's Historical Relations.

In 1605, a proclamation was issued, by which the Roman-Catholic clergy were ordered to depart from the kingdom, before the tenth of December following, unless they consented to conform to the laws of the land, relative to religion.* This measure, though possibly it would not have been carried into full effect, exceedingly irritated the great body of the people. A report that the king had sought a reconciliation with the Papal see, had been industriously propagated and believed. Encouraged by this rumour, the Roman-Catholics had refitted their chapels and abbies, and the Romish rites were publickly celebrated in many parts of the kingdom. The proclamation, therefore, was doubly offensive, as having been altogether unexpected.

The flight of O Nial, O Donel and other Irish chieftains, left the most valuable part of Ulster, at the absolute disposal of the crown. But the quantity of forfeited lands was soon augmented, by the insurrection of Sir Cahir O Dogherty, chieftain or proprietor of Innisowen, and some neighbouring districts. The lord-deputy, Sir Arthur Chichester, is said to have sharply accused him of having been privy to Tyrone's alleged conspiracy;† and Sir George Paulet, governor of Derry, had, in the course of some angry dispute, not only struck him,‡ but menaced him with an ignominious death.§ Highly exasperated at this treatment, O Dogherty meditated revenge: yet he concealed his anger, and, under the semblance of friendship, invited Hart, the commandant of Culmore fort, to his house, on the first of May, 1608. The British officer accordingly visited him, with his wife and child,|| at the appointed hour. After dinner, he was called aside by his host, and seized by several armed men, who threatened him with death, if he did not instantly surrender the fort of Culmore.¶ He refused,

* Cox, vol. 2, p. 10. † O Sullivan, f. 210. ‡ Cox vol. 2, p. 13.
§ O Sullivan, ut supra. || It was Sir Cahir's god-child.

¶ Culmore (the Great Defence,) four miles north of Derry. This fort is now chiefly in ruins. It has had no garrison for half a century, but has a governor with, we believe, a salary of £500 per annum.

and the ruffians were already prepared to assassinate him, when Lady Dogherty and Captain Hart's wife rushed into the room. The former implored her husband to be merciful to his guest; the other swooned with horror. On her recovery, Sir Cahir sent his own lady and his prisoner into another room, and then succeeded in persuading Hart's agitated and terrified wife to accompany him to the fort. Here under a feigned story, that her husband had broken his leg, admission was gained for O Dogherty and his followers. Her brother and the garrison were instantly massacred, but her husband's and her own life were spared.* After this, about two o'clock in the morning, Sir Cahir surprised and took the town and fort of Derry. Here he killed the commander, Paulet, put the garrison to the sword, pillaged the inhabitants and consumed the city with fire.† Sir Cahir carried on a desultory warfare for five months, and was afterwards killed, by an accidental shot, in a rencontre with the troops of the lord-deputy and Marshal Wingfield. His soldiers were partly dispersed and partly taken and executed by the royalists.‡

Five hundred and eleven thousand four hundred and sixty-five acres of land, in the counties of Tyrone, Donegal, Colerain, Fermanagh, Cavan and Armagh, escheated to the crown in consequence of these events.§ The whole was surveyed and disposed of in the following manner:—

	Acres.
To the city of London, which undertook to settle Derry and Colerain, and to sundry other undertakers.....	209,800
To the bishops, for mensal lands.....	3,413
The bishops, Termens and Erenachs....	72,780
To the college of Dublin.....	9,600

* Cox, vol: 2, p. 13, 14.
Gesta Hibernorum, A. D. 1608.
et sequentia.

§ Cox, ut supra.

† O Sullivan, p. 210. Cox ut supra.
‡ Cox, ut supra. O Sullivan, folio 212

	Aeres.
For free-schools	2,700
To incumbents for glebe	18,000
The old glebes	1,268
To deans and prebends	1,473
To servitors and natives	116,330
The impropriations and abbey-land, &c.	21,552
The old patentees and forts	38,214
To new corporations	8,887
Restored to Macguire	5,980
Restored to several Irish	1,468*

Previous to the appropriation of lands, specified in part of the above statement, for the use of the clergy, the established church of Ireland had been reduced to a wretched state of poverty. Many of the churches, in Ulster, had either been destroyed or ruined. The annexed benefices were insignificant, and the parishes were either filled with careless and immoral pastors, or sequestered by avaricious bishops, *in commendam*. Divine service had not been performed, for many years, in any parish church in Ulster, except in great towns and cities.†

James now carried into effect a plan, which he had long seriously meditated, for the settlement of Ulster, of which a brief account will be found in appendix No. XXI. But the genuine Irish and the old Anglo-Hibernians, having exhibited some marks of dissatisfaction, at the plantation of Ulster, it was deemed expedient, in the year 1611, to form an extraordinary militia, in that province. The order of baronets, an hereditary honour,‡ was therefore instituted. The number of baronets was not to exceed two hundred, and each of them, on receipt of his patent, was to pay into the exchequer, a sum competent to the support of thirty soldiers, in Ulster, for three years, at eightpence per day.§

* Cox, vol. 2, p. 14, 15. † Leland, vol. 2, p. 436. ‡ Selden's
Titles of Honour, p. 822, 909. § Cox, Reign of James, p. 18. See
also Baker's Chronicle, ad an. 1611, and Present State of England p. 289.

In 1611, the value of the whole imports and exports of Ireland, for the current year, amounted only to two hundred and eleven thousand pounds.* This wretched state of commerce plainly indicated the necessity of adopting some efficient measure, for meliorating the condition of the people, tranquillizing the country and turning the attention of its inhabitants to trade and agriculture. King James seems to have thought that this important object could be best attained, by accelerating the settlement of Ulster, and by the formation of boroughs or corporate towns. The charters by which he subsequently created these boroughs, were studiously planned to give the Protestants a decided ascendancy in the state, an object which James deemed of prime importance.† With these views, he contemplated the establishment of new corporations, in Belfast, Charlemont, Antrim, Bandon, Cloghnagilty, Tallow, Newry, Lifford, Donegal, Ballyshannon, Tuam, Enniskillen, Tralee, Athy, Birr, Kilmallock, Armagh, &c.‡

In consequence of this determination, James, by a charter, dated the twenty-sixth of March, in the eleventh year of his reign, pursuant to letters-patent issued in the preceding year, erected Armagh into a "body corporate or free borough, to be denominated "The borough of Ardmagh." The reader will find a translation of the charter itself, accompanied with some observations on its provisions in Appendix No. XXII.

By this charter, the body corporate was to consist of a sovereign, twelve burgesses, and the assembly of the borough. The first sovereign, named in the document itself, was Mark Ussher, Esq. The first burgesses were John Ussher, Matthew Ussher, Richard Ussher, Thomas Dawson,§ Thomas Smith, John Rudworth, Peter (or

* Cox, p. 175.

† Hence the new corporations were highly disagreeable to the Roman-Catholics, who styled them "tituli sine re, et figmenta sine rebus."—Cox, vol. 2, p. 23.

‡ Cox, p. 18.

§ These Usshers were nearly related to Primate Henry Ussher, (p. 18,) and some of their male descendants resided in Armagh, so late as the year

Pearce) Williams, Joseph Powell, Peter Eales, William Bennet, Nathaniel Lord and John Hayes.

By virtue of this patent, two parliamentary representatives for the borough of Armagh were elected from time to time, by the sovereigns and burgesses, until the period of the Union. At present, they return but one member.

On the twenty-seventh of February, 1612-13, "a grant was made pursuant to privy seal, dated at Kerby, thirty-first July, 1612, to the Rev. Robert Maxwell, dean of the cathedral church of Saint Patrick, Ardmagh, and his successors, of all that parcel of land called the dean's demesnes, in Ardmagh, and all buildings thereon."*

On the twenty-fifth of February, 1614-15, a surrender was made by Primate Christopher Hampton, of all the estate anciently belonging to the see of Armagh, in the counties of Tyrone, Armagh, Londonderry, Down, Louth, Drogheda, East and West Meath, Longford, Mayo, Waterford, Monaghan, or elsewhere, in Ireland. This surrender was dated twenty-seventh of October, 1614, and was confirmed by the dean and chapter of Armagh, on the succeeding day. Then a new patent of confirmation passed, which granted to his grace and his successors, pursuant to privy seal, dated thirteenth May, 1614, various denominations of lands and tenures of divers kinds, in Meath, Drogheda, Louth, Armagh, Tyrone, Londonderry, Monaghan and Down. The city of Armagh, all the see premises in the county of Armagh, and the Termon or Erenach lands of Clonfeickle, in the county of Tyrone, are specified in the grant. It also created the manor of Armagh, &c. with power to hold in the

1737. William Ussher, whose signature is frequently to be found in various documents of that day, spelled his name with two ss, which mode is adopted by Harris, in his edition of Ware's Bishops. Primate Ussher's posterity, by his daughter, has been continued in the family of Dawson. John Dawson, the grandson of Thomas Dawson mentioned above, married a daughter of John Jeeves, by a daughter of the archbishop, by which means a considerable property descended to his family, which originally came from Yorkshire. Lord Cremorne, Lady Charleville, James Dawson of Forkil, Esq. and others are branches of this ancient stock.—*British Peerage at supra*, p. 389, 390.

* Lodge's records of the rolls.

“newly created and in the ancient manors, such demesnes as he and his successors should think fit; to hold a court-baron and court-leet, within the manors of Armagh, Termonfeiken, Ardtra, Donaghmore, Killmoone, Nobber, Dromiskin, Innisheen, &c. to enjoy all waifes and strays; the seneschals of said manors to have power of Oyer and Terminer, concerning all offences and neglects, committed by any labourer or tradesman, within the premises, with right to grant warrants of replevin, &c. to appoint bailiffs, to issue process, to build and keep prisons; to make coroners, clerks of the market, and masters of assay; his grace and his tenants to be free from tolls and diverse other customs; he to enjoy free warren, chase and park; free fishing in the Boyne: to have pillorie, tumbil* and thewet† in Termonfeiken, Dromiskin, Killmoon, in two parts of the manor of Nobber, and in half the manor of Kilclogher. The archbishop, from time to time, to permit the captain or constable of the fort of Charlemont, to possess and occupy the town and lands of Shanmullane, in the barony of Armagh, to his own use, so long as the crown should maintain a ward or garrison of soldiers, or a constable for the defence of the said fort and the adjacent country.”‡

This grant was renewed on the third of July, 1620, with some additional tenures, amongst which is the cir-

* Tumbil is an instrument of punishment which ought to be in every liberty that hath view of frank pledge for the correction of scolds and unquiet women.—*Cowel's Law Dict.*

† Thewe—Georgius Grey, comes Cantii, clamat in maneriis de Bushton et Ayton, punire delinquentes, contra assisam panis et cervisiæ per tres vices, per amerciamenta et quarta vice pistores per Pilloriam, Braciatore, per Tumbrellam, et rixatrices per thewe, hoc est ponere eas super scabellum vocatum “A Cucking Stool.”—*Ex. Pl. in itin. apud Cestr.* 14^o H. 7, *Cowel's Law Dict.*) Cucking Stools were used for the punishment of common scolds (communes rixatrices), who were indictable as public nuisances, and, when convicted, were placed in a trebucket or cucking stool, (*Saxonice* scolding stool) The ceremony terminated by ducking the offenders in water, hence it is now called “Ducking Stool.”—*V. 6 mod.* 213. 1 *Hawk. P. C.* 158, 200. 3d *Inst.* 219.) By statute 51, Henry III, fraudulent bakers were punishable in the pillory. Brewers who made bad ale, (mala cervisia) were placed in a tumbil or cart of dung, as we learn from Domesday-Book, and in Chester, so early as the reign of Edward the Confessor, “malam cervisiam faciens in cathedra ponebatur stercoris.”—3d *Inst.* 219, *Seld. tit. of hon. b.* 2, c. 5, § 3.

‡ Lodge's Records of the Rolls.

cuit and precinct of the abbey, monastery or house of Franciscan friars, in Armagh.* We have already stated (*page 176—96*) that this establishment was founded by Primate O Scanlain, (or Osconnail) in the thirteenth century.

On the twelfth of July, 1620, a grant was made by the crown to Sir Toby Caulfeild, knight, and master of the ordnance, which vested in him “the abbey or monastery of the Apostles Peter and Paul, or house of canons of Saint Augustine’s order, at Armagh, with the site thereof, the buildings thereon, the cemetery, garden and orchard on the east side thereof, extending near part of the house called the archbishop’s court, by the way called Borenefeighy west, to and near the way called Borene-triansassanagh,† by the abbey garden walls, to Temple-Columbkilly north; to the said garden walls, Columbkilly’s chapel and the tenements of Mac Gillymurry, the sergeant of Ballymorries and Cadones, east, and to the dean’s place and the archbishop’s court, south, together with a stone building, a messuage and garden near Armagh,” and various denominations of lands in several counties.‡

Another grant to the same effect contains a more copious description of part of the premises belonging to the abbey of Peter and Paul, in the following words: “with the whole site thereof, in which are a great church and certain stone bedchambers, on the west part of the same; the §Dortor with certain cellars under it; a hall called Halldarge; a storehouse called Tetasky, with certain stone bedchambers on the west part thereof; the great court and other necessary buildings adjoining;

* Lodge’s records of the rolls.

† Borene-trian-sassanagh is a corruption of the words Bothar-na-trian-Sassanagh. Bothar (pronounced Bohar) is a road, and the meaning of the name is the “Road of the English district or third,” for *trian* has this twofold meaning.—See *page 144 of this work*.

‡ Lodge’s Records of the Rolls.

§ The Dortor (or Dortoir) was the common room where all the Friars of one convent slept at night.—*Bailey’s Dict.* Tetasky is a corruption of the compound Irish word *Tigh-taisge*; the storehouse or treasury-house, Halldarge, is the oaken hall—*alla-dairge*.

the cemetery, garden and orchard on the east side of the abbey."

These edifices were situated in Abbey-street, nearly opposite to the site of the present Library and Infirmary. Part of the premises was lately inhabited, and some small remains of the building still exist.*

A. D. 1621, the College *de Propaganda Fide* was created at Rome. It has jurisdiction over missions and foreign churches, and is possessed of considerable power in Irish ecclesiastical affairs.

About this period, new colonies of Albanian Scots settled in Ireland, and many of these people, professing the Presbyterian religion, became resident inhabitants of the county and city of Armagh. It is probable that Scotch-street, situated near the east entrance into the town, by the Hamilton's-Bawn and Newry roads, was completed by a colony of these Scots, and owes to them its name. The Roman-Catholic inhabitants are believed, about this period, to have principally resided in Irish-street, and the adjacent lanes. It is manifest, that amongst a body of citizens, thus divided into parties, by religion, language, local position and national prejudices, disunion and contention must have prevailed. Neither the genuine Irish, nor the Anglo-Hibernians viewed the new "Settlement of Ulster," with a complacent eye. There is a tradition that the more idle part of the inhabitants of Irish-street, Callen-street, Castle-street, and the adjacent lanes, were accustomed to arm themselves, at stated times, with cudgels, and give battle to those of English-street, Market-street, Scotch-street, &c. This mischievous and inglorious warfare was transmitted to posterity, and preposterously continued, long after those streets had ceased to be appropriated to any particular race of people. Some of these ridiculous battles were fought, by boys and young men, so lately as the year 1773. The Irish-street party was

* Since the first hundred pages of this work were put to press, the habitable part of these buildings has been pulled down.

then denominated "the Rookery Boys," and in that year, one of these petty champions was slain in Market-street, on the steps leading into the churchyard. Similar engagements took place periodically in other towns. In Lurgán, the inhabitants of Ballyblough, used to combat with those who resided in the neighbourhood of the Pound River. In Newry, the people of Ballybot contended with those of High-street; and this spirit of disunion and animosity was widely diffused.

On the twenty-fourth of March, 1625, an inquest was held on the Culdean priory of Armagh, by which it appeared that the prior and the monks had totally forsaken the premises. The survivors of this religious community had died about the year 1600. Sir Toby Caulfeild, seneschal to the primate, had, about that period, received the rents of seven ballyboes, belonging to the priory. It appeared also that John Symons, clerk, had received the profits from the Feast of All Souls, 1623, till the day of the inquisition, and had expended part of it in erecting stalls in the choir of the cathedral.*

The Culdean priory is, probably, that of which Camden speaks in the following terms. "In this place, (Armagh,) about the year of our salvation 610, Columbane built a most famous monastery, out of which very many monasteries were propagated by his disciples, both in Britain and Ireland."†

By an inquisition taken in the thirty-third of Henry VIII. it was found, (as stated *page 234* of this work,) that the religious of the priory of Colidei or Celidei, of Armagh, were incorporated by the name of the prior and Colidei of Armagh; that said prior was seized of seven ballyboes or townlands in the county, viz. Cannadisse, Lisleagh, Ennagsegurt, Aghaville, Lisvonnowe,

* King, p. 134. † Holland's Camden, Art. County of Armagh, p. 108.

In *page 95*, we hazarded a conjecture, that this building had been erected in the eighth century, by some of Columba's successors. This conjecture was founded on the circumstance, that Cearnach, who died in the year 779, was the first Culdean prior of Armagh, of whom we have any account. We had not then adverted to the remarkable passage in Camden, quoted above.

Killenure, and Maghocarrol. Many other denominations of land, besides various tenements in the city of Armagh, and several rectories are recited in the inquest, as belonging to the Culdee establishment, which the reader will find enumerated in Appendix, No. XIII.*

It is certain that the Culdean friars had continued to officiate in the choir of Armagh cathedral, in the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth. The learned Ussher sayst† that they had performed divine service there in his memory. These were, perhaps, the last remnant of Culdees, in Ireland, or possibly in the British Isles. Ussher was born in the year 1580-1, and the survivor of the Armagh Culdees had departed this life, about the year 1600. We may, therefore, make a pretty accurate conjecture, as to the time in which they had ceased to officiate in the choir of the cathedral.

King James died at Theobalds, on the twenty-seventh of March, 1625.‡

* King p. 151. † Brit. Eccl. Ant. p. 333.

‡ Several of the Irish nobility were created by him, viz.

Feb. 23d, 1603. Rory O Donnel, earl of Tyrconnel.

Feb. 23d, 1615. Sir Arthur Chichester, Baron of Belfast, since Earl of Donegal.—The present title is Marquis of Donegal.

July 14th, 1616. Brabazon, Baron of Ardee, since Earl of Meath.

Sept. 29th, Sir Richard Boyle, Baron of Youghal, since Earl of Cork.

May, 25th, 1617. Ridgeway Baron of Galen-Ridgeway, since Earl of Londonderry.

July, 20th, Moor, Baron of Melefont, since Earl of Drogheda.—Present title, Marquis of Drogheda.

Sept. 6th, 1627, Touchet, since Earl of Castlehaven.

Feb. 17th, Lambert, Baron of Cavan, since Earl of Cavan.

Ibid. Bourk, Baron Brittas.

May 8th, 1618, Hamilton, Baron of Strabane.—Present title, Viscount Strabane.

Jan. 31, Blount, Baron Mountjoy.

June, 29th, 1619. Mac Donald, Viscount Dunluce, since Earl of Antrim and Marquis.

Feb. 19th, Sir Richard Wingfield, Viscount Powerscourt.

July 1620. Preston; Earl of Desmond.

May, 1621. Dockwray, Baron of Culmore.

Ibid. Blany, Baron of Monaghan.

March 1st 1621, Henry Power, Viscount Valencia.

Theobald Butler, Viscount Tullagh.—*Ware's Gest. Hib.* p. 177.

The veteran soldier Toby Caulfield, Baron Charlemont, refused an earldom, when offered to him by King James.—*Leland, vol. 3, p. 146.*

CHAPTER XX.

Drs. Patrick Fleming, Hugh O Reilly, Edmund O Reilly, and Oliver Plunket.

IN the only printed list of the Roman-Catholic archbishops of Armagh which we have ever seen, we find the name of *PATRICK FLEMING* entered, as that of Dr. Mac Caghwell's immediate successor in the see.*

If the biographer of this prelate be the person alluded to in the list, we cannot discover any trace of his promotion to the primacy. He was the son of Captain Garret Fleming, a near relation of the lords of Slane, and was born in the county of Louth, on the seventeenth of April, 1599.† His uncle, *à parte materna*, under whom he studied, was president of the Doway and Tournay colleges. On the seventeenth of March, 1617, he took, at Louvain, the probationary habit of Saint Francis, and in the succeeding year, dedicated himself to that order, and changed his baptismal name of Peter into that of Patrick. In 1623, he travelled with his friend Dr. Hugh Mac Caghwell to Rome, where he applied himself in the college of Saint Isidore, to the study of philosophy. Afterwards he became first superior and lecturer of divinity at Prague, in the "College of the Holy Conception of the Blessed Virgin." He fled from that city, after the battle of Leipsic, with his friends Matthew Hoar and Francis Mageniz, but was murdered by some peasants, on the seventh of November, 1631, an event which was celebrated in a poetical effusion, by his countryman, the annalist, Michael O Cleary.

FLEMING wrote a *Life of Columbanus*; that of Hugh Mac Caghwell and other works.

* See Appendix to the *Life of Saint Patrick*, (p. 319,) edit. Dub. by H. Fitzpatrick, A. D. 1810. † Sirini notitia de Pat. Flemingo ad Cap. Collect. Sacr.

We confess that we have strong doubts, as to the promotion of *P. FLEMING*, to the see of Armagh : *first*, because the learned Dr. Hugh Mac Mahon, makes no mention of him, as intervening betwixt Drs. Mac Caghwell and O Reilly, of whom he speaks distinctly, in the twenty-seventh chapter of his *Jus Prim. Armac.* *secondly*, because we find that Primate Mac Caghwell wrote, on his death-bed, to the Pope, and recommended Richard Chamberlain, a native of Ulster, and lecturer in the Irish College at Louvain, as his successor. But before his letter came to hand, his holiness had already appointed Hugh O Reilly to the primacy.* If, however, we are in error, on this subject, we shall at all times be ready to rectify our mistake when clearly pointed out. Meanwhile on the above authority, we assume that Dr. *HUGH O REILLY* was the immediate successor of Dr. Mac Caghwell, in the titular primacy of Armagh. That prelate before his promotion to the see of Armagh, was bishop of Kilmore,† and some of his official acts, performed whilst he presided in that diocess, are still on record.‡

HUGH O REILLY was *Utriusq : Juris Doctor*,§ but little or no opportunity occurred, for the display of his literary talents or philosophic attainments, during the greater part of the time, in which he exercised primatial rights. Ireland was then rent with internal factions and all the horrors of civil war. In the political movements of the day, Dr. *O REILLY* was not inactive. In the year 1642, he summoned his clergy to a synod, in which the war, then carried on by the Irish, was declared lawful and pious.|| The nation was called upon to unite in so righteous a cause, but plunderers and murderers were denounced in terms of execration.

In the month of May, a general synod of all the Roman-Catholic clergy, was assembled at Kilkenny, where

* Vide Paul Harris' "*Fratres Sobrii estote.*" Ware's Writers, book 1, p. 115. † Hib. Dom. cap. 6, p. 109, ‡ Ibid. § Hib. Dom p. 489. || Leland, vol. 3, p. 180.

numerous acts were solemnly passed. The war, said to be maintained by the Catholics, against sectaries, and in defence of religion and the king, was declared just and equitable. It was determined, that an oath of association should be taken by the confederates, and that all who should reject it, or remain neuter, should be excommunicated. It was decreed, also, that provincial councils of the clergy and laity, as well as a general, national council should be formed, to which the minor ones were to be subordinate, and that embassies should be sent to foreign potentates to solicit aid.

For the various acts of the national council, which assembled at Kilkenny, we must refer to the historians of that period. Amongst other measures which it adopted, a supreme council of twenty-four* persons was appointed, six for each province. Those nominated for Ulster were Hugh O Reilly; the titular bishop of Down; Philip O Reilly, Colonel Mac Mahon, Ever Magenis and Turlogh O Nial. Nine of the entire number were necessary to compose an efficient council.† and to choose sheriffs, out of such persons, as should be nominated by county councils. All civil magistrates and military officers were to have been subordinate to their command, and a guard of five hundred foot and two hundred horse was assigned for the protection of the assembly.

In all probability, whatever power *Dr. O REILLY* possessed, in right of his titular primacy, soon became subordinate to that of Peter Scaramp,‡ who appeared at the assembly of Kilkenny, as minister of the Pope, from whom he brought letters to the supreme council and to the prelates, with a supply of money and ammunition; a bull for a jubilee and a plenary absolution for those who had armed themselves in defence of the Roman-Catholic religion.

* Leland, vol. 3, p. 181, 182. Borlase. Cox, p. 125.

† Their official seal contained a cross, a crown, a harp surmounted with a dove, and a flaming harp below the cross. The inscription, "*Pro Deo, pro rege et patria Hibernia, unanimes.*"—*Borlase, p. 128.*

‡ Leland, vol. 3, p. 298.

The subsequent arrival of the Pope's nuncio, Rinuncini, archbishop of Fermo, and his injudicious conduct in this country, had a mighty tendency to render the affairs of Ireland, still more perplexed and hopeless. Primate *O REILLY* and the rest of the clergy seem, at first, to have been powerfully influenced by him; and the measures, which he induced them to adopt, were greatly conducive to the overthrow of the king's interest, in this kingdom, and the final establishment of the Cromwellian party. Under the guidance of Rinuncini, they, on the twelfth of August, 1646, decreed that every member of the Catholic association who should adhere to a treaty of peace, which had been transmitted to them, in thirty articles, by the supreme council, should be deemed perjured and excommunicated as such. Dr. *O REILLY* was not personally present at this meeting, but the decree was signed by his proxy and procurator, Edmund O Teig.*

The name of Hugo Armacanus is annexed to various documents executed about this period, by the most active of the Roman-Catholic chieftains and leaders. On the tenth of January, 1646-7, the assembly of Catholics met at Kilkenny and digested the form of an oath of association. Primate *O REILLY* was then at the head of the spiritual peers.† By this oath, they bound themselves to maintain faithful allegiance to the king and his successors; to defend the fundamental laws of the kingdom; the free exercise of the Roman-Catholic religion, and the lives and properties of their associates; to obey the edicts of the supreme council, and not to make or adhere to any peace, concluded without the consent of a general assembly. Various propositions, declaratory of the rights claimed for the Roman-Catholic clergy, were annexed to the oath. At the head of the list of spiritual peers, who subscribed the formula and propositions, stands *HUGO O REILLY*, Archiepis-

* Cox, App. 30, p. 122, 123.

† Hib. Dom. App. p. 883, 884.

copus Armacanus ; at the head of the temporal peers, Alexander Mac Donnell, Comes de Antrim.* *O REILLY*'s name appears subscribed to a declaration executed at Kilkenny, on the twenty-seventh of April, 1648, in which the Roman-Catholic prelates, influenced by the Pope's nuncio Rinuncini, protested strongly against a cessation of hostilities, which Lord Inchiquin was endeavouring to conclude with the Irish. This commander was then desirous of forming a union with the confederates, that they might act with vigour in support of the king's cause, which he was inclined to espouse.†

On the twelfth of August, 1650, Dr. *O REILLY* signed the famous declaration executed at Jamestown, against the continuance of his majesty's authority, in the person of the duke of Ormond, with an excommunication annexed.

Cox (on the authority of P. Walsh,) accuses him of having endeavoured to excite, in parliament, an interest in behalf of the Ulster Irish, "because," said he, "they never had affection for the king, nor his family, and as for me, I never was a friend or a well-wisher to any of the four," meaning the king, the dukes of York and Gloucester, and the marquis of Ormond.‡ He had been charged, also, with having, at a former period, corresponded with the earl of Tyrone and others, in Flanders, concerning an intended invasion of Ireland. On that account, he had been for a short time, imprisoned in the castle of Dublin and then dismissed.§ He is said to have issued precepts, commanding the people to pray for the success of Cromwell.|| How far these charges may have been founded on truth, cannot, at present, be fully ascertained; but it is certain that Dr. *O REILLY* was actively engaged in the unhappy civil contests of the day; and more traces are found of his political,

* Arch. S. Isidor. de urbe, Armario, 5 Num. 8 Fol. 98 citante De Burgh, App. Hib. Dom. p. 882, 883. † App. Hib. Dom. p. 890. Leland, vol. 5, p. 324. ‡ Cox. Charles II, p. 54. § Cox, App. IX, p. 40. || P. W. Rem, p. 706, 707, citante Cox.

than of his purely ecclesiastical, acts. We learn from the accurate Dr. Mac Mahon, that both at Kilkenny and at Cashel, he, in the presence of the Pope's nuncio, took precedence of the other Roman-Catholic prelates. We have not been able to discover the exact period of his decease, but De Burgh states that he died in his native land.*

HUGH O REILLY was succeeded, in the see, by Dr. *EDMUND O REILLY*, of whom we have been able to obtain but little information. Much of his time was spent either abroad or in prison. He is accused by Peter Walsh and Cox,† of having betrayed the royalist army, at Baggotsrath, an event which was followed by the fatal battle at Rathmines. Probably after the ruin of the Catholic party, and the massacre of their clergy, perpetrated by the Cromwellians, he fled from the kingdom. After the restoration, he solicited, by letter, permission from the king, to return to his native land. Charles II. in hopes that he would support a recognition of loyalty, which he expected the Roman-Catholic bishops would adopt, did not oppose his return. This recognition, which was not only expressive of strong attachment to the king, but even disclaimed the Pope's supremacy in temporals, was signed by Oliver Darcy, bishop of Down, and fifty-four regulars, seventeen seculars, ten Roman-Catholic noblemen and many of the gentry. The primate, however, in a synodical meeting of the clergy, A. D. 1666, opposed the adoption of this remonstrance, with all his powers. Shortly after this period, he and all the other Roman-Catholic prelates, connected with him, except two, who were decrepid and unable to escape, fled from the kingdom.‡ It appears, however, that the primate did not effect his escape to the continent, but was taken prisoner on the twenty-seventh of September, 1666,§ and transmitted to England. In 1670, during the government of Lord Berkley, the anti-

* Hib. Dom. p. 489. † Cox, Charles 2, p. 7. ‡ Harris's Ware's Writers, p. 195, § Cox, Charles II, Hib. Dom. p. 710. Ware.

remonstrants were, in their turn, taken into favour, and their opponents persecuted. But Dr. *O REILLY* did not live to witness the mortification of his enemies, and the triumph of his friends, for he died about the year 1669.

His successor in the Roman-Catholic primacy of Ireland, was *OLIVER PLUNKET*, D. D. a descendant of one of the most ancient and noble families in the country, and a near relative to the earls of Fingal.* This divine had studied at the Irish Ludovisian college, at Rome. Here he took his degree of D. D. and became public professor of divinity, in the College "*de propaganda fide*," the duties of which he discharged in the most able and exemplary manner. Pope Clement IX. pleased with his integrity and learning, promoted him, in the year 1669,† to the see of Armagh, as a reward justly due to his merits.‡

Dr. *PLUNKET* who was a most learned and pious man, laboured assiduously to amend the morals of the people committed to his ecclesiastic jurisdiction, and to diffuse a spirit of Christian love through the community.§ He is characterized by Bishop Burnet,|| as a "wise and sober man, who was for living quietly and in due submission to the government."

His contemporary, Dr. Peter Talbot, Roman-Catholic archbishop of Dublin, who also was a man of talents, possessed a more aspiring and restless spirit. He not only sought to assume a superiority over his primate, in the church, but to direct the political movements of the Roman-Catholics of Ireland. He had excited a species of persecution against a body of the secular and regular clergy, who had signed "a remonstrance of their loyalty

* Tres fuere simul suntque gentes Plunkettanæ proceres, comes nimirum Fingallus, atque Barones Dunsanius et Louthanus. Adeas cap. 1, No. 22, lit. n. pag. 51. Cæterum Antistes Oliverius prodiit e domo Plunketorum de Logherew, in Midensi Agro Lageniæ, teste Lodgæo, vol. 1, p. 156.—*Hib. Dom. p. 130.*

† *Hib. Dom. p. 499.* ‡ Vide *Arsdekin. Theologia, Tripart. Venetis, 1700, p. 227.* *Hib. Dom. p. 130.* § *Hib. Dom. 130.* || *Hist. of his times, vol. 1, f. 230.*

to the king," and he had even proceeded such lengths as to denounce them excommunicated. In a synod, held in Dublin, he alleged that the king had appointed him to oversee all the clergy of Ireland. Dr. *PLUNKET* insisted upon seeing the document which invested him with such extraordinary powers, but he evaded the demand. The primate then told him, explicitly, "that till he should openly produce it, he would take care to oversee Talbot himself, from whom he should expect due obedience." The archbishop of Dublin, thus baffled in his grand object, proposed passing over to England, under colour of opposing Peter Walsh's efforts to have the "remonstrance" enforced. But Dr. *PLUNKET* not only inhibited him from his intended voyage, but openly reproved him, declaring that "he did not believe he had any such matter in view, and that he had the reputation of intermeddling too much in affairs of state, contrary to the canons and orders of the Pope." In short, the primate was a man of loyal principles, who, on all occasions, expressed his abhorrence of political intrigues, and recommended peaceable submission to the government.*

Thus it appears, that Archbishop *PLUNKET*, though a man of meek spirit, fulfilled his primatial duties with temperate firmness and dignity. His innocence and sanctity of life were not, however, sufficient to shield him from the diabolical malice of some unprincipled enemies. He had censured Murphy and Moyer,† two ecclesiastics of profligate lives and abandoned character, for the gross immorality of their conduct.‡ These miscreants combining with one Duffy and other depraved wretches, accused their unsuspecting primate of holding a treasonable

* Leland, vol. 3, p. 481. Harris's Ware's Writers, p. 192:

† Edmund Murphy was titular chanter of Armagh, and a secular priest. He wrote a book styled "The present Condition of Ireland, but more especially of the Province of Ulster," in which he details the exploits of Redmond O Hanlon. He was himself a rapparee — *Harris's, Ware's Writers*, p. 199.

‡ Carte's Life of Ormond, vol. 2, p. 513,

correspondence with the French court. They pretended, that twenty thousand Frenchmen were to land at Carlingford, and that Dr. *PLUNKET* was to join them, at the head of seventy thousand men. Under this ridiculous charge, he was seized and sent to Newgate, on the sixth of December, 1679, and from thence, in October, 1680, removed to London. Here the first attempt of his enemies was defeated, and the jury refused to find the bills against him.* The informers, however, gained new accomplices in their villany, and fresh indictments were framed and found against the archbishop. The conspirators who had now lodged examinations against him were the friars Mac Moyer, Duffy and Maclean, Murphy, chanter of Armagh, four laymen, one of whom was named Florence Mac Moyar, the second and third disgraced the name of O Neal, and the fourth dishonoured that of Hanson. The charges brought by these nefarious wretches against their primate, are thus enumerated in his dying moments by himself:—

“*First*, That I have sent letters by one Neal O Neal, who was my page, to Monsieur Baldeschi, the Pope’s secretary; to the bishop of Aix, and Principe Colonna; that they might solicit foreign powers to invade Ireland, and also to have sent letters to Cardinal Bouillon to the same effect.

Secondly, To have employed Captain Con O Neal, to solicit the French king for succour.

Thirdly, To have levied and exacted monies from the clergy of Ireland, to bring in the French and to maintain seventy thousand men.

Fourthly, To have had in readiness seventy thousand men, and lists made of them; and to have given directions to one Friar Duffy, to make a list of two hundred and fifty men in the Parish of Foghart, in the county of Louth.

Fifthly, To have surrounded all the forts and harbours of Ireland ; and to have fixed upon Carlingford, as a fit harbour for the French landing.

Sixthly, To have had several councils and meetings, where there was money allotted for introducing the French.

Finally, That there was a meeting in the county of Monaghan, some ten or twelve years past, where there were three hundred gentlemen of three several counties, to wit, Monaghan, Cavan and Armagh ; whom I did exhort to take up arms to recover their estates."

It is clear, that the accused prelate ought to have been tried in Ireland, where the impossibility of such crimes having been committed by him, would have been manifest to every man acquainted with the country.* His papers and witnesses were in this kingdom. Five weeks were indeed granted to him, by the chief-justice, after his arraignment, on the third of May, to have the evidence and documents necessary to his case, transmitted to London. Contrary winds and untoward accidents rendered it impossible for him to effect this important object. His witnesses were scattered through various counties, and it was impracticable for a prisoner, in strict and rigorous confinement, to bring them forward at the appointed time. They had not arrived on the day of trial, a fact which he testified on oath, whilst he prayed the court to grant him the short period of twelve additional days. His request was refused ;† the judges proceeded on the trial ; the band of conspirators stood forth against him, strong in perjury and in malice ; and this good and loyal man fell the innocent victim of their murderous rancour, and of the unfeeling cunning of Shaftesbury, by whom, in all probability, they had been suborned.

* Archbishop Plunket resided a considerable time in a mudwall house, in the county of Louth ; so ill adapted were his pecuniary resources to the raising of armies and surrounding of harbours.

† Vide Dr. Plunket's Speech, and Ardekin, Theol. Trip. p. 761, 762. edit. Colonizæ 1737.

Convicted of an impossible crime, and sentenced to an ignominious death, Archbishop *PLUNKET* was dragged on a sledge to Tyburn, and executed on the first of July, 1681, in the presence of an immense multitude of spectators. With his latest breath, he called on heaven to witness his innocence. He reasoned, calmly and magnanimously, on the crimes imputed to him. In the course of his speech, he pointed out the romantic absurdity of the supposition that twenty thousand Frenchmen were to have been landed at Carlingford, and the great improbability of his being able to levy an army of seventy thousand Irishmen, when the whole income of the Roman-Catholic clergy of Ireland, would not have sufficed to raise, clothe, equip and feed a single* regiment, and the entire revenues of the kingdom, both spiritual and temporal, would have been scarcely adequate to bear the expenses of such an army. No man who knew Ireland would, he alleged, credit such charges, or believe the still more extravagant assertion that he had surrounded all the forts and harbours of the kingdom, if he were to admit their truth with his dying breath.

After the execution of this injured man, his head was severed from his body, which was divided into quarters and buried in St. Giles's churchyard, in the fields. At the end of two years, it was raised and conveyed to a monastery of English Benedictines, at Lamspring, in the duke of Brunswick's territories, in Germany, and reburied there, with much pomp. The head, however, even yet adorned with silvery-coloured hair, is preserved in a monastery of Dominican nuns, at Drogheda,† and is, we are informed, in a state of high preservation.‡ The features still retain the character of the archbishop's countenance, and awake in the mind of every spectator, a lively recollection of his wrongs, his innocence and his

* Ibid. *Arsdekin, Theol. Trip.* p. 762, et sequentia.

† Venerabile ipsius caput, Pontanam, in Hibernia, exportatum fuit, ubi id vidi in theca argentea, ex qua extrahi potest, etiam quoad crines utique canos palpabile.—*Hib. Dom.* p. 151.

‡ Ware's *Writers*, p. 194.

sufferings, mixed with emotions of horror at the atrocities of his savage and perjured murderers.

Some of his accusers lived to confess, and to shudder at their crimes. One of those miscreants, Duffy, old, emaciated, abhorred, exiled from his church and tortured with remorse, visited a successor of Archbishop *PLUNKET*, and, as he approached him, exclaimed in an agony of soul, "Am I never to have peace! Is there no mercy for me!" The prelate heard him in silence, then opened a glass-case, and in a deep and solemn voice said, "Look here thou unfortunate wretch!" The head of his murdered primate was before him, he saw—knew it, and swooned away.* It is, however, said, that such was the contrition of this miserable man, that he was afterwards reconciled with his church, and died a penitent.

Tragical events, like the premature death of *PLUNKET*, and crimes similar to that perpetrated by his murderers, were not unusual in those sanguinary times. Religious bigotry and party spirit agitated the contending factions of the country, and excited them to the most detestable acts. The life of Stafford, but a little before this period, had been falsely sworn away, for political purposes, in a manner strongly resembling the present case. Of the causes of *PLUNKET*'s death, Hume gives the following concise account:—

"In England, where the Catholics were scarce one to a hundred, means had been found to excite an universal panic, on account of insurrections and even massacres, projected by that sect; and it could not but seem strange that in Ireland, where they exceeded the Protestants ten to one, there should no symptoms appear of any combination or conspiracy. Such an incident, when duly considered, might even in England shake the credit of the plot, and diminish the authority of those leaders,

* See Milner's Inquiry, p. 57, 58.

who had so long, with such industry, inculcated the belief of it on the nation. Rewards, therefore, were published in Ireland to any that would bring intelligence or become witnesses; and some profligates were sent over to that kingdom, with a commission to seek out evidence against the Catholics. Under pretence of searching for arms or papers, they broke into houses, and plundered them: They threw innocent men into prison, and took bribes for their release: And after all their diligence, it was with difficulty, that that country, commonly fertile enough in witnesses, could furnish them with any fit for their purpose.

“At last, a certain Fitzgerald appeared, followed by two Maenamaras, Ivey, Sanson, Dennis, Bourke, and some others. These men were immediately sent over to England; and though they possessed neither character sufficient to gain belief even for truth, nor sense to invent a credible falshood, they were caressed, rewarded, supported, and recommended by the earl of Shaftesbury. Oliver Plunket, the titular primate of Ireland, a man of very peaceable dispositions, was condemned and executed upon such testimony.”*

Some of *Dr. PLUNKET's* official acts, in the exercise of his primatial rights, have been recorded by Catholic authors. In 1671, a contest had arisen betwixt the Dominicans and Franciscans, about the limits of their respective convents, viz. that of Gaul in the diocess of Clogher, that of Newton in Down, and that of Carlingford, in the diocess of Armagh. On the eleventh of October, Primate *PLUNKET*, to whom the matter was referred by the Pope, decreed that the friars of Carlingford might solicit alms in all these diocesses.† In 1670, he held cognisance, by his proœurator, of an appeal in a matrimonial cause made by Dame Purcell, widow of Chivers of Mountown, in the diocess of Dublin. He

* Hume's England, vol. 8, p. 160, † Hib. Dom. p. 129, 130,

decided the cause in the city of Dublin itself, and his adjudication was final.*

In 1672, Dr. *OLIVER PLUNKET* wrote a book styled "*Jus Primatiale*," or the ancient right and preeminence of the see of Armagh, above all other archbishopricks of the kingdom. To which Archbishop Talbot replied, A. D. 1674, in a dissertation, entitled "*Primatus Dubliniensis, vel summa rerum quibus innititur Ecclesia Dubliniensis, in Possessione et Prosecutione sui Juris ad Primatum Hiberniæ*." A warm contest had existed, betwixt these two prelates, on the subject of the Primatial rights. At a convocation which took place in Dublin, in 1670, each of the contending archbishops refused to subscribe subsequent to the other. In order, that their future meetings might not be disturbed by such altercations on the right of precedence, the point at issue was referred to the see of Rome, to which the claims of both prelates were submitted. Here the matter was duly and solemnly considered in a full meeting of cardinals; and Baldescus, bishop of Cæsarea, secretary to the congregation *de propaganda fide*, pronounced as follows, "*L'Armacano sta a cavallo*,"† and again on the seventeenth of March, the congregation *de propaganda fide*, with the approbation of the Pope, decided "that Armagh was the chief see and metropolis of the whole island."‡

* *Jus Prim. Armac. c. 24.* † *i. e. Armacani rationes prevalere.* ‡ *Ibid. c. 28.*

CHAPTER XXI.

From the Coronation of Charles the First, till the Restoration.

ON the twenty-third of June, 1625, Charles Stuart, son of the deceased King James, was crowned, at Westminster.

On the fifteenth of December, 1627, King Charles, pursuant to letters which had issued under the privy-seal, on the eighth of the preceding July, executed a grant to Archbishop USSHER, of various tracts of land, in the counties of Armagh, Tyrone, Donegal, Fermanagh and Cavan. From the rents and profits of these lands, free schools were to be established and supported, in stated districts of these respective counties, viz. Mount-Norris, Mountjoy, Donegal, Lisgoole, &c.

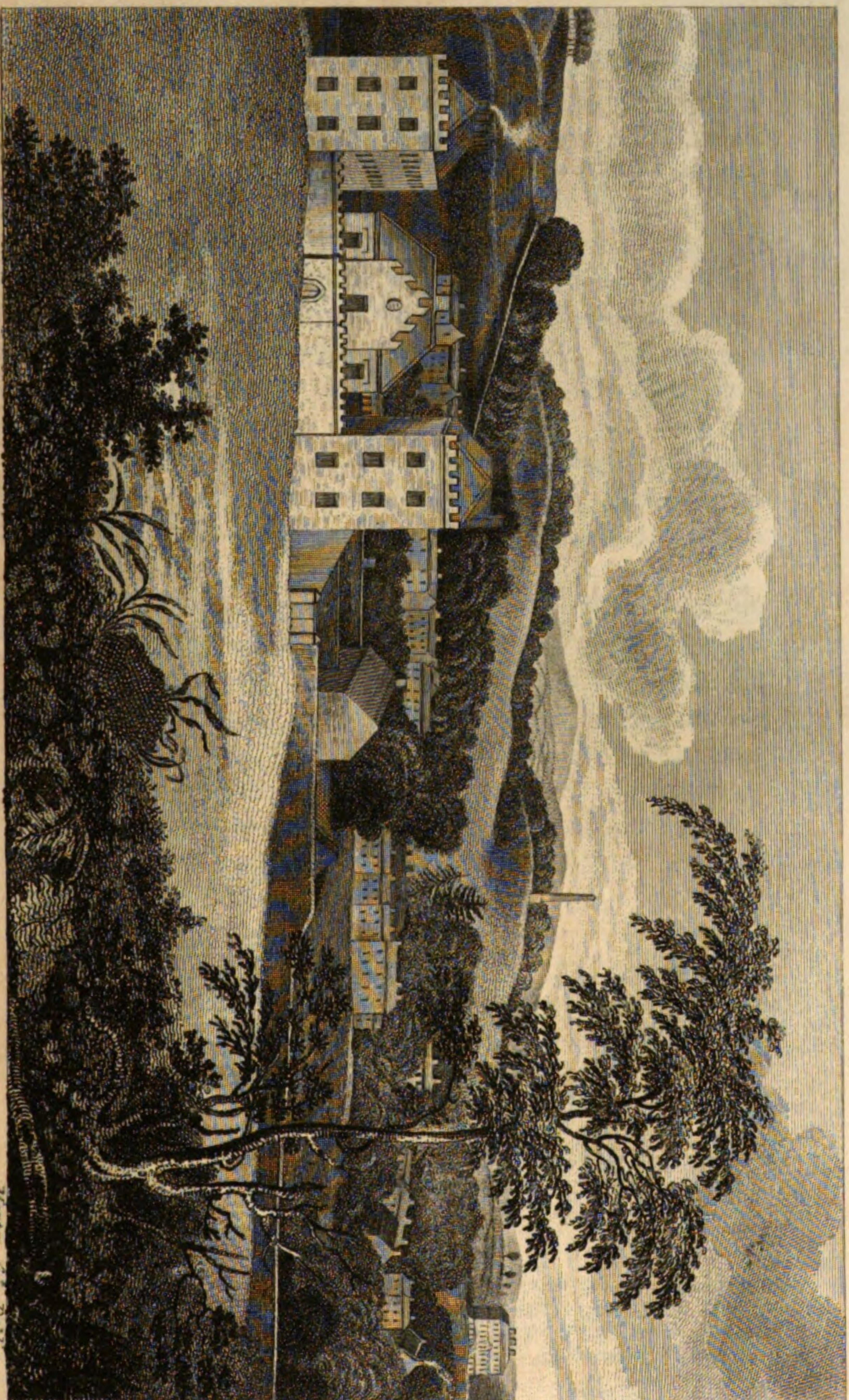
A tract of land, supposed, in the grant, to contain seven hundred and twenty acres, was appropriated for the support of the master, who was to preside over the intended school, at Mount-Norris, in the county of Armagh. It was situated in Mocullenowtra, Lissballyvally, Ballymore *alias* Mullymore, Ballybottyn, Cornegrallagh and Kincon, in the precincts of Orier.*

To this endowment, the classical academy or school, now established in the city of Armagh, owes its origin. Mount-Norris would have been an obscure and inconvenient situation for such a seminary. In the capital of the county, it has flourished exceedingly, and has been found eminently useful, not only to the province of Ulster, but to the whole kingdom of Ireland.†

On the twenty-third day of May, in the tenth year of his reign, King Charles, by letters patent, “ordained, that there shall be a company or college founded, anew, in the cathedral church of St. Patrick, Armagh, to

* Vide the charter in the Roll's Office.

† See Appendix, No. V.



J. B. Del.

Morgan, sc. Dublin.

The COLLEGE of ARMA G H .

consist of eight vicars choral and one organist, to celebrate and administer divine service in the church of St. Patrick, Armagh, aforesaid, for ever, according to the laws and customs of said company." This company is styled, in the patent, "The College of King Charles, in the church of St. Patrick, Armagh." The vicars-choral, appointed in the document itself, were "Thomas Burton, (Clerke), John Tadpole, Anthony Staunton, Thomas Nawle, William Wetherley,* Robert Fletcher, David Bolley and Alexander Vernon." The first organist was Richard Galway. The choir is formed into a body corporate and politic, to endure, for ever, by the name of "The Vicars-choral, and organist of the College or Church of St. Patrick, in Armagh, in the county of Armagh." and is to have perpetual succession.

To this body corporate, various tracts of lands, which had formerly belonged to the ancient Culdean priory, were granted by the charter. Of these the principal were seven towns, or ballyboes of land, in the barony of Armagh, viz. the town and lands of Coninadesse, containing one ballyboe; of Enaghsegart, one ballyboe; of Lisnavonnawe, one ballyboe; of Magheravall, one ballyboe; of Lislough, one ballyboe; of Aghavillis, one ballyboe; of Kilcunrie,† one ballyboe; also the priory of the Colidei, in the city of Armagh, with its site, circuit, precinct and appurtenances. For an enumeration of various other lands and tenements which had formerly been vested in the Culdees, but were by this charter transferred to the vicars-choral, the reader is referred to Appendix No. XIII.

The patent also recites various rectories, vicarages and tithes which had belonged to the priory. An account of these will be found in the same Appendix. The pa-

* The names of the vicars are twice recited in the charter. On the second recital, *Nicholas Meiler* is substituted in our copy in the place of *William Wetherley*, and a name which we cannot read in place of *Alexander Vernon*.

† These are evidently the same denominations of land recited in page 350, but differently spelled.

tent makes a new arrangement of the rectories, &c. and vests the right of presentment in the archbishop of Armagh. The parish of Clonfeckle seems, however, for what reason we know not, to be at present, in the gift of Trinity-College, Dublin.*

The same charter empowers the primate to hold a weekly market (on Saturdays) and an annual fair, in the City of Armagh. The tolls or customs, to be there levied, are vested in his grace, as will more particularly appear by extracts from the patent which we annex in Appendix No. XXI.

On Saturday the twenty-third of October, 1641, the Irish rebellion commenced with a sudden insurrection of a part of the people, in Ulster. The causes of this formidable revolt form a subject of curious inquiry, but it is utterly impossible, that a matter of such intricacy and importance could be discussed in the bounds allotted to the present history.

On the evening of the twenty-second of October, Sir Phelim O Neil,† of Kinnard, surprised and pillaged the castle of Charlemont, and made Lord Caulfeild, the governor, with his family and the whole garrison prisoners. He had invited himself to sup with this gallant officer, and thus gained admission for his followers.

* Vide the Patent in the Rolls-Office.

† Sir Phelim O Neil was a lineal descendant of Owen O Nial, the grandfather of Con O Nial, (surnamed *Bacach*).—*Mac Geog. tom. 3, p. 678.* He had been educated in Lincoln's-Inn, and had professed the Protestant religion, but on his return to Ireland was reconciled to the Church of Rome.—*Carte.* The death of the only son and representative of Hugh, earl of Tyrone, in the year 1641, enabled him to place himself (*pro tempore*,) at the head of the illustrious family of O Neil. The descendants of the famous John or Shane O Nial, if any existed, were too obscure to contest the point with their more powerful relative; and Owen Roe O Nial had not then arrived in Ireland.—*Mac Geog. tom. 3, p. 678.* Tyrone's son had the command of a Spanish regiment, till his decease. He left no legitimate issue. It is not however absolutely certain that the posterity of Hugh, earl of Tyrone is extinct. In a letter to the lord-lieutenant of Ireland, signed by the lords-justices and privy council, 25th October, 1641, mention is made of Hugh Mac Mahon, Esq. grandson to Tyrone, and a lieutenant-general in the Spanish army. If this document may be relied on, we were in error, when we stated (page 307,) that the race of Tyrone had terminated on the death of his son.—*Temple, p. 27.* The observation however is correct with regard to the male line.

After this exploit, he seized on the town and fort of Dungannon, whilst some of his associates surprised the castle of Mountjoy. Tandragee was taken possession of by the O Hanlons; Newry, by Con Magennis, who found there a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition.* Lord Blaney's house was unexpectedly assailed and carried, and his wife with his seven children and two sisters, made prisoners.† Roger, brother to the Lord Maguire, soon became master of the greater part of the county of Fermanagh, and the ancient sept of the Mac Mahons took possession of every strong hold in the county of Monaghan. In less than eight days, the insurgents were predominant in the counties of Tyrone, Monaghan, Longford, Leitrim, Fermanagh, Cavan, Donegal and Derry; and in a considerable part of Armagh and Down. The towns of Derry, Colerain, Lisenegarvey, Carrickfergus and Enniskillen, resisted their attempts.

Sir Phelim O Neil soon found himself at the head of thirty thousand men.‡ In conjunction with Maguire, he formed a camp at Newry, and on the fifth of November, published a declaration, or address, to the people, in which he asserted that he had acted under the king's commission, with the great seal appended. To give this *ruse de guerre*, the semblance of truth, a seal had been removed from an old patent, found at Lord Charlemont's castle, and this had been annexed to a forged commission.§

Sir Phelim O Neil's chief northern associates in this insurrection, were Turlogh O Neil, his brother, Brian O Neil, Roger Maguire, Philip O Reilly, Mælmore

* Carte,

† Lord Blaney himself escaped, but the town and castle were pillaged by Coll Mac Mahon and Patrick Mac Duff. His lands, then worth £1,500 per annum, were seized by the predominant party. His losses in cattle, goods, furniture, and by the burning of his houses, amounted to £13,873, besides £2,250 of current rent, which he never received.

‡ Carte. Temple. Leland. § Cox's Charles I, p. 79. Depositions of Jane Bear and others in Trin. Col. Dublin.

O Reilly, Sir Con Magenis, Col Mac Brien, Mac Mahon, &c.*

It is totally impracticable to give in this historic narrative, a detailed account of the horrible acts perpetrated by the contending parties, in the progress of the insurrection.† Lurgan castle, &c. which were surrendered by Sir William Brownlow, were pillaged by the insurgents: dreadful barbarities were committed in the neighbourhood of Augher. Lord Charlemont was slain in Kinnard castle, Sir Phelim O Neil's family mansion, to which he had been conveyed a prisoner. Many persons were drowned in the river Bann; many others in the Blackwater. At Loughgall, Kilmore, Grange, Kilmaman and various other districts in the neighbourhood of Armagh, most inhuman murders were perpetrated by the insurgents. On the other hand, Sir Charles Coote, Sir William St. Leger,‡ Captains Pearsely, Brown and others, infamously, signalized themselves, by the most atrocious barbarities, and thus disgraced the Protestant troops which they respectively commanded.§

In the year 1642, the English parliament had determined to send a body of Scotch troops into Ireland.|| Of these two thousand five hundred men, were, in the first instance, destined to resist the progress of the rebels in Ulster.¶ This corps was to be put in possession of Carrickfergus, and was to wait the arrival of the whole force, amounting to ten thousand men. Near the middle of April, the first detachment arrived at Carrickfergus, under Robert Monroe, and on the twenty-seventh of the same month, one body of his troops moved to Malone,** where they were joined by one thousand foot, three troops of light horse and two of dragoons, under Lord Conway and Colonel Chichester. On the twenty-ninth, they marched to Lisnegarvey, (now Lisburn,) where they were reinforced with eight hundred foot and two troops

* Temple, p. 34. † Carte's Ormond, vol. 1. ‡ Leland, vol. 3, p. 154. Carte. § Mac Geog. tom. 3 p. 669, || Mem. Castlehaven, p. 81. ¶ Leland, vol. 3, p. 175 176. ** Cox, Charles I, p. 114.

of cavalry, belonging to the Lords Claneboy and Ards. Monroe, with a part of this force, defeated a body of Irish, under the Lord of Eva, at Kilwarlin, slew one hundred and fifty of his opponents, and on the thirtieth of April, arrived at Loughbrickland, where he killed sixty of the insurgents. On the third of May, he advanced towards Newry, but as he approached the town, his progress was arrested by some Irish troops, stationed at the entrance of a wood, whom he assailed and slew.* He now without further interruption, seized on the fort and town of Newry, where in the plenitude of his power, he hanged eighteen women and sixty men.†

On the sixth of May, he marched with his Anglo-Scottish army to Armagh. Sir Phelim O Neil, who had fled to that city, from Dundalk, on the first of the same month, had deemed the post untenable, and had, therefore, determined to retreat. Actuated by a spirit of revenge, he set fire to the cathedral and the city, and slew a considerable number of the Protestant inhabitants.‡

It is stated in the deposition of Captain Parkin, published by Temple, that Sir Phelim had caused Manus O Cane, to collect all the Protestants, who were left in the neighbourhood, in order to conduct them to Cole-rain, but when they were scarce a day's journey from Armagh, they were all murdered. He adds that "all the aged people in the city were, by the same directions, carried away, but murdered at Charlemont. And presently after, his brother and he, with their adherents, maliciously set on fire the goodly cathedral church of Armagh, and town of Armagh, and murdered and drowned there five hundred persons, young and old."§

* Life of the Rev. Mr. John Livingston, p. 33, edit. Glasgow. 1773. The Scots seem minutely and coolly to have examined the dead bodies of their enemies. The Rev. John Livingston, who was himself a spectator of the combat, writes thus:— "A part of the rebels that made some opposition by the way, at the entry of a wood, were killed. *They were so fat, that one might have hid their fingers in the lirk of their breasts.*" Ibid.

† Leland, vol. 3, p. 176. ‡ Cox, p. 114. Temple, p. 85, 127. Leland, p. 176. § Temple, p. 85.

This account, though solemnly sworn to by Captain Parkin, seems evidently a mixture of truth and falsehood. It is certain that Sir Phelim set fire to the city and to the cathedral. But it is incredible that he would have despatched any of his prisoners to Colerain, which was then in possession of the Anglo-Scots.* If he had merely intended to murder them, for what object did he send them a day's journey from Armagh, since he had not scrupled to slay other persons in the city itself? Neither is it likely that, when he found the enemy advancing, he would have wasted his time, in drowning prisoners, whom he might have despatched in a more expeditious manner. There is no deep river in the city, in which he could have suddenly plunged the victims of his barbarity.

If we credit the deposition of William Fitz-Gerald, clerk, who lived near Armagh, Sir Phelim O Neil set fire to the city and cathedral, on the second of May. He adds "that all the villages, houses and provisions in the neighbouring country were fired by the rebels, and many men, women and children murdered, as well in the town as in the country." Temple himself intimates that the English had shut themselves up in the great cathedral church, and were there put to death,† by Sir Phelim and his brother Turlogh.

Whilst every feeling heart must reprobate the conduct of Sir Phelim O Neil, the meed of praise is due to the humanity of his mother, the widow Catherine Hoveden. That lady not only kept twenty-four Englishmen and Scots, in her own house, but at her own cost, supplied them with provisions above nine months, and thus preserved them uninjured. Her son, Captain Alexander Hoveden, conducted thirty-five of the English from Armagh to Drogheda, and twenty, in perfect safety, to Newry.‡

The accounts given of the cruelties perpetrated by the contending parties, during this dreadful civil war, should

* Cox's Charles I, p. 114. † Temple, p. 36, 127. ‡ Cox, Appendix X, p. 47. Berlase Hist. of the Irish Rebel. App.

be received with great caution. They were written at a time of violent national agitation, when a spirit of antichristian animosity was widely diffused, over the whole country. The depositions inserted in Sir William Temple's work, are filled with incredible tales of shrieking and clamorous spectres crying aloud for revenge. Oaths of this nature prove nothing, but that the deponents were under the influence of strong passions and disordered imaginations. On such testimony who can rely? In many of the examinations, signed by the commissioners, and now deposited in Trinity-College, Dublin, and said to be on oath, the pen has been evidently drawn through the words, "being duly sworn," and in others, various parts of the documents are crossed out.* Neither are the cruelties said to have been perpetrated by the Protestants, on the Catholics, to be implicitly believed. That three thousand innocent persons were murdered, in one night, in the small district of Island-Magee, is utterly incredible. At present the whole population of that island amounts only to one thousand, nine hundred and thirty-one persons.†

After this period, the people of Ulster were afflicted with a dreadful famine. In the month of June, the Scots, reinforced by Sir John Clotworthy, scoured the whole county of Antrim, with three thousand four hundred and fifty foot soldiers, a troop of dragoons, and four of light horse. The castle of Dunluce was surrendered to them, by the marquis of Antrim. Having garrisoned this fort, the Scots marched through Armagh, to Charlemont, whilst Clotworthy proceeded by Toome, through the barony of Loughinsolin. In the course of their march, they found the Irish reduced by famine to the dreadful

* Warner's Hist. † Statistical survey of Island-Magee, Newry Mag. vol. III. p. 395. See also some able and conclusive observations on the subject, in page 509, of the third volume of the Newry Magazine.

It seems, however, certain that various persons were inhumanly murdered in Island-Magee, by the Scots, probably in revenge for the slaughter of their countrymen, the followers of William Stewart of the Irry, who had married Tyrone's granddaughter.—*Cox, Charles I. p. 98.*

necessity of eating their own dead. The Scots, unable to procure a sufficient supply of provisions in the neighbourhood of Armagh and Charlemont, were necessitated to return without having attempted to storm the fort*

A spirited and adventurous garrison of Irish troops occupied Charlemont. These men, not satisfied with carrying on a merely defensive war, built a little fleet of boats, with which they sailed down the Blackwater, into Lough Neagh, and plundered the adjacent country. Their predatory excursions were observed by Sir John Clotworthy's regiment, which had erected a fort at Toome. Immediately they built a boat of twenty tons burden, and furnished it with six brass guns. This was accompanied by seven smaller boats, and the whole flotilla was manned with three hundred men, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Owen Connolly and Captain Longford. Thus prepared, these officers sailed over the lake, landed at the mouth of the Blackwater, raised and manned two small forts and then returned. The Irish, however, contrived to pass the forts in dark nights, and plunder the country. Nay, they rapidly erected a fort, at Clanbrassil, to protect their fleet in any sudden emergency. To counteract these measures, Connolly and Longford manned their little navy, and met the Irish flotilla near the shore of Clanbrassil. A naval battle ensued. The Irish were routed, driven on shore, followed to the fort and there compelled to surrender. Sixty of them were slain; sixty more taken prisoners; and their fleet itself was captured and brought by the victors in triumph to Antrim.†

In 1643, a considerable portion of the country, in the neighbourhood of Armagh, remained in possession of the Irish army, then commanded by the famous Owen Roe O Nial, grand nephew to Hugh, earl of Tyrone, aided by Sir Phelim O Neil. These generals were attacked by Monroe, at Loughgall, in the month of May,

* Cox, vol. 2, p. 114, 115.

† Ibid. vol. 2, p. 115.

and driven by him, from their station, to Charlemont. Loughgall, which was then not only the most tenable post in that vicinity, but the most thriving plantation in Ulster, was taken and burned by the victors.*

About the end of May, 1646, Owen Roe O Nial approached Armagh, at the head of five thousand foot and five hundred horse. Monroe who was then stationed within ten miles of the city, arrived there with eight hundred horse and six thousand foot, at midnight, on the fourth of June.† Meanwhile O Nial, aware of his advance, had encamped his troops at Benburb, betwixt two small hills. The rear of his army was protected by a wood, and the right by the river Blackwater. Here Monroe determined to attack him, and for this purpose, marched at the head of his troops, on the fifth of June. He had ordered his brother George Monroe to proceed expeditiously with his corps from Colerain, and to join him at Glasslough, or Benburb. O Nial, aware of this movement, had despatched Colonels Bernard Mac Mahon,‡ and Patrick Mac Neny, with their regiments, to prevent the junction of this force with Monroe; a commission which, the abbe Mac Geoghegan says, they executed to the satisfaction of their commander. Monroe himself passed the river, at a ford near Kinnard, (Caledon) and marched towards Benburb. As he advanced, he was met by Colonel Richard O Farrel, who occupied a strait, through which it was necessary for him to pass, but the fire of his cannon compelled that commander, after a short rencontre, to retreat. And now the two armies met in order of battle. The wary O Nial amused his enemy, during several hours, with various

* Cox's Charles I, p. 130. Castlehaven, p. 81.† Carte.

‡ Bernard Mac Mahon was the son of Hugh Mac Mahon, chief of the Mac Mahons of Monaghan, and called Baron of Dartry. Patrick Mac Neny was married to Helen, sister to Bernard Mac Mahon, and granddaughter, by her mother, to Hugh O Nial, earl of Tyrone. His son Philip married Brigid O Nial; and Patrick Mac Neny, the issue of that marriage, was secretary of state and of war, to the emperor Charles VI. till his death, in the year 1745. He left two sons who filled posts of high honour in the Netherlands and in Vienna.—Mac Geog. tom. 3, p. 686.

manœuvres and trivial skirmishes, until the sun, which, at first, had been favourable to the Scots, began to descend in the rear of the Irish troops, and shed a dazzling glare on their enemies. The detachment which O Nial had sent against George Monroe, was seen returning towards the hostile armies. The Scottish general, at first, imagined that this was the expected reinforcement from Colerain: but when he perceived his error, he prepared instantly to retreat. O Nial, however, seized the opportunity, with the promptitude of an experienced commander, and charged the Scots and British with the most determined valour. The gallant Lord Blaney, at the head of an English regiment, made a noble defence. He fell combatting with the most undaunted resolution, and his men maintained their ground, till they were hewn to pieces, around their beloved commander. Meanwhile the Scottish cavalry was broken by O Nial's horse, and a general rout ensued. A regiment, indeed, commanded by Colonel Montgomery retreated with some regularity; but the rest of the British troops fled in total disorder. Lord Montgomery, twenty-one officers and one hundred and fifty soldiers were taken prisoners; three thousand, two hundred and forty-three men were slain on the field of battle, and many perished the succeeding day in the rout. Monroe fled with the utmost precipitation, leaving his artillery, tents and baggage with the greater part of his arms, booty and provisions to the enemy. Colonel Conway, accompanied by Captain Burke, also escaped to Newry, after having had two horses slain under him, in his flight. Owen Roe O Nial lost in this battle, seventy men killed and two hundred wounded.*

On the thirtieth of January, 1648-9, King Charles the First was beheaded.

* Cox, Charles I. p. 164, 165. Mac Geog. tom. 3, p. 685, 686, 687. Heber Mac Mahon bishop of Clogher, harangued O Nial's army, and besought them, by the duty they owed to God and man, to give quarter to the enemy.—O Connor's *Dissertation*, p. 71.

On the fourth of October, 1652, a high court of justice was held, at Kilkenny, for the trial of such persons, as had been accused of the commission of barbarous murders, in the rebellion. This was followed by another which was held in Dublin, and here Sir Phelim O Neil who had burned Armagh, and committed such horrid atrocities in Ulster, was arraigned, tried, condemned and sentenced for execution. He had concealed himself in an obscure island, where he was discovered and seized by the Lord Caulfeild. Previous to his execution, he was pressed to declare that he had received a commission, from King Charles, authorizing the rebellion. Nay, at his trial, the judges promised that his estate and liberty should be restored to him, if he could prove the existence of such a commission. But O Neil, though brutal in life, was magnanimous in death, and persisted in declaring, even at the moment previous to his execution, that he never had any commission, from the king, for levying troops or prosecuting the war.*

In the course of his trial, Sir Phelim stated that he had removed a seal from a patent, which he had found in Charlemont, and affixed it to a forged commission, and that Michael Harrison, who was then in court, had stitched the cord of the seal with silk of the same colour.†

On the eighth of May, 1660, King Charles the second was proclaimed at Temple-Bar, and in Palace-Yard, Whitehall.‡

* Carte. Nalson. † Cox, Charles II. p. 70. Leland, vol. 3, p. 394. Nalson. ‡ Hume vol. 7, p. 337.

CHAPTER XXII.

Drs. John Bramhall, James Margetson, Michael Boyle, Narcissus Marsh and Thomas Lindsay.

JOHN BRAMHALL, D. D. was promoted from the see of Derry, to the archbishoprick of Armagh, on the eighteenth of January, 1660-1. He was born, in Pontefract, in Yorkshire, in the year, 1593, and was a lineal descendant of a very ancient and respectable family, the Bramhalls of Bramhall-hall, in Cheshire. Having received a very liberal school education in Pontefract, he removed to Sydney-College, Cambridge, where he graduated A. B. and A. M. Soon after he had finished his university course, he married a young lady, the widow of a clergyman, with whom he received a considerable fortune, and a valuable library.*

After his ordination, he preached for some time in the city of York; but was soon presented by Mr. Wandesford, to a good living in Eterington, where he became eminent as a pulpit orator, and was highly esteemed as a divine. In 1623, a secular priest and a jesuit issued one of those public challenges, to the Protestant clergy of Yorkshire, which, though they seldom produced any change of opinion in the contending parties, excited in those times of polemic debate, a strong interest in the community. Bramhall, who was then about thirty years of age, accepted the challenge, and is said, by his biographers, to have completely defeated his opponents. Dr. Matthews, archbishop of York, rebuked him for his temerity, in undertaking so serious a contest, without license, but as a reward for his victory, made him his chaplain, and honoured him with his confidence. He was afterwards made prebendary of York and of Rippon.†

* See Strafford's letters, vol. 1, p. 124, 255. Chalmers, vol. 6, p. 437.

† Browne Willis, citante

After the archbishop's death, in 1628, he resided at Rippon, and managed most of the ecclesiastic affairs of York, as sub-dean. During a contagious pestilence, he abode with his parishioners, whom he daily visited, even in the most infectious houses, affording them, in a true strain of Christian benevolence, both spiritual consolation and temporal relief. He became the common arbitrator in all cases of litigation and dispute, and thus preserved his people, in perfect concord.

In 1630, he took his degree of D. D. in Cambridge, and in 1633, resigned his church preferments in England, and attended Viscount Wentworth (afterwards earl of Strafford,) as his chaplain to Ireland. Shortly after his arrival in this kingdom, he was promoted to the archdeaconry of Meath, and was subsequently appointed a commissioner with Baron Hilltown, judge of the prerogative, in a regal visitation. In this capacity, he was actively instrumental in restoring to the church its revenues, of which it had been miserably despoiled, by grants in fee farm, long leases of lands at small rents, and various simoniacal practices. By such means as these, the see of Cloyne had been reduced in value to five marks; and hence its bishop had been ironically styled *Episcopus quinque marcarum*. The revenues of Aghado were deteriorated to one pound, one and eight pence; Ardfert to sixty pounds; and five sixths of the lands attached to Limerick, were demised in fee-farm. On the twenty-sixth of May, 1634, Dr. Bramhall was consecrated bishop of Derry, in the Castle-chapel, in Dublin, by Primate USSHER, assisted by the bishops of Meath, Down and Cork. Through his exertions, the revenues of that see were greatly improved, by the recovery of various tracts of land, which had been improperly alienated by his predecessors. By wise and conciliatory measures, he reconciled the landholders, with the resident preachers, to whom he secured the possession of their church property and endowments, and he is said to have doubled the revenues of the bishoprick.

In a parliament and convocation, assembled on the fourteenth of July, 1634, Dr. Bramhall procured, through his influence with the lord-deputy, the enactment of various laws on behalf of the church. By one of these, bishops were obliged to fulfil every trust, vested in them, for pious uses. By another, the lord-primate and the other Ulster prelates were empowered to make and confirm leases, for sixty years, of such lands, as had been granted by the late King James, to their respective sees, viz. Armagh, Derry, Clogher, Raphoe and Kilmore. The third and most important law was enacted for the preservation of the inheritance, rights and profits of the church-lands, and for the protection of persons ecclesiastic. By this law, the term, rent and conditions, on which the lands could be granted, were limited and defined. Another act was passed for the restitution of impropriations and tithes, and to prohibit their alienation.

In consequence of these laws, many compositions were soon made, for the surrender of fee-farms and other grants, by which the church had been greatly incumbered and impoverished. For the inferior clergy, whose situation Dr. Bramhall greatly commiserated, he obtained various impropriations, some by persuasion, others by law, but most by purchase, and in effecting these objects, he employed his own income with great liberality. Such was his zeal and activity, that in the short period of four years, he regained, for the church, one hundred and ten thousand pounds per annum.

Bramhall laboured indefatigably to form a perfect union, betwixt the churches of Ireland and of England, and to have the articles of communion expressed with such latitude, that dissenters from the established religion, in matters not solely relative to faith, might conscientiously subscribe. The English articles were after some debate, adopted, and the canons also were received with a few variations, as already stated, in the life of Dr. James Ussher.

In 1637, he passed over to England, where he was joyfully received by men of the first rank in the state, and with marks of profound respect, by the king himself. Yet an information had been filed against him, in the Star-Chamber, in which it was alleged, that "he had neither reproved nor informed against one Palmes, who in his presence at Rippon, had made some improper reflections on his majesty." He was acquitted of this charge, which was in itself truly ridiculous, inasmuch as the words in question were, simply, that a "Scottish mist had come over the town," because the king had changed his lodgings from Rippon to Sir Richard Graham's.

Dr. Bramhall, attached by conscientious motives, to the country where his see was situated, determined to form a final settlement in Ireland, and therefore sold his English estate, and purchased one at Omagh, in the county of Tyrone, for six thousand pounds. Here he began immediately to form plantations and make other useful improvements, which were suddenly interrupted by the rebellion.

In March, 1640-1, Bishop Bramhall, the lord-chancellor, Sir Richard Bolton and Sir Gerard Lowth, were impeached in parliament of high treason, by Bryan O Neil and some of his Roman-Catholic and Protestant adherents, who asserted that they had formed a conspiracy to subvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and to substitute in their place an arbitrary and tyrannical government. His patron, the earl of Strafford, was similarly circumstanced in England, and it was deemed dangerous in Bramhall, to resist the formidable conspiracy which had been matured against him. He, however, relying on his innocence, appeared in parliament, contrary to the advice of his friends, and was immediately imprisoned. On the most minute investigation of all his actions, it appeared manifest that he had merely exerted himself to recover the patrimony of the church, and that he had not reaped the smallest personal emolument from

all his labours. Primate USSHER mediated, in his behalf, with the king, who wrote to Ireland strongly and explicitly in his favour; and at last, after considerable delay, he was restored to liberty, without any publick or formal acquittal.

On his return to Londonderry, his life was endangered by the machinations of Sir Phelim O Neil, who had then waged war against the British government. That wily chieftain had written and forwarded a letter to Dr. Bramhall, in which he requested "that according to their articles of agreement, a particular gate of the city might be delivered to him." He expected that this letter would have fallen into the hands of the Scots, and that they, in the warmth of their resentment, would have executed the prelate for his supposed treachery. But the messenger absconded with the epistle, and the scheme proved abortive. Yet Derry was not a place of refuge for the bishop. It was indeed crowded with malecontent Scots, who seemed inclined to surrender him to the enemy. Some of these men pointed a cannon against his house; a mark either of disrespect or hostility, which induced him privately to embark for England. Here, after his arrival, he gave essential aid to the king, both by his council and his pen. One of his treatises, published in 1643, is highly commended by Primate USSHER; and the "History of Hull," is said to have been written by him about this period. After the battle of Marston-Moor, and the surrender of York, Dr. Bramhall, with the marquis of Newcastle, and many persons of high rank, fled to the continent, where he landed at Ham-burgh, on the eighth of July, 1644. At the treaty of Uxbridge, the parliaments of England and of Scotland deemed him of such importance, that he and Archbishop Laud were expressly exempted from the general pardon. Dr. Bramhall resided at Brussels, till the year 1648, when he revisited Ireland. Here, he experienced much danger, difficulty and distress. At Limerick, the earl

of Roscommon had, in his dying moments, at the instance of the bishop, declared his faith in the church of Ireland, and this had given high offence to the zealous Roman-Catholics of the town, who menaced him with death, if he did not instantly depart. Again, at the revolt of Cork, he evaded his vigilant enemies, with extreme difficulty. Cromwell, who knew his talents, declared that he would have given a large sum of money, for that *Irish Canterbury*. On his departure from Ireland, the vessel in which he had embarked, was closely pursued by two parliamentary frigates, which approached it so rapidly, that all hopes of escape vanished. Suddenly the wind subsided, the becalmed frigates were unable to proceed, and his ship got off in a most marvellous and unexpected manner.

Dr. Bramhall, after this signal preservation, sought refuge in France, where the unexpected payment of a debt of seven hundred pounds, which had been long due him, relieved him from pecuniary embarrassment. About this period, Monsieur Militiere, counsellor to the king of France, had written a dissertation, in which he exhorted the king of Great-Britain to embrace the Catholic faith. The bishop promptly replied to this work, and received the thanks of some of the continental Protestant churches, for the able manner in which he discussed the theological points at issue. Shortly after this period, he went to Spain, where he intended to make a tour. He had, however, travelled but a few days in that country, when the hostess of an inn, where he had stopped for refreshment, addressed him, to his great astonishment, by his proper name. He expressed his surprise at her information, but this benevolent woman shewed him his portrait, and informed him that several copies of it had been distributed, by the Inquisition, on his intended route. She added, also, that he would inevitably have been delivered to that dread tribunal, if her husband had discovered him in his house. Forewarned of the coming

danger, Dr. Bramhall escaped the snare, by flying rapidly from the country.

In 1652, an act passed in parliament for the settlement of Ireland, in which Bishop Bramhall, the marquis of Ormond and other adherents of the king, were excepted from the general pardon.

After the Restoration, Dr. Bramhall returned to England, and was translated from the see of Derry, to the archbishopric of Armagh, by privy signet, dated Whitehall, first August, 1660, with a grant of the mesne profits, from that period; and by patent, on the eighteenth of January, 1660-1.* The king now restored, to the church, all its temporalties, as possessed in 1641. New prelates were appointed to fill the vacant sees, and on the twenty-seventh of January, the primate, aided by Dr. Robert Maxwell, &c. consecrated two archbishops and ten bishops.

Dr. BRAMHALL governed his diocess, with great firmness and wisdom. His conduct to non-conformists was prudent, liberal and conciliating. He stated to those divines who relied, solely, on their certificates of ordination from Presbyterian synods, that these could not legally entitle them, to the benefices which they then held, nor enable them to recover their tithes, by any process of law. He would not, he said, determine the validity or invalidity of their orders, but would supply for them those points in which they were defective, according to the canons of the church of Ireland. The words used by Primate BRAMHALL and his liberal coadjutors, on occasions of this nature, are curious, and worthy of being recorded, viz. "*Non annihilantes priores ordines, (si quos habuit) nec validitatem, aut invaliditatem eorundem determinantes, multo minus omnes ordines sacros ecclesiarum forensicarum condemnantes, quos proprio judicio relinquimus; sed solummodo supplentes quicquid prius defuit, per canones Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ requisitum.*"† This conciliatory conduct

* Pat. Cane. 12^o Car. II. secunda parte, facie. Ibid. dorso. Lodge's Mss. ut supra. † Kennet, p. 440. Epis. Ord. p. 417, Edit. Newry, 1816.

elevated his character amongst the dissenters, and softened down the spirit of opposition to the established church. Yet the opinion of his predecessor, Dr. James Ussher, on this subject, was more plainly expressed:—“The ordination by Presbyters,” said that truly learned divine, “stands valid, where bishops cannot be had.” and again, I profess, that if I were in Holland, I should receive the blessed sacrament at the hands of the Dutch ministers, &c.”* To this, in some measure, may be attributed the respect in which Ussher was held by dissenters; and possibly for this, amongst other reasons, he is said by his contemporary, the Rev. John Livingston, in a spirit indicative both of prejudice and of candour, to be “not only a learned but a *godly* man, although a *bishop*†.

On the eighth of May, 1661. Dr. BRAMHALL was appointed speaker of the house of lords, and was, in right of his primacy, president of the convocation. The parliamentary proceedings, which had been instituted against him and the earl of Strafford, were now pronounced unjust, and erased, or rather torn, out from the records. During this session, the church, through his instrumentality, obtained many advantages which are now digested and comprised in the acts of settlement and explanation.

Shortly after this period, he was afflicted with a severe palsy, from which he experienced a temporary recovery. In the interval of his disease, he revisited his diocese, and having provided for the repairs of his cathedral, he returned to Dublin in May, 1663. On passing through Dundalk, he made particular inquiry, for the burial place of his famous predecessor, Richard Fitz-Ralph, to whose memory, he determined to erect a monument. In the latter end of June, he was again seized with a fit of the palsy, in the court of claims, where he had a suit with Sir Audley Mervyn, relative to his Omagh estate. He

* Ussher's Letter to Dr. Bernard.
supra, p. 16.

† Life of Mr. John Livingston, ut

expired in Dublin, on the twenty-fifth of June, 1663, in the seventieth year of his age, and was buried with due honours, in Christ's church. On his interment, the famous bishop, Jeremy Taylor, preached a very eloquent funeral sermon, which is extant among his works, and contains many interesting particulars of Dr. BRAMHALL's life. The primate left one son, Sir Thomas Bramhall, who died without issue; and three daughters. The eldest intermarried with Sir James Graham, third and youngest son to the earl of Monteith, in Scotland; the second to Alderman Toxteath, of Drogheda, and the third to Standish Hartstrong, Esq. In his will, dated fifth January, 1662, he left five hundred pounds towards repairing the cathedral of Armagh, and St. Peter's church Drogheda. He had already repaired the ruined episcopal house, at Drogheda, and provided timber for rebuilding that at Termonfeichan, and materials for enclosing the park, which he devised by will to his successor, with the hangings and furniture of the presence chamber. There is also a whimsical bequest, in this will, of as many black gowns, as should make up the year of his life, (seventy,) to so many poor men.

Dr. BRAMHALL was a man of middle stature, of a choleric-sanguineous complexion and active habits. He was free, open and candid in his discourse; a contemner of flattery; devoid of affectation; a powerful and argumentative reasoner, and an able polemic. His understanding was strong by nature, and improved by laborious and unremitting study. His works have been collected by John Vesey bishop of Limerick, and published in a very large folio containing four tomes. The third tome comprises three very acute and able tracts, in which the writings of Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury, on liberty and necessity, are discussed and refuted. The other tomes contain sixteen distinct articles, on polemic and other subjects.*

* See for the materials of the above account of Dr. Bramhall, his life prefixed to his works by Dr. Vesey. Dudley Loftus's Latin oration on Dr.

the respective bishops, specify and appoint, and afterwards, for the perpetual augmentation of poor rectories and vicarages."*

By privy-seal, dated Kensington, sixth September, 1722, and by patent, ninth of August, 1723, Dr. LINDSAY procured a license to endow the vicars-choral and singing boys of the cathedral of Armagh, with two hundred pounds per annum.† He is stated, by Harris, to have "obtained a new charter in the year, 1720, for enlarging the number of the vicars-choral and singing boys for the choir of Armagh, and the king's license for purchasing more lands for their endowment." In consequence of this, he annexed a new estate which cost upwards of four thousand pounds, to those formerly held by the choir.‡ At his own cost, he also erected a second organ, fit for the choir-service, and purchased for the cathedral, a ring of six exquisitely-toned bells, made by Abraham Rudhall, of Gloucester.§ It is greatly to be regretted that none of Primate LINDSAY's successors has made any addition to this admirable set of bells. The changes which can be rung on six bells, amount only to seven hundred and twenty; on eight, to forty thousand, three hundred and twenty. With ten bells, whose simple changes would form three millions, six hundred and twenty eight thousand, eight hundred melodious varieties, much harmony, even of a complex nature could be produced.

* Harris's Ware's Bishops, p. 152. † Rot. Canc. 10th Geo. 1, prima p. d. Memb. Lodge ut supra.

‡ Probably the £200 per an. stated above, were the proceeds of the lands purchased by this money.

§ The family of Rudhall continued from the year 1684, till the year 1774, casting bells. The number manufactured by them, amounts to 5594. The bells in Armagh cathedral are as melodious as any others in the empire. The Tenor which we believe is in the key of E, fifth line in the tenor clef, weighs twenty-two cwt. and the treble about seven cwt. They were cast in the year 1721. Inscription on the treble—"When we do ring, I sweetly sing."—A. D. 1721. Second bell, "1721." Third bell—"Peace and good neighbourhood." Fourth bell—"God preserve the church—1721," Fifth bell—"Abraham Rudhall of the city of Gloucester, bell-founder—1721." Sixth bell, "Ded. R. Tho. Lindsay, Pr. Div. Archiep. Arm. Tot. Hib. Pr. & Metr. 1721." In the year in which they were cast, they were brought to Armagh. The original frame and wheels are probably still in use, with the exception of a repair of some decayed parts, made in 1779, by Primate Robinson.

The wheels, frames and all the other parts of the apparatus necessary for hanging the bells, were completed at Dr. LINDSAY's expense. This generous prelate kept the cathedral, in perfect repair, at his own cost, during his primacy, and actually granted and bequeathed above seven thousand pounds, in munificent donations to this church.

Dr. LINDSAY seems not to have been so favourably inclined to the dissenters, as his predecessors, Marsh, Bramhall and Ussher. We have conversed, a considerable time ago, with some very old persons, who recollected him, perfectly, and affirmed, that by exacting heavy penalties from the Presbyterians of Armagh, for their house of worship, which had been erected on ground appertaining to the see, he compelled them to abandon the premises, and to build the meeting-house, which their descendants now occupy, on freehold property.

In the latter part of his life, he laboured for many years, under complicated diseases; and at last, worn out with sickness, he died on the thirteenth of July, 1724, and was buried, on the twentieth of the same month, at Christ-Church, with great funeral pomp. The pastoral staff was borne before him, by the Rev. Mr. Dobbins, chancellor of Armagh; accompanied by his grace's eight chaplains, in close mourning with long cloaks, the Rev. Dr. Carney, chanter of Armagh, who bore the episcopal staff, and the king at arms, in mourning, wearing the royal arms, and carrying a mitre on a velvet cushion. The bishops of Meath and Clonfert, with the deans of St. Patrick's and Armagh, Dr. Travers, and the vice-provost supported the pall.*

In Primate LINDSAY's will, executed on the twenty-fifth of October, 1722, he left one thousand pounds to be laid out in the purchase of fifty pounds per annum, for the economy of Armagh cathedral, and three hundred pounds to his next successor, to aid in the purchase of

* Fragment of an old magazine annexed to Lodge's Mss; notes ut supra.

a convenient house, for the residence of the future primates. In this devise there was a condition, that he should not renew a lease to Thomas Dawson, Esq. of a house in Armagh, then in his possession, which his grace was desirous should revert to the see, as a dwelling-house for the archbishops. Dr. LINDSAY alleged that Dawson had received a full compensation, for this house. It had been formerly denominated Parson Simons' house, and had been partly rebuilt and partly repaired, at the expense of Primate Marsh, for the use of himself and his successors, but Dawson had refused to transfer it, as no deed of surrender had been executed. The Primate also, we believe, left some legacies to the family of Burches, (now Burges,) who were his relations, and had accompanied him to Ireland, and settled at Armagh. A member of this family was repeatedly elected sovereign of the borough.* During the primacy of Dr. LINDSAY, a house built by Edward Bond, Esq. near the cathedral, was purchased for the use of Dr. Peter Drelincourt, then dean of Armagh and his successors, at an expense of five hundred and six pounds. The dean had petitioned his grace, in the year 1719, for permission to obtain an assignment of the premises, and his request was favourably received and granted.

On the twentieth of July, 1724, the dean and chapter, who had been re-incorporated, by charter, in the thirteenth year of the reign of Charles the first, exercised their ancient right, by electing William, archbishop of Dublin, administrator of the spiritualties of the see, during the vacancy in the primacy, caused by the death of Dr. LINDSAY.

It may not be unnecessary to mention, before we close this chapter, that the author of the "Biographical Peerage of Ireland," edited London, 1817, asserts, *page* 119, that Robert Maxwell, (eldest son of the dean of

* Their lineal descendants are Lady Smith Burges, now the countess of Paulet, John Henry Burges, Esq. Mrs. Mary Perry of Armagh, Mrs. M. Johnston of Nappagh and Ynyr Burges, of Ryegate, Surry, Esq.

Armagh,) who had been consecrated bishop of Kilmore, A. D. 1643, held, after the Restoration, "the episcopal see of Armagh *in commendam*, with tha of Kilmore;" and that "after his accession to the see of Armagh, he sought out the ancient tenants of that see, and their heirs, and restored to them their former possessions, reserving to himself, only one small lease, to which no representative could be found." We know not on what authority this assertion is made, and think it utterly improbable, that the primacy of Ireland should have been held, *in commendam*, with the bishoprick of Kilmore, as an appendage to that see. Robert Maxwell spoken of above, was a lineal descendant of Aymer de Maccleswell, one of the *magnates Scotiae*, in 1258, who was the direct ancestor of the Maxwells of College-Hall, Falkland, Elm-Park, &c. The earl of Farnham and the families of the Closes and the Carpendales spring, we believe, from this ancient stock.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Drs. Dominick Maguire, Michael Moore, Hugh Mac Mahon, Bernard Mac Mahon, Ross Mac Mahon, Michael O'Reilly, Anthony Blake, and Richard O'Reilly.

AFTER the melancholy death of *OLIVER PLUNKET*, Dr. *DOMINICK MAGUIRE* was promoted to the titular primacy. This prelate was the lineal descendant of the noble family of the Maguires, chief dynasts of Fermanagh. He was an alumnus of a monastery of Dominican friars, who were established in the town of Gaula, in the barony of Magherastephen, county of Fermanagh and diocess of Clogher. That town, which was situated near the eastern shore of Loch-Erne, is now no more, and is scarcely known, even in name.*

Dr. *MAGUIRE* finished his studies, in Andalusia, in Spain, and having taken the habit of the order of Predicants, in Derry, he went to London, where he became honorary chaplain to the Spanish ambassador, and during a long series of years, zealously fulfilled the duties of his office. In 1681, he was nominated archbishop of Armagh, by Pope Innocent the eleventh. Immediately, on his promotion, he returned to Ireland, and employed himself, sedulously, in regulating the ecclesiastical affairs of his diocess.† In 1686, he presided at a session of the Roman-Catholic clergy, which was then held in Dublin, and in which Dr. Patrick Russel, archbishop of Dublin was present. At two other similar meetings which took place in 1691; the one at Limerick, the other at Galway, his claim to superiority was also fully admitted;‡ and in the same year, he held cognisance of an appeal, made from a decree of the ecclesiastical court of the titular archbishop of Tuam.

* "Ut autem ad Gaulam revertar, purum, putumque illius extat nomen, neque hoc ipsum, nisi apud solos peritos, ob soliusque Cænobii mox recensendi memoriam."—*Hib. Dom.* p. 331.

† *Hib. Dom.* 6, p. 449.

‡ *Jus Prim. Armac.* c. 29.

Dr. *MAGUIRE* was one of those Roman-Catholic leaders, who, in 1684, transmitted to London, a series of charges against Tyrconnel, in which he was accused of bribery and various other odious practices. Tyrconnel, however, triumphed over his opponents, and in revenge, prevailed on James the Sixth to solicit the Pope, to appoint a coadjutor to the primate, and thus shackle him in the exercise of his episcopal functions. But the Pope did not intermeddle in the affair, and Dr. *MAGUIRE*'s ecclesiastic powers remained undivided and uncontrolled.*

After the surrender of Limerick, and the escape of many of the Roman-Catholic prelates to France, various deliberative meetings were held by them in Paris, and on all such occasions, Dr. *MAGUIRE*'s primatial rights were fully admitted. In 1687, Pope Innocent, the eleventh, sent two palls to the archbishops of Armagh and Dublin. At first, the procurators, by whom these palls had been forwarded, thought that the prime token of respect was due to Russel, because his consecration as an archbishop, had been solemnized prior to that of *MAGUIRE*; but upon more mature consideration, the pall was, in the first instance, presented to the primate of Armagh, in acknowledgment of his ecclesiastical superiority.†

During his exile in France, Dr. *MAGUIRE* bore the adverse strokes of fortune, with exemplary patience and magnanimity.‡ He died at Paris, in the year 1708, and was interred in the cemetery of an Irish religious and literary establishment, usually styled the "College of the Lombards."§

After the decease of this prelate, Dr. Richard O Heain was nominated, by the Pope, archbishop of Armagh, but through extreme diffidence and humility, declined that dignity.||

* Leland, vol. 3, p. 508.
p. 4. Hib. Dom. p. 499:

† Jus Prim. Armac. c. 29.
§ Hib. Dom. Ibid,

‡ O Heyne,
|| Ibid.

To Primate *MAGUIRE* and his subordinate bishops, the preservation of the valuable library, now in Trinity-College, Dublin, during the commotions which took place, in the reign of James the second, is in some measure due. Father Peters had almost persuaded the king, to confer the establishment on the Jesuits. The Roman-Catholic prelates, however, exerted their influence, and induced the monarch to nominate Dr. Michael Moore, a secular priest, provost of the university. This ecclesiastic, who possessed much taste, integrity and learning, opposed the intended transfer of the college to the Jesuits, against whom he preached an animated sermon, taking as his text, "If the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch." In this text, he probably not only alluded to Peters, who laboured under a deficiency of sight, but also to James, whose mental opticks were not very clear. Be this as it may, he, with the most scrupulous attention, preserved the books from injury, even when the library was converted into a military garrison, the chapel into a magazine and the students' chambers into prisons.

Peters, enraged at Moor, contrived to excite against him the king's indignation, who issued his royal orders that he should instantly depart from his dominions. Moor obeyed, but declared, as he withdrew, that he was only precursor to his majesty, who would soon be compelled to follow him. He was well received at Paris, but on the arrival of James in that city, he was obliged to fly from it, in order to escape the mean resentment of his infatuated prince. Pope Innocent the twelfth, who knew the value of the man, patronised him and, after the death of James, he was rector of the university of Paris, principal of the college of Navarre, and royal professor of philosophy, and of the Greek and Hebrew languages. This excellent man became blind, some years before his death, and was robbed of many hundred volumes of his books, by a confidential person, whom he had employed to read to him, in the hours which he had

devoted to study. Thus he, who had saved the noble library of Trinity-College from destruction, was ungenerously pillaged of his own books, by the villany of a pretended friend. He died on the twenty-second of August, 1726.

In the reign of Queen Anne, the affairs of the titular primacy of Armagh were, we believe, managed by an administrator. This office was filled by the Right Rev. Dr. Donnelly, afterwards Roman-Catholic bishop of Dromore, who resided in Forkil.

Shortly before this period, several severe laws had been enacted against the Catholic hierarchy. In the year 1697, all the "Popish prelates, vicars-general, deans, monks, Jesuits, and all others of their religion, who exercised ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Ireland," were ordered by act of Parliament, to depart from the kingdom before the first of May, 1698. In case of their return to this country, they were liable to the punishment of imprisonment, and transportation to foreign parts, from whence if they escaped, and thrice revisited Ireland, they were to be arraigned as traitors. This law was followed by others still more rigid; and it is said, that in the reign of Queen Anne, there was an active tribe of informers and bailiffs, styled "Priest-catchers,*" who were so much on the alert, that it was dangerous, for any Roman-Catholic prelate, to remain in the country. Hence it appears that Dr. Donnelly was a man of no ordinary courage, since he dared to exercise episcopal functions in Ulster, in defiance of the existing laws.

In the year 1708, Dr. *HUGH MAC MAHON* was nominated by the Pope, archbishop of Armagh. That prelate was born in the year 1660, and was, we believe, a lineal descendant of the ancient family of the Mac Mahons, chief dynasts of Monaghan. He has transmitted to posterity, a literary work which will remain a durable monument of his industry, learning and controversial

* Hib. Dom p. 160, 154, 155, 158.

powers. A contest had arisen betwixt Dr. Oliver Plunket, Roman-Catholic primate of all Ireland, and Dr. Peter Talbot, titular archbishop of Dublin, relative to the primatial rights, which each claimed as due to his respective see. Talbot had replied, with some talent and much warmth, to a pamphlet written by Plunket, on the disputed points, and the death of those unfortunate divines, had left this literary contest undecided. The immediate successor of the titular primate, found his rights undisputed by the other prelates, and was contented with the free exercise of his acknowledged powers, without entering into any minute literary investigation of the sources, from which they had been derived. Dr. Mac Mahon, however, deemed himself bound, in duty, to defend and illustrate the ancient claims of his see, in contradistinction to those of Dublin, and to demonstrate on what foundation its privileges rested. He deemed himself the genuine successor of Saint PATRICK, and he thought that any thing which derogated from his primatial powers, tended to bring the whole hierarchy, over which he presided, into contempt.* Actuated by such motives, he published, in the year 1728, his "*Jus Primatiale Armacanum*," and his reply to an anonymous pamphlet, written by a Jesuit of Clonmel, named John Hennessy, who had taken a part in the controversy.† The style of Dr. MAC MAHON's work is perspicuous, the arguments unanswerable, and the author, as is justly remarked by Harris,‡ "has accurately handled, or rather exhausted the subject." The minuteness of his research and the extent of his learning, on the points which he had undertaken to elucidate, are truly surprising: yet when he wrote this very erudite and elaborate dissertation, he was by no means possessed of competent literary ease, or of robust health.¶ The duties of a Roman-Catholic prelate cannot be faithfully discharged, in a country like this, where no provision is made, by the state, for his sup-

* *Jus Prim. Armac. præf. p. 6, et sequent.* † *Harris's Ware's Writers, p. 195.* ‡ *Ware's Bishops p. 80.* ¶ *Jus Prim. Armac. in Præfat. p. 6.*

port, without incessant mental labour, and a kind of patriarchal vigilance and attention. But Dr. *MAC MAHON*, not only justified the claims of his see with his pen, but exercised *de facto*, primatial rights, as often as occasion required. Thus after the decease of his predecessor, Dr. Maguire, he, without any hesitation, took cognisance of a cause, relative to the parish of St. Catharine in Dublin.*

About the year 1722, Dr. *MAC MAHON* made application to the court of Rome, for the establishment of an abbey of Dominican nuns, at Drogheda.† His request was granted: Augustinus Pipia, master of the order of Prædicants, issued the letters-patent necessary on the occasion, and Catharine Plunket was appointed the first prioress. In this nunnery, many females have been educated, and many, after a regular novitiate, have taken the veil. The head of Dr. Oliver Plunket is preserved there,‡ as already stated by us, page 362. The prioress is also, we believe, in possession of an accurate portrait of Dr. *MAC MAHON*, and another of the Right Rev. Thomas De Burgh, titular bishop of Ossory, and author of an erudite work, styled “*Hibernica Dominicana*.” From the former of these, it appears that the primate’s complexion was florid and his countenance strongly expressive of candour and intelligence.

It may, perhaps, seem strange to some of our readers, that the Roman-Catholic prelates should have been so tenacious of ecclesiastic rights, apparently nominal, when the law of the land had transferred the efficient power, to the Protestant hierarchy of the church of Ireland. But it should be remembered, that voluntary obedience (as well as voluntary support,) is tendered and paid to them, by those laymen who, through education, habit or choice, are placed under their spiritual superintendence. They, therefore, possess a real, operative authority, not indeed derived from the law of the land,

* Jus Prim. Armac, c. 24. Hib.

† Dom. p. 360, 361.

‡ Ibid.

but founded on the powerful basis of public opinion, and on the respect and reverence which members of their own communion, think justly due to the acknowledged pastors of what they deem a divinely-established church.

We cannot find that Dr. *MAC MAHON* took any very active part in the political contests of the age in which he lived. It is said, that he delighted in the correct performance of his duty; that he was a strict economist, as to his pecuniary expenses; husbanding his means, that he might relieve the necessities of the indigent. Parsimonious, with regard to his personal expenditures, he was liberal to his friends and generous to the unfortunate. He was gifted with a pleasing poetic talent. The late Rev. Dr. Crawley, of Armagh, had in his possession, a manuscript lyric hymn to the Virgin, and a translation of the Song of Moses, into classic Latin verse, which he said were the productions of *MAC MAHON*'s muse. The "*Carmen Mosaicum*" was written in a genuine spirit of poetry, highly creditable to its author.

Dr. *MAC MAHON* died on the second of August, 1737, aged seventy-seven.*

Thus far we have deduced and verified our biographical sketch of the titular or Roman-Catholic archbishops of Armagh, from such authentic documents as our industry had enabled us to procure. If the narrative of their actions, which we have presented to our readers, should appear to them, in any respect, defective, we entreat them to reflect, that no former writer had expressly discussed this branch of our subject. The Roman-Catholic primates have been but incidentally mentioned by our historians, and it is therefore no easy task to form a well digested and regular account of these prelates, from the scanty materials, which their pages, casually, afford the biographer. Of the titular archbishops of Armagh who succeeded Dr. *HUGH MAC MAHON*, little or no traces

* Harris's Ware's Writers, p. 195.

are to be found, in the publications of the last or present century. We are, however, enabled by the kindness of the learned and Right Rev. Dr. Edmund Derry, Roman-Catholic bishop of Dromore, to give a succinct but correct biographical sketch of that primate's successors.

We subjoin Dr. Derry's narrative, in his own words—

“ The venerable and learned *HUGH MAC MAHON*
“ was succeeded by *BERNARD*, commonly called *BRYAN*
“ *MAC MAHON*, the then Catholic bishop of Clogher,
“ who studied, with great diligence, at Rome. This
“ prelate resided at Ballymascanlon, in the county of
“ Louth, where his habitation, was nothing above the
“ style of a farm-house. Here he lived, in a kind of
“ domestic exile, on account of the severity of the times,
“ and was generally known by the name of Mr. Ennis.
“ He was, however, remarkable for the holiness of his
“ life, and the simplicity of his manners.

“ After his decease, his brother *Ross*, who succeeded
“ him in Clogher, was translated to the see of Armagh.
“ Of him there is nothing more recorded, than that he
“ was a good and pious prelate.

“ *MICHAEL O REILLY*, on *Ross's* demise, was pro-
“ moted to the see of Armagh. I first find him vicar-gene-
“ ral of Kilmore, and next, bishop of Derry, which dio-
“ cesis he governed for some years, but Armagh for a
“ longer space of time. He published two catechisms,
“ one in Irish, the other in English; and though there
“ have been many others written and printed since that
“ period, his work (particularly in Ulster) has the
“ ascendant. He was a most rigid disciplinarian, and
“ it was often his practice to surprise the priests on
“ Sundays, whom (if he discovered that the children
“ committed to their care, were not instructed in the
“ catechism, or that the sacerdotal vestments or orna-
“ ments of the altar, were not in that decorous state in
“ which he would wish to find them) he publicly re-
“ buked with unfeeling severity. It is uniformly said

“ of him, that he never ordained a priest in Derry, or
 “ Armagh, and was often heard to boast, that he had
 “ never ordained ‘ a bad priest.’ His residence was in
 “ the parish of Turfegin, near Drogheda, in a farm
 “ house, where he died, about the year 1758, and was
 “ interred in the burial ground, called the Chord, on
 “ the outside of Laurence’s Gate, Drogheda.

“ He was succeeded by *ANTHONY BLAKE*, the then
 “ Catholic bishop of Ardagh, a Connaught gentleman,
 “ and grand-uncle to the late Walter Blake Kirwan,*
 “ a famous preacher of charity sermons, in Dublin.—
 “ That prelate lived many years, after his translation to
 “ Armagh, but never could be prevailed on to reside
 “ permanently in his diocess. As soon as his visitations
 “ were finished, he returned to the county of Galway,
 “ and lived there with some of his relations.† His ap-
 “ pearance was very respectable, and in travelling to
 “ Ulster and during his residence there, he always used
 “ an elegant carriage. The clergy, particularly those
 “ of the county of Louth, at length opposed him, and
 “ accused him of non-residence, and of too great seve-
 “ rity in his exactions. In the Rev. Philip Levins,
 “ P. P. of Ardee, commonly called Doctor Levins, and
 “ the Rev. Peter Marky, P. P. of Louth, he had two
 “ able opponents, who carried on and directed a prose-
 “ cution, against him, at Rome, with great ability. A
 “ suspension from his functions was the consequence.
 “ Sometime after this, Doctor Troy, then residing at

* When some person told Dr. Blake, that his nephew W. B. Kirwan had changed his religion—Tut man said he, he had no religion to change!

† Dr. Blake was, we believe, a lineal descendant of the Blakes, who are said to have accompanied King John to Ireland, before his accession to the throne, and afterwards obtained large grants of land in the county of Galway. From them also are descended the Lords of Wallscourt. The city of Galway itself, was built about the beginning of the 14th century, and then colonized from England by the Athys, Blakes, Bodkins, Browns, D’Arcys, Deans, Fonts, Frenches, Kirwans, and Skirrits. At first the Anglo settlers were occupied with fishing, but in a short time they became such eminent manufacturers and exporters of woollen goods, with which they supplied the Spaniards and others, that at the Mole of Cales, it was usual (says Heylin in his cosmography) “ to ask in what part of Galway Ireland was situated.”

“ Rome, was there promoted to the See of Ossory, and on
 “ his return to this country, was commissioned to reesta-
 “ blish peace in the archiepiscopal diocese of Armagh. He
 “ held a meeting for this purpose, in the chapel of Dro-
 “ gheda, which continued for some days, and was attended
 “ by many of the clergy of the diocese. The result of this
 “ meeting is not generally known with accuracy, but it is
 “ commonly believed, that Doctor BLAKE, was then re-
 “ leased from the suspension.* Soon after this he be-
 “ came so paralyzed, that he was rendered incapable of
 “ performing any sacred function ; of course the Right
 “ Rev. *RICHARD O'REILLY*, the coadjutor of Doctor
 “ Keefe, of Kildare and Leiglin, was appointed coadjutor
 “ of Armagh. This venerable prelate, whose death is
 “ now sincerely lamented by every one who knew him,
 “ was a native of the diocese of Kildare, and descended,
 “ as the name *O'REILLY* imports, from a respectable
 “ parentage. But those, who believe their priesthood
 “ to be derived from that of Melchisedeck, never resort
 “ to a long line of illustrious ancestors, in order to shed
 “ a lustre on the memory of their deceased ecclesiasticks ;
 “ as Melchisedeck is described without *Father*, without
 “ *Mother*, without *genealogy*. At the age of sixteen,
 “ *RICHARD O'REILLY*, was sent to Rome, in the year
 “ 1762, and became a student in the missionary universi-
 “ ty, founded by Urban the VIII, for two and twenty na-
 “ tions or tongues. This seminary, denominated,
 “ ‘The college for the dissemination of the faith’ possessed,
 “ at that time, several highly celebrated professors. Here
 “ Doctor *O'REILLY*’s intense application to his studies,
 “ till he reached the years requisite for priesthood, the
 “ strict rules of the college, and the bright examples of
 “ every virtue which he had before him, severely regu-
 “ lated his morals and deeply informed his understanding.
 “ After his return, he laboured 11 years as a missionary

* On the 22d of April, 1759, Thomas de Burgh, author of the *Hibernia Dominicana*, received episcopal consecration from the hands of Dr. Blake, &c. Heb. Dom. p. 361.

“ priest. In 1781, he was appointed coadjutor of
 “ bishop Keefe, and was, in his chapel of Kilcock, con-
 “ secrated by the then Catholic archbishop of Dublin,
 “ the most Rev. John Carpenter, assisted by the senior
 “ suffragans of Dublin and Armagh, Bishops Troy of
 “ Ossory, and Plunket of Meath. In 1782, he was
 “ appointed coadjutor of Armagh. Doctor *BLAKE* re-
 “ tired to Connaught, and had a pension out of the
 “ diocess, till he died in 1786. At this time the diocess
 “ of Armagh was disorganized by confessed anarchy. It
 “ was the glory of Primate *O'REILLY*, and the first
 “ blessing of his auspicious entry, to have tranquillized
 “ this most ancient diocess. At his presence, the demon
 “ of discord, with his horrid train of attendants disappear-
 “ ed. The pious and benevolent prelate founded then a
 “ system of concord and practical government, and was
 “ therefore emphatically called the ‘*Angel of Peace.*’
 “ Having an independent fortune, he was the first Ca-
 “ tholic primate, since the revolution, who had it in his
 “ power to live in a manner becoming his dignified sta-
 “ tion. The writer of this article had often the honour
 “ of dining with the late learned, liberal, and hospitable,
 “ the Right Rev. Doctor Percy, Protestant Bishop of
 “ Dromore, and frequently with Doctor *O'REILLY*.^{*}
 “ He could not, except in the number of servants, ob-
 “ serve any difference in their style of living. At their
 “ tables, there was the same kind of rational and im-
 “ proving conversation, and the like sober, modest mag-
 “ nificence. Doctor *O'REILLY* was rendered agreeable
 “ to all, by the gentleness of his mind, the affability of
 “ his manners, the extent of his information, and the
 “ sweetness of his disposition. He was the delight of his

* “ As soon as the Catholick bishop arrived in Dromore, Doctor Percy
 “ sent him a most polite and friendly invitation with his *suite*, which word he
 “ always made use of ; the consequence was that the Catholick bishop, with
 “ seven or eight priests, uniformly dined with him. Having heard the charac-
 “ ter of the late Dr. O'Reilly, Dr. Percy often expressed a desire to be ac-
 “ quainted with him, and sent by the bishop an invitation to him, to come (as
 “ he expressed it) and see an old blind man.”

“ flock, the honour and protection of the priesthood, and
“ the light of pastors. Worn out by a combination of
“ diseases, and full of merit, he gave up his precious
“ spirit to God, January 31st, 1818. The good people
“ of Drogheda would not permit a hearse to carry his
“ remains, they carried them themselves, and the emula-
“ tion that existed between them, to get under, and sup-
“ port what they considered the sacred relicks, very much
“ retarded the awfully solemn procession. He was in-
“ terred in the chapel of Drogheda, with every appro-
“ priate solemnity.”

CHAPTER XXIV.

From the Death of Charles II, till the commencement of the 18th century.

ON the 6th of February, 1684-5, King Charles the 2nd died, in the 55th year of his age. His brother and immediate successor, James the 2nd, was better qualified, by nature and by habit, to manage the ecclesiastical affairs of a friary, than to govern a spirited, turbulent and divided people, or to direct the councils of a mighty empire. His steadiest and most intelligent friends perceived the deficiency of his understanding, and foreboded the ruin of his affairs, from his absolute subserviency to the priesthood. Even the Spanish ambassador, Ronquillo, remonstrated with the King on this subject. "What, (replied James,) is it not the custom in Spain, for the King to consult with his confessor?"—"Yes, (said the ambassador) and 'tis for that very reason our affairs succeed so ill."* The Pope himself disapproved of James's rash and precipitate measures, and scarcely treated his ambassador, the Lord Castlemain, with common civility.†

The unhappy monarch was soon deserted, by his British subjects, and his dominions were transferred in the year 1688, to his son-in-law, William Henry, prince of Orange and Nassau. In Ireland, however, where the majority of the inhabitants were of the Roman Catholic communion, a very considerable portion of the people remained steadily attached to his interest.

James, in his efforts to destroy the ascendancy, which the members of the established church possessed, over non-conformists of every description, endeavoured to annul the charters, from which the various corporations

* Harris's life of King William. Hume, vol. 8, p. 211: † Ibid, p. 10, 252.

of the kingdom derived their power, and to substitute others of a more comprehensive nature in their stead.—By process, under “*Quo Warrantos*,” and by forced surrenders, he, in a great measure, attained this object. In the city of Armagh, the existing sovereign and burgesses were excluded from their offices, and the following persons were nominated, under the new system, on the 9th October, 1688, viz.

Constantine O'Neill, Sovereign. Burgesses 24 in number, as follow:—Moriertagh Magennis, Esq. Walter Hoveden, Esq. Marcus Clerk, Esq. Robert Stuart, Esq. George Blyke, Esq. Ralph Booth, Esq. John Blyke, Gent. Hugh Buidhe O'Neill, Gent. Turlogh O'Neill, Gent. Bryan Murphy, Esq. Con O'Neill, of Tohlice, Gent. Con O'Neill, of Toaghy, Gent. John Stuart, Gent. Paul O'Neill, Gent. Patrick Savage, Gent. Edmund Roirke, Vintner, James Dowgan, Merchant, John King, Vintner, Edmund O'Hugh, Vintner, Turlogh O'Neill, Gent. Thady Tallon, Saddler, Edward Stone, Merchant, David Cullane, Gent. Thomas Donnell. Gent.—James Croley, Town Clerk.*

Of these we believe Marcus Clerk, Robert Stuart, John Stuart, John King, George Blyke, John Blyke, Ralph Booth, and Edward Stone, were Protestants.

Marcus Clerk, the third in order of the new burgesses, had been appointed high sheriff of the county of Armagh, on the 16th February, 1686–7. Constantine O'Neill, and Francis Stophard, were returned, under the influence of King James's adherents, as representatives for the new borough in parliament, in 1689; Arthur Brownlow, and Walter Hoveden, (the 2nd burgess mentioned above) for the county, of which the same Walter Hoveden, and Con. O'Neill, were made deputy lieutenants.† The corporation of Charlemont was dissolved, by King James, and not restored by that monarch; of course it sent no members to the house of commons, during that session.

About this period, the records of the borough of

*Patent rolls, high court of chancery. Harris's life of King William, p. xiv. appendix.

† Vide King, p. 267, 305, et sequent, and Harris's life of King William;

Armagh were, probably, either lost or destroyed. If any of these documents, written prior to the revolution, are yet in existence, we know not where they are deposited.

Tyrconnel, a steady adherent to the house of Stuart, and then lord deputy of Ireland, was thoroughly convinced, that King James's interest, in this kingdom, could only be maintained by force of arms. Peculiarly anxious to secure Ulster, where the great mass of the Protestant population resided, he had, expeditiously, levied several regiments of horse and foot, with which he garrisoned Newry, Dundalk and Drogheda, and thus rendered all direct communication, between Dublin and the Northern province, impracticable. But whilst he was thus occupied, in fortifying the frontier towns, the inhabitants of the interior of Ulster, began to assemble in formidable bodies, and to surround the detached corps of Irish troops, which were scattered in various districts of the country. About the beginning of March, 1688-9, some troops of dragoons and companies of foot soldiers, were stationed in the city of Armagh and the neighbouring villages, under the command of Lieut. Archbold. That officer, perceiving that the Protestants were arming themselves and preparing to collect, in considerable force, around his head-quarters, instantly determined to retreat. Secret orders were, therefore, issued to his troops, to be ready to march, at a stated hour; but the matter transpired, and the citizens of Armagh assembled at night, surprised the officers in their chambers, and with much promptitude and courage, secured the horses and arms of the greater part of the dragoons. A number, however, of Archbold's soldiers, who happened to be then on guard, posted themselves in the sessions-house and gave battle to the townsmen, who attacked them with vigour, wounded the sergeant and compelled his men to surrender. The whole force was then secured in the cathedral—their horses and arms distributed amongst the people—and after a few days, the disarmed

prisoners were dismissed and permitted to retreat, unmolested, to the county of Louth.*

Lord Blaney now took possession of Armagh, with a regiment of horse and one of foot. After his arrival there, this active commander was, every day, engaged in a desultory warfare, with the Irish garrison of Charlemont and various flying parties, which then pillaged the country. Not satisfied with merely preserving the pass and repelling the incursions of his enemies, his lordship openly proclaimed king William, in the city, and in his name, summoned the troops in the fort of Charlemont, to surrender, before the tenth of April, 1689.†—The Protestant inhabitants of the counties of Down, Antrim, Monaghan, Derry, Donegal and Tyrone, had determined to imitate the example of Londonderry and Inniskillen, and to give every opposition in their power to Tyrconnel's measures. Each of these counties chose a commander and appointed a council for its internal defence. A general "Council of Union" was also established at Hillsborough, for the common interest and safety of the whole associated body. Regiments were raised by these councils, and letters secretly despatched to England, to solicit aid and protection from William, Prince of Orange. The lords Blaney and Mount-Alexander—with Colonels Rawdon, Skeffington, and other Protestant leaders, were peculiarly active in perfecting this association and maturing its plans.‡

In the county of Down, Lord Mount-Alexander was elected commander-in-chief; in Derry, Donegal and Tyrone, Colonel Lundy and Major Gustavus Hamilton; in Armagh and Monaghan, the Lord Blaney. Whilst this active officer was daily occupied, in various military rencontres, an attempt was made to seize the Lady Blaney and other persons of distinction, in the castle of Monaghan. Against this place, Major John Mackenna marched at the head of 600 men, with whom he intend-

* Harris's Life of king William, p. 216. † Ibid.

‡ M'Kenzie, p. 11—45—49. Life of king William,

ed to storm the fort. He was, however, attacked at a very critical moment, by Matthew Anketell, Esq. who had suddenly collected two troops of horse and three companies of foot. The Irish, perceiving his movements, had manned a Danish fort, situated upon an eminence, and from this advantageous position, galled their advancing enemies. But Anketell,* a man of undaunted courage and great prowess, burst into the fort, at the head of his troops, routed and pursued his flying foes, but was slain, in the moment of victory, by an Irishman, who took aim at him, from a bush, in which he lay wholly unobserved. Eighty-nine of Major Mackenna's men were killed in the contest, and he himself and his son were made prisoners. Anketell's soldiers, or rather, perhaps, a brutal mob which had followed them, murdered the major in cold blood, in revenge, for the death of their leader. After the battle, Lady Blaney and her friends escaped to Londonderry, with two troops of horse and three companies of foot.†

The Protestant coalition, having received assurances of supplies from England, boldly proclaimed King William, in the north-eastern towns, and even made an unsuccessful attempt to reduce Carrickfergus. A body of troops now marched against them, under General Hamilton, and drove them from Newry, Dromore and Hillsborough. Yet Lord Mount-Alexander and Col. Rawdon kept 4000 of the north-eastern associates embodied at Colerain, whilst those of the north-west sought refuge in Inniskillen.

Lord Blaney had kept possession of Armagh, and there maintained his little army. But Lundy, commandant of Derry, who, though confidentially entrusted by William, was secretly in the interest of James, had neglected to send any reinforcements to his aid, and the Irish had almost surrounded the city. Blaney, therefore, determined to march, on the western side of Lough

* Portraits of this officer are, we believe, still in existence. † Life of king William, p. 217.

Neagh and the Bann, to Colerain, with seven troops of horse and eight companies of foot. Aware of his movements, the garrisons of Mountjoy and Charlemont endeavoured to cut off his retreat. With this view, 1200 men pushed rapidly forward, on the 16th of March, to seize the pass at Artrea Bridge, and 500 others were despatched to assail his army in the rear, and thus place them betwixt two fires. But the vigilant Blaney gained the bridge, fifteen minutes before his enemy were able to overtake and fire on his troops. He halted, gave battle, slew 155 of the Irish assailants, drove a number of the survivors into the river, and compelled the remainder to retire with precipitation. After this conflict, he made good his retreat to Colerain. Some companies of his army, which had endeavoured to escape on the east side of Lough Neagh, less fortunate than their commander, were overpowered, near Antrim, and disarmed. Colerain itself was soon deemed untenable, and the associated Protestants withdrew, by different routes, to Londonderry, as their last refuge.*

King James who, on the 12th of March, 1688-9, had arrived at Kinsale, from Brest, with a small army, officered chiefly by Frenchmen, determined, after a short delay in Dublin, to take possession of Derry in person.

In his progress through the north, he was desirous of inspecting the state of his garrison in Charlemont, and on his route to that fort, stayed a few days in Armagh. He describes the town as "pillaged by the enemy and very inconvenient, as well for himself as his train, whilst he sent Monsieur de Rosen and Monsieur de Mammont, to view and give an account of the troops at Dunganon."† James revisited Armagh, on his return from Derry, by Omagh, from whence he had gone to Charlemont. He is said to have resided, at first, in a house (an inn) in Abbey-street, lately occupied by a blacksmith, named Magill, from which he removed to a large habi-

* Life of king William, p. 217. † Macpherson's original papers, with the life of James II. written by himself.

tation, situated where the Infirmary now stands, but at that period, the property (we believe) of the Dawson family.* Afterwards, he lodged, it is said, at Mr. Field's house, in Market-street, subsequently occupied in succession, by Surgeons Scott, Carson and Vogan. He and his officers had a store-house, in a lane, situated on the southern side of Scotch-street; and in a garden contiguous to this old building, many of his coins have been accidentally dug up, from time to time.†

The disappointments experienced by King James, before the city of Derry, the bold defence made by its valiant inhabitants, and the final retreat of the Irish army from its walls, are circumstances so accurately and so generally known to the public, as to render it unnecessary to detail them in this work.‡ Amongst the reso-

* In the year 1784, a very old man, and a woman, still older, met accidentally in the shop of Mr. Robert Cochran, in Market-street, Armagh. The man, who was a beggar, had accompanied King James in his visit to Armagh, and had afterwards fought at the battle of the Boyne. The woman, who resided near Hamilton's Bawn was the widow of a soldier, who had carried arms under King William. They quarrelled and scolded each other vehemently, about the politics of the preceding century. They both, however, coincided with the ancient tradition, relative to the houses in which King James had lodged, in Armagh. The author of this work, and Mr. Cochran's family, were present at their meeting. The woman lived to the age of 140, her daughter to that of 122.

† Lieutenant Benjamin Bassnett Stuart, father to the author of this work, occupied the premises to which this old storehouse and the adjacent garden were appurtenances, till his decease, in the year 1778, and many of these coins were found by his servants, in digging the ground.

‡ The besieged were reduced to the most abject distress in the course of the siege, as will appear from the following quotation, from Walkers diary, p. 39, (edit. London, 1689.)

"July 27.—Horse flesh sold for 1s. 8d. per pound. A quarter of a dog, fattened by eating the bodies of the slain Irish, 5s. 6d. A dogs head, 2s. 6d. A cat, 4s. 6d. A rat, 1s. A mouse, 6d. A small Flock taken in the river, not to be bought for money, or purchased under the rate of a quantity of meal. A pound of greaves, 1s. A pound of tallow, 4s. A pound of salted hides, 1s. A quart of horse blood, 1s. A horse pudding, 6d. An handful of sea wreck, 2d. An handful of chick weed, 1d. A quart of meal when found, 1s:

"We were under so great necessity, that we had nothing left unless we could prey upon one another: A certain fat gentleman, conceived himself in the greatest danger, and fancying several of the garrison looked on him with a greedy eye, thought fit to hide himself for three days. Our drink was nothing but water, which we paid very dear for, and could not get without great danger; we mixed in it ginger and anniseeds, of which we had great plenty; our necessity of eating the composition of tallow and starch, did not only nourish and support us, but was an infallible cure of the dysentery; and recovered a great many that were strangely reduced by that distemper, and preserved others from it."

lute Protestants who had sought refuge in Derry, were many daring and active spirits, who had marched from Armagh with a very gallant officer, John Cochran, of Ballyrath, and his friend Robert Pooler of Tyross.* The former of these men displayed considerable prowess as a soldier, and talents as a commander, in various hazardous exploits. In a curious historical account of the siege, written and printed immediately after its termination, in uncouth rhymes, honourable mention is made of this officer and his companions in arms. Some of these lines (such as they are) are subjoined in the annexed note.†

In a part of the poem, Cochran‡ is spoken of as signaling himself, in a very gallant and honourable manner, in an engagement, fought near Pennyburn mill, and in a desperate sortie, near the walls of Derry. His name is annexed to the address to King William and Queen Mary, voted by the garrison of Derry, on the 29th of July, 1689.||

Pooler, in almost every sortie made by the famous Murray and by other adventurous commanders, was always in the thickest of the battle, and yet escaped unhurt. When, however, the garrison had received the joyful information, that the Irish army had commenced

* Besides these, Henry Cust, James Stiles, and Francis Obre, are believed to have led a body men from Armagh and its vicinity, to Derry:

† “ In a few hours, COCHRAN revenge demands,
Who in the lines with a battalion stands...
Brave Wilson and M’Culloch gave their aid,
And in their ranks a horrid slaughter made.”

‡ Captain Cochran survived the war, and returned to his farm. He died suddenly in one of his own fields, probably by apoplexy. He was found dead, with his sword half drawn, by some of his old companions in arms, one of whom exclaimed, see “ Death has taken him treacherously—had he had time to draw his sword he would have killed Death himself!”—This veteran, had surely forgotten the old rhymes,

“ Who killed Kildare, who dared Kildare to kill,
Death killed Kildare, who dares kill whom he will.”

A sun-dial and some plate, belonging to Captain Cochran, and bearing his name, were dug up about 25 years ago, in Ballyrath.

Manuscript account of John Cochran, which belonged to his grandson, the late R. Cochran.

|| Walker’s True History of the siege of Londonderry, p. 45.

its retreat by night, this gallant soldier looked through an embrasure on the city battlements, in hopes of witnessing its final departure. At that moment, a random shot, discharged by some of the flying foe, who had loitered in the rear, struck him on the head and killed him on the spot. Some of the posterity of Pooler and of Cochran reside, at this hour, in Armagh and its vicinity, and some in Newry.

A. D. 1690. The troops of Duke Schomberg took possession of Armagh and formed there a depot of provisions, in a building, situated in a lane off Scotch-street, which had been previously used, as already stated, by King James, as a store-house.

The Irish garrison of Charlemont had, for a considerable time, been blockaded by two regiments of French Hugonots, and a detachment of British troops. It was reduced to extremities, when King James sent Lieutenant-colonel Mac Mahon, at the head of 500 men, to relieve and strengthen the besieged. Duke Schomberg had summoned the governor, Teig O Regán, an able and spirited Irish commander, to surrender. His answer was, "The old knave Schomberg shall not have this castle."*

On the 2d of May, Mac Mahon's troops advanced—and Schomberg was anxious that they should pass into the garrison which, he knew, was nearly exhausted of provisions. They entered unmolested—and O Regan's soldiers, deprived of the scanty food which they possessed, by this increase of numbers, were soon reduced to the utmost distress. He therefore commanded the new reinforcements to fight their way back, which they, in vain, repeatedly attempted to effect. O Regan, incensed at their failure, compelled them to lodge in huts, in the dry ditch within the palisadoes, and on the counter-scarp. At last, on the 13th of May, 1690, he capitulated, and on the 14th, 800 men and a multitude of wo-

* Life of king William, Leland.

men and children marched out. Duke Schomberg, when he saw so many females, said, that "Love rather than policy prevailed in Irish garrisons." The famished soldiers, as they moved along, were seen devouring pieces of dried hides with the hair on—but Schomberg ordered a loaf to each of them from the stores at Armagh, and entertained the officers with hospitable attention.*

During the remainder of the war, few, if any, military actions of moment took place, either in the city of Armagh or its vicinity. Some acts, however, of King James's parliament, which had assembled, on the 7th of May, 1689, were highly interesting to the gentry of that neighbourhood and indeed to the whole kingdom, and are therefore worthy of record. A declaratory law was enacted by it, affirming, that the parliament of England cannot bind Ireland—another repealed the acts of settlement and explanation—another decreed liberty of conscience and annulled the clauses contained in former acts of parliament, held to be inconsistent therewith—another was passed for the encouragement of strangers to settle in Ireland—another prohibited the importation of coals from Great Britain—another vested in the king, the goods of absentees—another was enacted for the advancement and improvement of trade, &c. But "the act for the attainder of divers rebels and for preserving the interest of loyal subjects," would have been pregnant with mighty consequences, if King James's authority had been durable. By this act, about 2600 persons were attainted by name, amongst whom were two Archbishops, one Duke, seventeen Earls, seven Countesses, twenty-eight Viscounts, two Viscountesses, seven Bishops, twenty-four Barons, thirty-five Baronets, fifty-one Knights and one hundred and fifty-five Clergymen. Among the proscribed, were various persons who had either a direct interest, in Armagh or its vicinity, or had signalized themselves in the war which had been

* Harris's Life of William, p. 263; Gazette, No. 2558—2559—2560 Tindal, p. 89. King William, 8vo. p. 266;

carried on in that district. We subjoin some of their names in a note, for the satisfaction of our readers.*

The acts of King James's Irish parliament were declared null and void by the British legislature, in the year 1690;† and on the 2d of October, 1695, its rolls, records and papers were cancelled and publickly burned.‡

The abortive measures of James's parliament were followed by real forfeitures of lands, which were executed by its victorious enemies, under a commission, issued by the crown. These were carried into effect with unrelenting severity, and the violent proceedings of the commissioners exceedingly exasperated the Irish, and almost compelled them to continue the war.||

The immediate evils resulting from this rigorous measure were, perhaps, but of temporary duration; but a most effective blow was aimed at the prosperity of Ireland, by the destruction of its woollen manufacture.—This was sacrificed to the jealousy of England, in 1698, when such heavy additional duties were laid on the

* William Caulfeild, Viscount Charlemont; Henry Lord Blaney, of Monaghan; Sir Nicholas Acheson, of Mullaghbrack; Oliver Anketell, Richard Anketell, and Matthew Anketell, of Anketell's Grove, Esqrs. John Dawson, Walter Dawson, sen. and Walter Dawson, jun. of Armagh, Esqrs. Downham Cope, of Dromilly, Esq. James Maxwell, jun. of Mullaghateny, Esq. James Gillespie, of Anaghrope, Gent. John Irwin, of Tynan, Gent. William Heardman, of Dartan, Gent. Francis Hamilton, of Tullybrack, Gent. Hugh Rowley, of Tubbermore, Esq. Francis Obery, of Clantylne, Gent. William Richardson, of Leggacurry, (Richhill,) Esq. George Blacker, jun. of Knockbridge, Esq. Henry Hunter, of Ballymeally, Gent. Daniel Madden, of Tandragee, Gent. William Denney, of Clanbrazile, Ralph Trueman, of Braccagh, Gent. Meredith Workman, of Meagh, Gent. Capt. John Johnston, of Drumconnel, Robert Fenly, of Hamiltons-Bawn, Gent. Thomas Ball, and John Ball, of Glassdromi, Esq. Charles Pointz, of the same, Gent. Narcissus Marsh, Bishop of Ferns, afterwards Archbishop of Armagh; James Maxwell, of Crerum, Esq. Hamlett Obins, of Portadown, Esq. Anthony Abings, of same, Gent. George Hamilton, of Kinard, Gent. John Gaskin, vicar-choral, Gent. John M'Caull, of Lurgan, Gent. Henry Jenney, of Segoe, Clerk; Christopher Jenney, of Mullaghbrack, Clerk. Thomas Assington, of Loughgall, Clerk. Thomas Chapling, of Ballyrusse, Gent. Archibald Woods, of Markethill, Gent. Henry Cope, of Loughgall, Esq. Gilbert Thacker, of Cluttan, Esq. Archibald Johnson, of Loughgilly, Clerk; Oliver St. John, of Tandragee, Esq. and William Brokes, of Droincree, Clerk.

† Life of King William. ‡ Gesta Hib. p. 192. || London Gazette—Impart. Hist.—Harris's Life of King William.

exportation of woollen cloths (friezes excepted) as were tantamount to a prohibition. Shortly afterwards, indeed, essential encouragement was given to the linen manufacture—a species of business, which though less productive than the other, as to pecuniary emoluments, is far more conducive to human happiness.*

At the period when these arbitrary laws were enacted, woollen cloth was manufactured in many districts of Ireland, notwithstanding the distracted state of the country. Molyneux informs us, that *cloth of every description*, fit for household purposes, was woven in the immediate neighbourhood of Armagh. “ I have (says that writer in a letter to Locke, dated September 26, 1696) as good *diaper*, made by some of my tenants nigh Armagh, as can come to a table, and all *other cloth*, fit for household uses.” A camlet manufacture was carried on, in the year 1680, in Scotch-street, Armagh, by Thomas Prentice, who died at the advanced age of 107.† About the year 1712, James Quin of Carlow, established a damask manufactory at Lurgan. But however excellent the *diaper* may have been of which Mr. Molyneux speaks, the manufacture of that article was subsequently carried to a much greater degree of perfection, by the exertions of James Bradshaw, a Quaker, who, in the year 1728, presented to the Linen Board, a sleying table, of a peculiar construction, for its further improvement. Afterwards, he passed over, under the auspices of the

* “ At the time of the accession of William III. our farms were better suited to the woollen manufacture than the linen; our flocks were numerous, and our sheep-sheering began in May; the wool was immediately sorted and scoured; the short fine wool was preserved for grey spinning, the web made of it was called a grey web, as in an act of Henry VIII. This was died drab, blue, or brown; and was spun on the great wheel, woven in summer, and dressed for clothes for the male branches of the family. Tuck-mills were then more numerous than our bleach-mills are at present. The long fine wool was laid aside for the comb. This was generally spun upon the small wheel, the same as used for flax-spinning; and was died of different colours, and woven as poplin, the warp and west being of different colours; when doubled, it was woven as camlet, and worn by men in summer, or made into stockings. The middling kind of wool was made into blankets. J. M. Stephenson's Fasciculus 2nd, of the Belfast Literary Society, p. 3.”

† He lived on the premises where his late great grandson, Thomas Prentice, Esq. resided, and which are now occupied by his widow.

Board, to Holland and Hamburg* where he obtained the requisite information, concerning the most approved methods and machinery, used, in those countries, for weaving and bleaching figured diapers. On this system, he afterwards carried on the manufacture, &c. most successfully in Ireland.†

The destruction of the woollen manufactures of Ireland, compelled a multitude of the Episcopalian Protestants, (many of whom were English settlers, engaged in the manufacture of woollen cloth,) to desert the country. At the same time, the encouragement given to the Linen Trade, induced many Presbyterian Scots, French Hugonots, and various highly respectable Quaker families, to form establishments in Ulster.— Since that period, the spinning of linen yarn and the manufacture and bleaching of linen webs, have been carried to a very high degree of perfection.‡ It is sta-

* Minutes of the Linen Board—Stephens. Fas. p. 35.

† The author of this work has in his possession, a piece of bleached diaper, still unwashed, which was one of the first webs finished by James Bradshaw, who was his great-grandfather, *a parte materna*. It bears his name, and shews the state of perfection to which he had brought the art. The late Robert Bradshaw, sen. of Mile Cross Lodge, (Newtown Ards,) Lucy Crymble, of Lurgan, and Ruth Brady, of Antrim, used to relate the following anecdote of their father, James Bradshaw. “Before he went to Holland, he was aware that the Dutch would be unwilling to impart any of the more important secrets of their manufacture, to a stranger. But after his arrival there, he got access to a factory, through which he seemed to wander with idle curiosity, apparently gazing at the machinery, with the vacant stare of ignorance. Bradshaw, who was blessed with a most tenacious memory, and a highly improved and comprehensive intellect, made hasty, but correct sketches of what he had seen; immediately on his return to his lodging. A few days after this, he spent some time on the public exchange, where having accidentally met with an Irishman, he conversed with him for a short time in his native language, of which he possessed a critical knowledge. A gentleman who had overheard part of the discourse, invited him to his house, where he informed him, that he himself, though long settled in Holland, was originally from Ireland. ‘I feel for you, Sir, said he, as my countryman, and I now tell you, that our diaper manufacturers have recently received information concerning you. They know the object which you have in view—they have formed a due estimate of your talents, and dread the overthrow of their trade, if you be permitted to return home. In short if you do not instantly decamp you will be assassinated.’ Bradshaw took the friendly hint which he had received. His countryman accompanied him by night, with a considerable body of his relations, till he had passed all danger of pursuit.”

‡ By 9th of Anne, a Linen Board was established, and on 6th of October, the following Trustees were nominated for Ulster: Hugh, Earl of Mount Alexander; James, Earl of Abercorne; William, Lord Viscount

ted, somewhere, in the Gentleman's Magazine, that — Bond, of Bondville, near Armagh, Esq. had presented, about the year, 1735, a piece of what was then deemed remarkably fine linen, to the Queen. But, if we rightly recollect, the degree of fineness, specified in the paper, would not, at present, be deemed worthy of record.— In spinning linen yarn, some of the industrious females of this country have arrived at an almost unparalleled degree of perfection. “At Dundonnald, in the county of Down, in February, 1799, a woman, out of one pound and a half of flax, which cost about two shillings, produced yarn of so fine a texture, as to sell for £5 2 4½. A Miss M'Quillan, in Comber, county of Down, spun sixty-four hanks out of one pound of flax, producing one hank every fortnight. She split the fibre with a needle to give this degree of fineness. A hank was lately spun in Belfast, weighing 3½ drachms, about 73 hanks to the pound. A hank has been since spun, equal to 130 hanks to the pound. But in December, 1815, Wm Dawson, of Woodbank, near Gilford, Esq. had in his possession a hank of yarn, spun by Catharine Woods, of Dunmore, near Ballynahinch, aged about 15 years, which weighed exactly 10 grains, giving above 700 hanks to the avoirdupoise pound of flax. These would make a thread 2,521,440 yards in length. 17lbs. 6oz. 3½drs. of this yarn, would contain a thread 24,912 English miles in length, equal to the circumference of the earth. The finest piece of cambric, perhaps ever manufactured in Ireland, was sold in 1794, in Lurgan market. It counted 2700 warp and 3000 woof, and was valued at £25 sterling. The extremes of the manufacture are, from 700 to 2400.”*

Mountjoy; Clotworthy, Lord Visct. Massareene; Lord Conway; Edward Southwell, Esq. principal Secretary of State for the kingdom of Ireland; Thomas Coote, Esq. one of the Justices of her Majesty's Court of Queen's Bench; Charles O'Neill, Esq. Joshua Dawson, Esq. Doctor Marmeduke Coghill; William Brownlow, Esq. Samuel Warring, Esq. Hawkins Magil, Esq. Matthew Ford, Esq. James Topham, Esq. Charles Campbell, Esq. Robert Clements, Esq. Michael Ward, Esq.”—Ibid.

* Newry Mag. p. 206, Vol. 2.

CHAPTER XXV.

Drs. Hugh Boulter, John Hoadly, George Stone, Richard Robinson, William Newcome, and William Stuart.

HUGH BOULTER, D. D. was translated from Bristol to the primatial see of Armagh, by privy seal, dated Kensington, 12th of August, 1724, and by patent, on the 31st of the same month.* This divine was born near London, on the 4th of January, 1671-2, of an opulent and highly esteemed family. After having studied for some time, at Merchant Taylors' school, he entered a fellow commoner of Christ's church, Oxford. Immediately after the Revolution, he was elected a Demi of Magdalen-College, together with Dr. Wilsted, Dr. Joseph Wilcox, and the celebrated Mr. Joseph Addison. The merit, talents and learning of these gentlemen, induced Dr. Hough, president of the college, to dignify this election with the honourable appellation of "The golden election;" a title which it long retained.—BOULTER was afterwards a fellow of Magdalen College, but in the year 1700, he left the university and went to London, where he was appointed chaplain—first to Sir Charles Hedges, then principal secretary of state, and afterwards to Dr. Thomas Tennison, Archbishop of Canterbury. Through the interest of Charles Spencer, Earl of Sunderland, he obtained the rectory of St. Olave, in Southwark, and the archdeaconry of Surrey. Here he displayed much zeal, in the performance of his pastoral duties, and much benevolence, in relieving the wants of his numerous and indigent parishioners. In the year 1719, he attended King George I, to Hanover, as his chaplain, and as preceptor to his grandson, Prince Frederick. The talents he displayed in this honourable employment—and "A set

* Rot. Canc. 119, Geo. I. 1ma. p. Dorso, memb.

of instructions," which he had drawn up, to facilitate his royal pupil's progress in the English language, were so pleasing to his majesty, that he granted to him the see of Bristol and deanery of Christ Church, Oxford. He was consecrated Bishop, on the 15th of November, 1719, and discharged the duties of his high office, with the most unremitting attention. In the year 1724, he received, whilst occupied in a diocesan visitation, a letter from the secretary of state, announcing his nomination to the see of Armagh. He was, at first, disposed to decline the intended honour, and by letter, requested the secretary to plead his excuse with his majesty. The king, however, commanded him to accept the primacy; and he, though with some reluctance, obeyed the royal mandate, repaired to London and paid due obeisance to his sovereign, on his promotion. On the 3d of November, 1724, he arrived again in Ireland, where he took an active part in the privy council, and gave new energy to all the deliberations of the public boards. Anxious to promote the happiness of the people, he was peculiarly desirous to afford every possible facility to the internal trade of the country. Hence, he not only encouraged the design of forming a canal from Newry, to the river Bann, and thus opening a communication with Lough Neagh, but gave pecuniary aid towards its execution. The utility of this canal is now apparent to every commercial man in the nation.

Zealous for the interest of the church, he turned his attention to the situation of the inhabitants of Drogheda, a populous town in the diocese of Armagh. The ecclesiastical appointments were there quite insufficient for the support of two clergymen, and the duties could not be effectually fulfilled by one. His Grace, therefore, allotted a proper maintenance for a second curate, from his own funds. He also built four houses in that town, for the widows of clergymen, and endowed them with a part of the proceeds of an estate, purchased at his own expense. The remainder of the issues of this estate,

amounting to £24 per annum, was appropriated to the purpose of apprenticing the children of these widows, to useful employments. Many of the clergy of his diocese were in such indigent circumstances, that they were quite unable to give their children a liberal education. Dr. BOULTER viewed their situation with compassion, and sent their sons to Trinity College, where he maintained them at his own expense. Stevens's Hospital and the charitable institutions in Dublin, experienced the liberality of our benevolent primate. In the augmentation of small livings and in the purchase of glebe lands, to render the clergy more comfortable and respected, he expended at least £30,000—and he was actively instrumental to the establishment of Protestant working schools, which he lived to see carried into execution, with considerable effect. His charitable donations amounted, in the kingdom of Ireland alone, to above £40,000.

Armagh was indebted to Primate BOULTER for a neat market-house, which he had planned, but did not live to see perfected. His executors, however, completed the building, at an expense of about £850. Four houses, for the reception of clergymen's widows, were also built, on Vicar's Hill, (formerly called Pound Hill) in that city, from a fund which he had, by his will, appropriated to that purpose. These were endowed with £50 per annum, and have formed a useful and comfortable residence for many respectable matrons, with their families, who, in the decline of life, might, but for the provident care of Primate BOULTER, have been devoid of a fit habitation and competent support. Our benevolent Prelate also gave £1000 towards rebuilding the Blue Coat Hospital in Dublin.*

In the year 1728, a considerable emigration took place, to British America, from the north of Ireland.

* Gentleman's Mag. for October, 1742.

Primate BOULTER attributed this circumstance to a scarcity of provisions, under which the inhabitants of Ulster then laboured. Immediately he set on foot a subscription, for purchasing corn, to supply the wants of the people and to keep provisions at a reasonable rate.* To this subscription he was a large contributor. In fact, in the years 1727 and 1728, two years of dearth, he distributed vast quantities of grain to the poor of Ireland, and all houseless wanderers were, by his order, received into the Dublin alms-houses and fed at his expense.† In the year 1739-40, during the continuance of the great frost, by which the nation was so dreadfully afflicted, his bounty was almost unparalleled.—Every indigent and distressed person in the city of Dublin, experienced essential relief, and chiefly at his cost. The house of Commons, admiring this disinterested generosity, expressed their sense of his merit, by a public vote of thanks.

Primate BOULTER seems to have felt sentiments of respect, for the Presbyterian clergymen of Ulster. We find, in his published letters, a commendatory introduction of Mr. Craghead, one of their number and their accredited solicitor, to the great statesman, Sir Robert Walpole, in which he represents the dissenting ministers as well affected to the house of Hanover, and as labouring to prevent the people, from emigrating to America. He recommends them, in strong terms, to his majesty's attention, as well deserving some extraordinary relief from the royal bounty, during those seasons of extreme calamity and distress.‡

The manufactures of Ireland occupied much of Primate BOULTER's attention. He was a member of The Linen Board, and through its medium, he was highly instrumental, in raising a voluntary subscription of £30,000, by means of which, a thriving cambrick manufacture was formed at Dundalk, in the year 1737,

* See Boulter's state letters, vol. 1, p. 225. † Gentleman's Magazine for October, 1742, ‡ Boulter's letters, vol. 1, p. 236, 257.

on the estate of Viscount Limerick, afterwards Earl of Clanbrassile. Two gentlemen, named De Ioncourt, were engaged to manage this important undertaking, skilful workmen were brought over from France, and every thing was done to ensure its ultimate success.*

Archbishop BOULTER took a very active part in state affairs. He was uncommonly regular, in his attendance at the council table, to which his talents added much weight and dignity. The state of the coin, at that period, attracted his particular attention, and he laboured to diminish the nominal value of the gold currency, under an idea that, by this means, the quantity of silver in circulation, would be materially increased. We learn from one of his letters, addressed to the Duke of Newcastle, that a guinea passed, in this country, in the year 1729, for 23s. Irish; and a moidore for 32s. being 9d. more than its value in England. This, his Grace conceived, tended to diminish the quantity of silver in circulation, so as to render it inadequate to the internal trade of the country. The bankers sought to raise the price of the silver—Primate BOULTER thought it better to diminish that of the gold. At last, in the year 1737, he succeeded in his plan, through the instrumentality of the Duke of Dorset. Dean Swift, however, who had grossly misrepresented the matter to the nation, excited a popular clamour against his Grace and the government. In St. Patrick's church, a dumb peal was rung—the clappers of the bells were muffled—and a black flag was displayed, at the top of the building, as if the country had experienced some great calamity. It was even found necessary to place a guard of soldiers at the Primate's house, to save him from the fury of the very people, who in a period of misery and famine had been fed by his bounty. Money, however, soon appeared, in sufficient plenty for the purposes of trade, and the uproar subsided at once.†

* Boulter's letters, vol. 2, p. 166.
191, 192, and the notes.

† Boulter's letters, vol. 2, p. 190,

Primate BOULTER seems to have experienced some opposition, in ecclesiastical affairs, from the famous Dr. William King, Archbishop of Dublin, and author of the treatise "*De Origine Mali.*" King appears to to have questioned the primatial right of this prelate, to consecrate bishops in Dublin, without a formal license, obtained from him.* Besides this, he considered his own licenses, for solemnizing marriages at uncanonical hours, as equally valid with the prerogative licenses, founded on a power granted by James I. in the 10th year of his reign, to Christopher Hampton, Archbishop of Armagh, and his successors. The death of King, however, in the year 1729, put an end to this misunderstanding.†

The private charities of Primate BOULTER were unlimited. Indigence never solicited his aid in vain—and his pecuniary gifts to merit in distress, were frequently munificent. In the height of his prosperity, he retained the warmest affection for the friends of his youth. Amongst those, who experienced his bounty, was Dr. Welsted, his compeer, as already stated, at the golden election in Oxford. This gentleman had not been favoured with the smiles of Fortune, but the princely spirit of his early friend, relieved him in the hour of distress, and placed him above want, by the grant of an annuity of £200, during life.

Primate BOULTER was thirteen times one of the lords justices, or chief governors of Ireland, an office whose duties he fulfilled with integrity and honour. His talents were uniformly exerted for the public good, when his judgment was not warped, by the irresistible party prejudices of the age, in which he lived.

On the second of June, 1742, this excellent prelate embarked for England, and died at his house in St. James's Place, London, on the 27th of September, after two days' illness. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, where a stately monument is erected to his memo-

* Boulter's letters, vol. 1, p. 82 83. † Ibid, vol. 1, p. 61, 62, 65, 241;

ry. The mind of this illustrious divine was cast in no ordinary mould. He was liberal—humane—munificent. Of serene and placid temper, he was calm in deliberation—prompt in decision—alert and resolute in act. It is a pity, that a single shade should, for a moment, pass darkly over so bright, so splendid a character—but his warmest admirers cannot deny, that in the management of Irish affairs, he entertained too great a partiality for England and for Englishmen. In his letters, he demonstrates the most ardent wish, to fill almost every vacancy that occurred, both in the church and in the courts of law, with his countrymen. He seems to have been, for ever, on the watch, to procure preferment for his dependants, and not unfrequently, in the same breath, with which he laments the death of one friend, he solicits the patron of the deceased, to transfer his office to another.*

For nearly 20 years, Dr. BOULTER was at the head of what was denominated, “The English Interest” in Ireland. His conduct during this period, as the leader of a party, was certainly inconsistent with sound policy—but the erroneous principles on which he acted, are rather to be attributed to the spirit of the times, than to any prejudices peculiar to the Primate himself. He seems to have thought, that Ireland could only have been ruled, through the instrumentality of its factions, and that national concord must necessarily have been fatal to the English interest.

The managers of this interest in Ireland, introduced into a bill,† which was passed for regulating elections, a clause by which the Roman Catholics were completely disfranchised. This harsh measure received the royal assent, before the people, who were thus aggrieved, were well aware of its existence. By another bill, in which Primate BOULTER interested himself, exceedingly,‡ it was enacted, 1st. That all barristers, six clerks,

* See Boulter's state letters, *passim*.

† 1. George the 2nd, chap. 9,

‡ Boulter's letters, vol. 1, p. 184, 185.

&c. "shall make the declaration, and take and subscribe the oaths required in the act, to prevent the further growth of popery"—2^o Annæ, Reg. "2d. That no convert shall be admitted a barrister, till five years after his conversion, and continuing in the church of Ireland." "3d. That they (the converts) breed up their children, both the *post nati*, and the *ante nati*, under 14 years of age, Protestants, &c."*

It is manifest that acts of this nature, had a direct tendency to excite a spirit of disunion and discontent through the whole extent of the kingdom.

Primate BOULTER who was a man of erudition, assisted Ambrose Philips, in the paper called the "Free-thinker." He has, however, left us no other literary memorial of himself, than what is comprised in two volumes of his letters, collected and arranged by Philips. These are valuable to the historian, on account of the various subjects which they discuss, and the curious matter which they contain. To Philips himself, Dr. BOULTER behaved with honour and generosity.—Speaking on this subject, Dr. Johnson says, of our prelate—"He knew how to practise the liberality of greatness and the fidelity of friendship. Advanced to the height of ecclesiastical dignity, he did not forget the companion of his labours. Knowing Philips to be slenderly supported, he took him to Ireland, as partaker of his fortune, and making him his secretary, added such preferments, as enabled him to represent the county of Armagh,† in the Irish parliament. Philips was afterwards secretary to the Lord Chancellor and judge of the prerogative court."

Primate BOULTER had married a Miss Savage, a lady of rank and fortune, by whom he left no issue.—

† Dr. Johnson is here in error. Ambrose Philips, author of the "Distrest Mother," was representative in parliament for the *borough*, not the *county*, of Armagh. He died in the year 1749, and Lieut.-Gen. Philip Bragge, was elected in his place, on the 18th of October, by the following burgesses, viz. Thomas Ogle, Sovereign, Pat. Houston, William English, Edward Harcourt, Henry Jenney, Henry Meredyth, and John Marshall.

She died, on the 3d of March, 1754. On her death, £500 became vested in Magdalen-College, Oxford, which he had devised towards rebuilding that edifice—£1000 also to Christ's Church, Oxford, for founding five exhibitions—and £500 to the same institution, to purchase an estate, whose proceeds were to be distributed in equal exhibitions, to five servitors, under two years' standing, &c. It is stated, in the Gentleman's Magazine for October, 1742, that after the decease of his wife, all Primate BOULTER's property, amounting to about £30,000, was applicable, by his will, to charitable purposes. The Archbishop of Dublin, the Bishop of Kildare, and Thomas Morgan, were nominated his executors.

JOHN HOADLY, D. D. was translated, from the see of Dublin, to that of Armagh, by privy seal, dated at Kensington, 6th October, 1742, and by patent issued on the 24th* of the same month.

On the 12th of January, 1742-3, Henry, Lord Bishop of Dromore, was enthroned as the duly authorized proxy of his Grace, in the cathedral. Dr. HOADLY was born at Tottenham, on 27th September, 1678, and was the youngest son of the Rev. Samuel Hoadly, and brother to the learned and celebrated Benjamin Hoadly, bishop of Winchester.† The father of these illustrious brothers, not only watched over their infancy, with parental affection, but was himself their instructor, in classic learning. He perceived, with delight, that they were possessed of persevering industry and capacious intellects; and from a comparative estimate of their relative abilities, he is said to have hazarded a conjectural prediction, as to their future progress in life, which subsequent events have not altogether justified. "My son John, (said he to a friend) will probably be a *Bishop*, and Benjamin, an *Archbishop*." It is true, that both these youths attained

* Rot. Cane. 16th Geo. II. 1ma. p. d. Lodge ut supra. † Biographia Brit.

episcopal honours, but the archbishopric was conferred, not as the fond parent had anticipated, on the elder, but on the younger of his sons.*

JOHN HOADLY, was chaplain to Bishop Burnet, and by him installed chancellor and canon residentiary of the church of Salisbury, archdeacon of Sarum, and rector of St. Edmunds, in that city.† In 1717, Sir Peter King, chief justice of the court of common pleas, presented him to the rectory of Ockham, in Surry, and he was afterwards made canon of the church of Hereford, by his brother, when bishop of that see. By letter of King George I, dated 3d of June, 1727, he was nominated Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns, but his Majesty died, before the necessary documents had passed the appointed office, and therefore a new patent was granted by George II, immediately on his accession to the throne.‡

In January, 1729–30, he was promoted to the see of Dublin, on the demise of Archbishop King; and after the death of Primate Boulter, in October, 1742, he was translated to Armagh. It is asserted, by Dr. Kippis, that “the late Duke of Devonshire’s father, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, had made all solicitation for the primacy needless, within an hour after the news of the Archbishop’s decease had arrived in London.” His expression to the King was, “that he could not do without him” (HOADLY.)|| It is probable, that as a politician and a leading member of the privy council, Dr. HOADLY adopted the system of his predecessor Boulter, and supported what was then, absurdly, styled “the English interest” in this country, in marked contradistinction to that of its aboriginal inhabitants; as if the prosperity of the one party were utterly incompatible with the welfare of the other, and the power of the state, were solely upheld by the discords of the people.

Primate HOADLY’s name appears annexed to a pro-

* Nicholson’s Literary Anecdotes, vol. 3. † Biograph. Brit. ‡ Harris’s Ware’s Bishops, p. 452—Biog. Brit. || Biograph. Brit.

clamation, issued by the privy council, on the 28th of February, 1743-4, in which all justices of the peace, and other persons officially empowered, were strictly commanded to enforce the penal laws, which had been enacted in the ninth year of the reign of King William, for the caption and imprisonment of all "Papal Archbishops, Bishops, Jesuits, Friars, and other ecclesiastics." In the same document, large pecuniary rewards were offered, for the seizure and conviction of these proscribed persons, and of any others who should dare to conceal them, or receive them hospitably into their houses.*

In consequence of this harsh and cruel edict, the chapels were closed, domiciliary visits were made in quest of the fugitive priests, and universal alarm was diffused through the country. Yet some zealous ecclesiastics ventured to perform the ceremonies of the Romish church, in obscure and unfrequented places, where they hoped to escape the prying eyes of informers. On one of these occasions, John Gerald, a Meathian Presbyter, celebrated mass, in the interior of a ruinous habitation, in the city of Dublin. The ceremony was finished—the benediction given, and the people had risen to depart, when suddenly the house fell. Gerald and nine of his hearers were killed on the spot, and many more were severely bruised or maimed. Moved to pity by this lamentable event, the Lord-Lieutenant and council relaxed in the severity of their proceedings, and the chapels were again opened, on the 17th of March, 1745, the anniversary of St. Patrick's day.†

Primate HOADLY was a skilful agriculturist, who delighted in practical farming, and was beloved by his tenantry, and by the landholders of the country, amongst whom he had excited (both by his example and by judicious pecuniary rewards) a strong desire to improve their grounds, and a generous spirit of emulation.‡

* Gazette—citante De Burg, p. 717. † Hib. Dom. p. 176.

‡ He was probably more zealously attached to the doctrines of the church

He married Mrs. Ann Warre, who died on the 7th of June, 1740.* By her he had issue a daughter, Sarah, the wife of Bellingham Boyle, Esq. of Rathfarnham, near Dublin, a near relation of Boyle, speaker of the house of commons, who was afterwards Earl of Shannon. Mr. Boyle died in the summer of the year 1771, leaving a widow, two sons and a daughter. The Primate himself died of a fever, on the 19th of July, 1746, aged 68, and was buried in the same vault, with his lady and her mother, at Tallaght, where he had erected a convenient and elegant episcopal palace, from the ruins of an immense castle.†

As a polemic writer, Dr HOADLY displayed considerable acuteness and talent. He was not indeed so powerful in argument, as the Bishop of Winchester, yet, the style of his composition, was, perhaps, less intricate and perplexed, than that of his more celebrated brother, of whom Pope sarcastically observes—

“ ——— SWIFT for closer style,
But HOADLY for a period of a mile.”

Dr. JOHN HOADLY published, in 1703, a quarto volume, in defence of Bishop Burnet's “ Exposition of the thirty-nine articles of the Church of England.” He printed also a second work, in octavo, on the same subject, besides various sermons, viz.—on the Public Fast, in 1704, occasioned by the great storm which had taken place, in November 25, 1703—on the Nature and Excellency of Moderation, preached at the assizes of Salisbury, in March, 1706–7. The subject of this discourse was, at that time, dangerous and unfashionable. A sermon on the Abasement of Pride, preached on July,

of England, than his brother the Bishop of Salisbury, who is styled by some of his biographers, “ the greatest dissenter, that ever obtained promotion in the church ” Chalmers, vol. 17, p 316.

* Gentleman's Mag. † Biog Brit.

I cannot find that Dr. Hoadly, made any permanent improvement in the Armagh cathedral during his short primacy. — In the year 1745, a gravel walk was ordered to be made round that edifice, with a grass border on each side. When this was afterwards carried into effect, much dissatisfaction arose amongst the respectable citizens who had been accustomed to bury their dead close to the church wall.

18th, 1708. Another, preached at Ely House, on the consecration of Benjamin Hoadly, bishop of Bangor, on the 18th of March, 1715-16. Another before the House of Commons, January 30th, 1717.

GEORGE STONE, D. D. was translated from the see of Derry to that of Armagh, by privy seal, dated at St. James's, 28th February, 1746-7, and by patent issued on the 13th of the ensuing month.* He was brother to Andrew Stone, Esq. a man of talents and information, who acted a conspicuous part, in the court of Frederick, Prince of Wales.†

In May, 1740, Dr. STONE had been promoted from the deanery of Derry, to the sees of Loughlin and Ferns, from which he was translated in 1743, to the bishoprick of Kildare, which he held with the deanery of Christ's church.‡ Again, in the year 1745, on the death of Dr. Carew Rennell, he was consecrated bishop of Derry, by virtue of the king's letters patent. His final promotion was to the primacy of Ireland.

Dr. STONE was a man of consummate address, and unbounded ambition.|| He was for a long time at the head of what was called the "English interest" in this country, and occasionally the great leader of the government party. Yet a powerful opposition was maintained against this aspiring prelate, by Mr. Boyle, speaker of the House of Commons and afterwards Earl of Shannon. STONE sought preeminence through the influence of the crown, whilst his antagonist, who was a strenuous whig, solicited the aid of the people.—The contests, in which these political champions were involved, elicited the discussion of a question of high moment to the community, viz. whether the commons had a right "to superintend and control the expediture of the public money." This question gave such animation and importance to the lower house of par-

* Rot. Canc. 20° Geo. 2, 1ma. p. d. citante Lodge ut supra. † Hardy's Life of Charlemont, vol. 1, p. 158. ‡ Gentleman's Magazine, || Hardy, 158, 202.

liament, and infused such interest and spirit into its debates, that in the short space which had elapsed from the year 1750, till the year 1754, the pecuniary value of boroughs was trebled, while county elections began to be most warmly and expensively contested.*

The privy council, the parliament and the nation were agitated by the conflicts of the two political parties, headed by STONE and Boyle. The differences of these leaders, however, were terminated by negotiation, Boyle subsequently obtained an earldom, with a pension of £3,000 per annum, for 31 years—a proof, said the incorruptible Charlemont, “that the mask of patriotism is often assumed to disguise self-interest and ambition, and that the paths of too violent opposition, are frequently trod as the nearest and surest road to office and emolument.”† Indeed many such instances occur amongst patriots of this description, of whom it has been said

“Gold binds the tongues which fluent flowed before,
And bribed they rail at government no more.”

During the administration of the Marquis of Harrington, afterwards Duke of Devonshire, Primate STONE was removed in the year 1755, from the privy council, by order of the King, and John Ponsonby, son to the Earl of Besborough, was appointed speaker of the House of Commons, on the promotion of Boyle to the peerage.‡

Dr. STONE in the course of his political career, seems to have acted with great liberality towards the Roman Catholics of Ireland. In the year 1756, James Hamilton, Viscount Limerick, introduced a bill into the House of Lords, the object of which was, to enforce the registry of parish priests, and to vest the power of nominating their successors, in the county grand juries, who were to submit the names of the persons so appointed, to the Lord Lieutenant and privy council, for their approbation or rejection. These regis-

* Ibid. 82. † Ibid. 94. ‡ Gordon, vol. 2, p. 228.

tered priests were to be bound, to inform against any other of the secular or regular clergy, who might reside in their respective parishes, under pain of transportation. They were to be prohibited under similar penalties, from making proselytes, or officiating beyond the boundaries of their respective parishes. Bishops, dignitaries and friars, found in the kingdom after the 1st of January, 1757, were to be subject to the severe penalties contained in the statutes of William and Anne, against Romish priests—and a reward of £100 was to be given for the conviction of each prelate, &c. who should disobey this harsh law. Dr. STONE made a manly opposition to the progress of this act, through the House of Lords. On the third reading, which took place 29th of January, 1756-7, he combatted the arguments of its supporters with such irresistible eloquence, in a speech of two hours duration, that the bill was finally rejected.*

Again in October, 1757, Hamilton, then Earl of Clanbrassile, brought a similar bill into the House of Lords, to which the Primate gave a determined and spirited opposition.† It was read a third time, on the 5th of December, on which occasion, his Grace opposed its further progress, in a speech of such overwhelming eloquence, that he once more obtained a majority of the Lords, present in parliament, but a number of the absent peers having been admitted to vote, by proxy, the bill was passed and transmitted to the privy council. It is honourable to the metropolitan, and to the clergy of the established church, that four archbishops, and ten bishops, dissented from this unnecessary and barbarous law. Four only of the prelates supported the measure.‡ It is said, however, that the proceedings were deemed incorrect by the privy council, because none of the Lords who had voted by proxy, were present at any preceding period

* Hib. Dom. p. 720, 722. † Lords journals, vol. 4, p. 98.

‡ Hib. Dom. 724.

of the session. Certain it is, that either on this account, or by the exercise of the regal prerogative, the bill was quashed.*

In 1762, Primate STONE once more signalized himself in parliament, on behalf of the Roman Catholics. On that occasion he said, (*inter alia*) that he was ready to bear testimony to their loyalty. Surely, said he, "their peaceable good conduct for half a century, entitled them to public favour: they and their priests were quite another people in intentions, sentiment and conduct, from what they were fifty years before.— Surely they were not to be held in perpetual slavery; for his part, from his intimacy with gentlemen of that persuasion, and knowledge of their principles, he would consent to their enjoyment of every advantage in common with the rest of his majesty's subjects, that could, with safety to the state, be entrusted to them."†

Dr. STONE was possessed of so much talent and influence, that he could not long be divested of political power. After his reinstatement in the privy council, we find him aiding in the suppression of "The Hearts of Oak," a body of insurgent peasants, who, in the year 1763, committed various excesses in Ulster. These malecontents, who were almost entirely Protestants, were irritated at the oppressive system of grand jury road jobbing, too prevalent in this kingdom, and were equally averse from the established mode of collecting tithes. Hence they were induced to assemble in various corps, having their hats adorned with oak boughs, as a symbol at once of their union and of their unbending courage. Headed by respectable farmers, they were in the habit of compelling the clergy to swear to a maximum of tithe, dictated by themselves; and they also bound obnoxious grand jurors, by an oath, to refrain from cessing their respective counties, at more than a stipulated rate. Primate STONE, who was then one of

* Ibid. † Manuscript report of the debate in the Mount Druid collection.—Citante M. O Connor, vol. 2, p. 284.

the lords justices, to whom the government of Ireland was committed, on the departure of the Lord Halifax from this kingdom, took effectual measures to quell the insurrection. His conduct, which was at once firm and conciliating, aided by the judicious measures adopted by the patriotic Lord Charlemont, had the desired effect in tranquillizing the country. A gallows had been erected by the Hearts of Oak, in the vicinity of Armagh, and so constructed as to cross the road, and thus render it necessary for travellers to pass directly under its outstretched and terrific arms. "This anti-triumphal trophy, (says Hardy,) was meant to do honour to the judges, especially justice Robinson who was expected at the assizes." But a regiment of foot and two troops of light horse, which the Primate and his coadjutor, Mr. Ponsonby, had despatched to the troubled district, deprived this eminent lawyer of the glorious elevation to which his admirers, "The Hearts of Oak," had destined him.*

Primate STONE died, after a tedious illness, in the winter of the year 1764, at the house of his brother, Andrew Stone, Esq. in London.

The political contests in which this eminent statesman was incessantly involved, and the superiority of

* Hardy, Vol. 1. p. 192, et sequent. "The Hearts of Oak" were on another occasion, prevented from doing much mischief, by the sagacity of Thomas Macan, Esq. who was frequently sovereign of the city of Armagh. They had assembled in a large body, and had sallied forth on a desultory excursion, when Macan, whose urbanity and facetiousness had rendered him very popular, met them in mid career, and addressing them with a kind of pleasant, lively and playful eloquence, peculiar to himself, promised them, that their grievances should be redressed. They hailed him with thunders of applause, adorned his hat with oaken boughs, and placed him at their head. He marched with them for some time...then assumed the command...ordered his followers to halt, and having delivered a second animated speech to the listening crowd, persuaded them to disperse in perfect good humour, and return to their respective homes. In the midst of the insurrection, "The Hearts of Oak" were guided rather by whim and caprice, than by any settled plan, to effect any important or mischievous purpose. They obliged Dr. Clark, a respectable clergyman, (says Mr. Hardy) who they alleged, was the first to exact more than he was entitled to in tithes, to go on the top of his own coach, and drew him through various parts of the country. Infinite were the hisses and scurril jests, as the Doctor passed along.

his talents seem to have inflamed the hatred of his numerous personal enemies, to the most rancorous and vindictive malice. He was at once the object of open libel and of secret calumny, and hence his failings were magnified by the tongue of slander into enormous vices. A clergyman, of the established church, has not hesitated to repeat these foul aspersions, on the character of the deceased primate. He cites no proofs for the disgusting particulars which he narrates, though it would require the strongest evidence to give credibility to the odious and improbable detail.*

Ambition and the love of power, were the ruling passions in the mind of Dr. STONE. Like many other aspiring prelates, he was more of a politician than of a divine—and paid more minute attention to the management of the state, than to the due regulation of the church affairs. He did not rival his immediate predecessor, HOADLY, in learning—nor BOULTER, in benevolence and magnificent liberality; but he seems to have understood the real interest of Ireland better than either of these politico-divines, and he was, therefore, willing, by concessions to the Catholics, to unite the people, whom the leaders of the English party had hitherto sought to divide. As a public speaker, he was graceful, eloquent and commanding. In private conversation he was courteous, affable and polite. In elegance of form, and beauty of countenance, he was almost unrivalled.† He was a kind and attentive landlord,

* See Gordon's Hist. Ireland, 2 Vol. p. 220.

Primate Stone seems to have dedicated his vacant hours, rather to thoughtful and rational amusements, than to vicious recreation. He was fond of the game of chess, in which he was said to have been an adept. About the year 1750, he was president of "A chess club," in Dublin, of which several of the nobility and gentry of the kingdom, were members.—Anecdotes of Chess in Ireland, by Jos. C. Walker, M. R. I. A. 1790. We learn from Dr. Hyde, that the old Irish were so greatly attached to this game, that the possession of large estates has been decided by it, and that, in his time, the right in some estates depended on the issue of a game at chess.—Ibid.

† The author of this work recollects, that at an early period of his life, when the old inhabitants of Armagh were speaking of any person remarkable for comeliness, they would say, "he was almost as handsome as primate Stone."

and the affectionate gratitude of his tenantry, was an honourable compensation for the odium cast upon him, by his public and his private enemies.

We have heard that Dr. STONE published one of his visitation sermons, but we have never seen that production, and it is probable that he never printed any other literary work.

Primate STONE, notwithstanding his minute attention to political affairs, had not neglected the improvement of Armagh. In the year 1751, Thomas Ogle, then sovereign of the city, had formed a plan for opening two new streets, which were to extend from the lower part of Irish-street, to the head of Scotch-street, and thus form a direct, level and facile line of communication, betwixt the great roads leading from Dundalk, Keady, and Killeleagh; and those from Newry, Richhill, Hamilton's-bawn, Loughgall, and Blackwatertown. Primate STONE saw, approved and suggested some useful alterations in Mr. Ogle's plan. Its execution, however, was resisted, and even traversed (we believe) at the assizes, by a Mr. M'Dowall, the proprietor of those lands at Derrynaught, which now form a part of the endowment of the Armagh Observatory. His Grace, however, lent the whole weight of his influence to quash this injudicious opposition, and in a few years the road was effectually opened. Ogle threw down a considerable portion of his father's mansion-house,* erected in the preceding century, and in a part of the back-yard, orchard, garden, and lands annexed to his tenements, formed the intended streets. On the 29th of September, 1759, Thomas Macan, Esq. then sovereign of the city, accompanied by some of the burgesses,† proceeded to the ground, and with some solemnity

* A part of the house still remains, and is now occupied as a hardware shop, &c.

† The Burgesses were:—Thomas Macan, Thomas Ogle, Pat. Houston Edward Harcourt, James Stronge, Arthur Grueber, and Henry Cust.—(Manuscript in the handwriting of Styles Ogle, in possession of the author of this work.) These streets are now known only by the name of *Thomas-*

gave names to the new streets, one of which they denominated Thomas-street, and the other Ogle-street. The opening of this new line of road, has been of more essential service to Armagh, than any other improvement which has been effected during the 18th century, by a private individual. It has indeed given a connexion and regularity to the city, of which it was previously devoid.

Dr. RICHARD ROBINSON was translated to the see of Armagh, from Kildare, by privy seal, dated at St. James's the 8th, and by patent the 19th of January, 1765.* This prelate was a lineal descendant of the Robinsons of Rokeby, an ancient and highly respectable family, in the North Riding of the County of York. He was born in 1709, and was the 8th in descent from William, of Kendal. Having received a grammatical education at Westminster school, he became, by election in 1726, an alumnus of Christ-Church, Oxford, and graduated A. M. in 1733. Dr. Blackburn, archbishop of York, not only appointed him his chaplain, but promoted him to the rectory of Elton, and subsequently to the prebend of Grindal, in York cathedral.

Dr. ROBINSON was highly esteemed by the Duke of Dorset, whom he accompanied in 1751, as his chaplain to Ireland, where he was immediately promoted to the see of Killala, through the influence of the Earl of Holderness, the Earl of Sandwich and other noblemen, who were affianced to him, either by blood, or by family connexion. In 1759, he was translated to the united sees of Leighlin and Ferns; in 1761 to Kildare, and in 1765 to Armagh, by means of his great friend

street, though they are quite distinct from each other, and form a considerable angle at their point of union. Some time ago the corporation-jury very improperly fixed boards, on which the word *Thomas-Street* was painted, at the extremities of Ogle Street, which has thus lost its original name. They were probably led into this error by a plan of the city, executed by John Roque, and by him annexed to a very incorrect map of the county of Armagh, which he dedicated to Primate Stone, in the year 1760. In this plan he absurdly assigns the same name to the two distinct streets.

* Rot. Canc. 5^o Geo. 3. 1ma. p. f. M. 36, 37.

and patron, the Earl of Northumberland, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. In the same year he was made Lord Almoner, and vice-chancellor of the university of Dublin. By privy seal, dated at St. James's, Feb. 6th, 1777, and by patent dated Dublin, 20th of the same month, he was created Baron Rokeby, of Armagh, with remainder over to Matthew Robinson, of West Layton, Esq. In 1783 he became prelate to the order of St. Patrick, and in 1787, was appointed one of the Lords Justices of the Kingdom.

Primate ROBINSON, in 1785, on the demise of his brother William, succeeded to the title of baronet, and was then the survivor and representative of the Robinsons, of Rokeby, in the direct male line.

In this prelate, the established church found a vigilant guardian of her legal rights and privileges. To his exertions and influence, she is indebted for the acts of the 11th and 12th George III. by which bishops and other ecclesiastical persons are to receive from their successors a certain remuneration, for their expenditures, in purchasing glebes and houses, or erecting habitations, for the incumbents, &c. Other statutes, for the repair of churches, and for facilitating the recovery of ecclesiastical dues, originated with this active prelate.

After his promotion to the primacy, Dr. ROBINSON spent some time in examining the state of his diocese, and in maturing plans for the improvement of Armagh, where he intended to establish his chief residence. He lived during two years at Richhill, in the ancient family seat of the Richardsons, and in the interim caused the archbishop's house, in English-street, which was then in a most ruinous state, to be completely repaired.*

It was, however, manifest that such a house was an unfit habitation for the metropolitan of Ireland.—His Grace, therefore determined to erect in the vicinity

* This house was since occupied by John Macan, Esq. and has lately been subdivided into various habitations.

of the city, an episcopal palace more worthy of himself, and of the elevated station which he adorned.—At first he intended to build this palace at Lissanally, but the Rev. Dr. Averell, then proprietor of that place, would not transfer his title to the lands, and the primate was under the necessity of changing his plan. In the demesne lands, contiguous to the town itself, he erected, about the year 1770, a very elegant mansion, in a pure and pleasing style of architecture. This edifice, which is situated on a very gentle eminence, is 90 feet in length, 60 in breadth, and 40 in height. It is unincumbered with wings, and by its simply-elegant uniformity, arrests the attention of the spectator. The species of marble, or calcareous stone, with which it is built, produces a most striking effect, by the splendor of its colour. This was raised in an extensive quarry contiguous to the Demesne, out of which large quantities of beautiful marble have been taken, of which a chimney-piece in the hall of the palace forms a good specimen. Some of the rooms of the archiepiscopal mansion, are adorned with valuable paintings, which were bequeathed by the founder to his successors. Amongst these are portraits of all the Primates who have presided in the church of Ireland since the reformation; with full lengths of the King and our late lamented Queen, by the celebrated Ramsay.

In the year 1781, Primate ROBINSON built a beautiful chapel, near the west end of the palace. The front exhibits a handsome portico of the Ionick order, and the whole edifice is in the most chaste and correct style of architecture, and decorated in the most tasteful and elegant manner. The eastern window was adorned with an admirable representation of the good Samaritan, in painted glass, by Eginton, of Birmingham—but we have heard that sometime ago it sustained material injury from the hands of some barbarian-miscreants, who have never been discovered. On Knox's Hill, in the demesne lands, south of the palace, his Grace erected,

in the year 1783, a superb obelisk, built with the same kind of elegant stone described above, and 114 feet in height. On the pedestal, which is decorated with carved mouldings, are the King's arms, and those of the Duke of Northumberland, in *basso relievo*, which occupy two of its sides. The other two are covered with Latin inscriptions, in raised letters, indicating that the obelisk was erected by Richard Armagh, Baron Rokeby, in the year 1782, &c. Its object was to commemorate the friendship which subsisted betwixt the primate and his patron the Duke of Northumberland.

On the shafts are two shields of arms—one representing that of the see of Armagh, surmounted by the mitre, the other his Grace's family arms, with the baronial coronet—Motto—"Non nobis solum sed toti mundo nati." The date assigned here is 1783.

The plantations, which were interspersed by Primate ROBINSON, through the demesne lands, have prospered exceedingly, and the trees which skirt the summit of the hills, have now a picturesque effect. Two terraces, in which a well-laid out shrubbery terminates, command distinct and beautiful prospects of cultivated hill and dale, enlivened by the view of churches, spires and rural dwellings. There is, however, no sheet of water to diversify the scene, and the lands themselves are devoid of those romantic beauties, which are so conspicuous in the neighbouring seats of the Molyneux and the Brownlow families. This defect might in some measure be remedied. A stream which flows through the grounds, was formerly found sufficient to work a mill for the cutting and polishing of marble, and would now form an ample feeder for a lake.*

Immediately after Dr. ROBINSON's promotion to the primacy, he determined to repair the cathedral, to which purpose he appropriated a considerable sum.

* It was used for this purpose by Thomas Ogle, the discoverer of the marble quarries, who resided on the Demesne lands, when Dr. Robinson was promoted to the primacy.

This was augmented by the following members of the Dean and Chapter, &c. each of whom, we believe, subscribed £50 about the 28th of August, 1766, viz. Benjamin Barrington, Dean; Alexander Bisset, Chancellor; Charles Congreve, Archdeacon; William Godly, Prebendary; Henry Leslie, Prebendary; John Averell; and Joseph Deane Bourke, afterwards, we believe, bishop of Ferns. His Grace commenced his improvements, by slating the western aisle which had been previously shingled, and by fitting it up in a more complete manner, for divine service. It is to be lamented, that in effecting this latter object, he removed the ancient and beautiful tracery windows, which had adorned the building, and substituted the present inelegant lights, in their place. About the same time, he presented to the choir a new organ, possessed of many stops, and of most pleasing and powerful tones.*

In 1666, he set on foot a subscription for the building of a county infirmary, towards which he advanced 100 guineas. In the same year, he built two of the vicar's houses—the other five were erected by him about the year 1780, and to these he then attached a spacious music-hall, in which the boys of the choir are initiated by the organist, into the elementary principles of harmony, and habituated to sing in concert. He built also, on Vicar's-hill, a repository for wills and for records, belonging to the arch-diocess.

About the year 1772, he erected Lisnadill church, a handsome structure, with a tower and pinnacles.—The site of Grange church, within two miles of Armagh, on the Loughgall road, was peculiarly well chosen by Primate ROBINSON. This church stands conspicuous on a commanding eminence, and being adorned with a

* Some previous repairs and alterations had been made in the church by Dr. Boulter, &c. In 1729, the Dean and Chapter, aided by a small sum from Primate Boulter, repaired the cathedral. In 1739, they ordered the Chapter house to be rebuilt—and in 1761, they directed that an arch, then open betwixt the south side and the body of the church, should be filled up, and some other alterations made.

beautiful spire and steeple, forms a striking and picturesque object, from every part of the country. The ground was, we believe, the donation of Sir Capel Molyneux, but the church itself owes its origin to his Grace, and so, also, do those of Newtownhamilton and Keady.

About the year 1771, he built the public library in the city of Armagh, which, at his own cost, he endowed and furnished with a large and valuable collection of books.

In the year 1773, he laid the foundation of the new classical school, (or college, as it was then called) and this extensive building was finished in the succeeding year. The neat and roomy barracks which adorn the eastern entrance into the town, were erected under his auspices in 1773, and in 1780 the new county gaol.

A. D. 1782, "Primate ROBINSON, had determined to build a tower on the cathedral of Armagh, in imitation of that of Magdalen college in Oxford. His architect, Mr. Cooley, examined the walls, and gave his opinion as to the practicability of the undertaking. The work went on till the close of the year 1783. The tower, which was to have been elevated 101 feet in height, had been, at this period, raised 60 feet above the roof of the church, when the north-west pier, and the arches springing out of it, shewed symptoms of giving way by an over pressure. Precautions were instantly taken—arches built up in the body of the church, and additional buttresses joined. Thus aided, it was deemed by the best architects fully sufficient to bear the proposed tower, the more ponderous part of the building having been already raised, and three-fourths of the whole weight placed on piers and arches duly and powerfully supported. Some old ladies, however, who were in the habit of regularly attending divine service, imagined that the entire fabric would tumble and bury the congregation in its ruins. Their fears spread, and the church was in danger of being deserted. Primate Ro-

BINSON then ordered the new tower to be pulled down, even to the roof of the building from whence it sprang, that is to the very spot from which the old one, carrying its spire, cross and weather-cock had been removed. Thus ended the Magdalen steeple. In the year 1784, Mr. Cooley died, and Francis Johnston, Esq. became architect to his Grace, and by his express directions made a plan as near as possible, to that of the original steeple, with the exception of having two windows, on each side of the tower, instead of one. This plan Mr. Johnston put into execution by raising the tower *on the old piers and arches*, about 38 feet, above the roof of the church, to the top of the battlement, with a spire of about forty feet more. The whole, from the ground to the weather-cock, is in height about 150 feet. Primate ROBINSON then formed a plan of erecting his favourite tower at the west end of the church. Beautiful windows were prepared for this tower, which still, it is presumed, lie in the vault under the choir. The death of Lord Rokeby prevented the execution of the design.”*

The last public building erected by Primate ROBINSON, was “the Observatory,” which is beautifully situated on a hill, at the north-east side of the city. It is furnished with a complete astronomical apparatus, and contains very convenient accommodations for a professor. The establishment was liberally endowed by his Grace, not only with the lands of Derrynaught, which he purchased for £5,500—but with the rectorial tithes of the parish of Carlingford—a farm in the county of Tyrone, and 22 acres of demesne grounds contiguous to the building.†

During the period occupied in erecting and estab-

* Newry Mag. No. 1, p. 58.

† It is stated by Young and Reeves, that his Grace ornamented the city with a *Market-house*, and *Shambles*. These writers are correct as to the *Shambles*—but quite in error as to the *Market-house*. Sir Charles Coote is also in error when he asserts, in his survey, p. 317, *that an elegant sessions-house was built in Armagh, in his (Primate Robinson's) time.*

lishing these public buildings, Armagh was rapidly improving. Its commerce revived, the spirit of the inhabitants increased with their wealth, and the city which had been reduced to a state of the most melancholy degradation, began to reassume its long lost respectability and beauty. Another circumstance had a considerable effect in changing the appearance of the town. His Grace had refused to renew their leases to some of his tenants, who possessed property in the leading streets, unless under the express conditions, that they should make certain improvements, which he specifically named. They were, of course, necessitated either to acquiesce in his terms, or to suffer their tenures to expire; and some of the most elegant buildings in Armagh, were the result of this useful but coercive measure.*

Primate ROBINSON was not forgetful of the debt of gratitude, due to the seminary in which he had received his education. He contributed liberally to the expense of repairing Canterbury Quadrangle, and erecting the New Gate, built by Wyat, for Christ Church, in Oxford. In munificent acts of this nature, he probably expended above £35,000, independent of several large

* Some of the tenants whose houses and grounds were demised to sub-tenants, by leases containing *toties quoties* covenants of renewal, were put to considerable expense by this regulation. It bore extremely heavy on one individual in particular, who was necessitated to purchase back from his tenantry, at a tenfold value, several places in Thomas-street, &c. which had been leased to them by his ancestors, under *toties quoties* covenant of renewal, and to sacrifice nearly one half of the property to save the remainder. It may be proper to remark, that when Dr. Robinson was promoted to the primacy, only a few houses in the city of Armagh were slated—one of these belonged to his Grace—the 2d was occupied by Arthur Grueber, D. D.—the 3d by Thos. Macan, Esq. These were situated in English-street. The Cathedral was shingled, so also were a dwelling-house occupied by Mrs. Donaldson, in Church-lane—another by Wm. M'Geough, Esq. in Abbey-street—another by Benjamin Bassnett Stuart, in Scotch-street—two or three new houses in Thomas-street—and four houses on the Pound Hill, (now Vicars' Hill) built for the accommodation of Clergymen's widows, by Primate Boulter. The remainder of the citizens' habitations were thatched. About the year 1748, such of the inhabitants of Armagh, as wished to purchase superfine broad-cloths, or groceries of very good quality, procured them in the neighbouring village of Richhill. To so miserable a state was both the city and its trade reduced, by the series of events which we have already narrated.

sums of money, which he appropriated by will to similar purposes.

Besides the various improvements effected by Lord Rokeby at Armagh, he erected a very handsome mansion house and offices, at Marlay, near Dunleer, in the county of Louth, on an estate which he purchased from the Earl of Darby. Here he made extensive plantations and gardens, and intended, if his life had been longer spared, to have spent a considerable part of his time in that country. He also founded a church at Ballymakenny, within 3 miles of Drogheda; and another at Clonmore, for the parish of that name, on his own estate. Anxious to accommodate his tenants with convenient dwellings, he built on these grounds thirty neat and substantial farm-houses, of different sizes and plans, suited to the extent of the annexed lands. Some of these were intended for manufacturers of linen cloth and yarn, of the kind best adapted for the Drogheda market. The whole of these buildings was completed under the direction and immediate superintendence of his architect, Francis Johnston, Esq. a native of Armagh, who resided on the spot, from 1786 till 1793, when the entire of the improvements were completed. After the death of his Grace, on the 10th of October, 1794, the mansion house, which he had nominated Rokeby-hall,* became the property of his nephew, the Rev. Archdeacon Robinson, (formerly Friend) who resided there, we believe, for two or three years; but the rebellion which took place in the year 1798, and

* The Robinson family possessed an estate and mansion house called Rokeby Park, in the North Riding of Yorkshire, which was sold by Sir Thomas Robinson, Bart. the Primate's eldest brother, at which his Grace was much chagrined and displeased.

It is said that Lord Rokeby's favourite horse survived him many years. The faithful creature was very old at the period of his master's death. His Grace had made a provision for his support, (which, however, is not mentioned in his will,) and a groom named Darby Byrne, had the charge of this old servant. The horse died at the age (we believe) of 42 years, having been the Jenkins or the Par of hounhymns. A horse, on which the learned Dr. Percy, Bishop of Dromore, had made a tour through Scotland, survived the journey 36 years, and died in his master's possession,

the murder of his father-in-law Mr. Spencer, at Rath-angen, is said to have so terrified his family, that he determined to remove from this country, and establish himself in England. Rokeby-Hall, is now, we believe, set as furnished lodgings, to the best tenants who have casually offered, and may possibly in a few years fall to utter ruin.

The expense which accrued in the erection of these buildings, amounted to £30,000, and the purchase of the lands is said to have exceeded that sum.

Lord Rokeby was a man of tall stature, robust, yet dignified form, penetrating eye, and commanding aspect. To his friends and to those whom he esteemed, he was affable, mild, attentive and polite. The unworthy and the obtrusive he repelled with a frown. Quick in discernment, and acquainted with the inmost recesses of the human heart, he was inaccessible to flatterers, or when assailed by their adulation, silenced them at once by the mixed sternness and indignation which his expressive countenance assumed. On such occasions his reserve was mistaken for pride—and the peculiar dignity of his character for needless and repulsive austerity. To this cause we may probably attribute Churchill's unmerited satire, supposed to allude to his Grace,

“ In lawn sleeves whisper to a sleeping crowd,
As dull as R——— and half as proud.”*

Even the virtues of men of exalted rank, sometimes subject them to reproach. Primate ROBINSON's taste for improvement, and his benevolent wish to give employment to the peasantry of the country, continued unabated till the latest period of his life. It had grown, by exercise, into habit, and seems to have been irresistible. Of this habit JOHN WESLEY, who in other respects was a man of mildness, charity and candour, speaks with some asperity. Of his Grace, he writes thus

“ Tu secanda marmora
Locas sub ipsum funus ; et sepulchri
Immemor, struis domos.”†

* Churchill's letter to Hogarth.

† Wesley's journals, vol. 6. p. 154.

As if it were impossible that an old man should be employed in perfecting works of temporary utility in this world—whilst he was making due preparation for the more important matters of eternity.

Lord Rokeby has not, we believe, enriched the republic of letters, by any important works of his own composition. The sermons, which he sometimes preached, were both in style and in doctrine most excellent—but his voice was low and indistinctly heard. His fame is of a less durable and extensive kind than that of Ussher, who has erected for himself the imperishable monuments of the mind. None, however, of his predecessors resided so constantly in his diocese, nor so punctually fulfilled its duties. None of them gave so powerful a stimulus to the industry of the people, or effected such permanently-useful improvements in the country.

His Grace died at Clifton, near Bristol, as already stated, in October, 1794. He was interred with due solemnity, in a vault under Armagh cathedral. On the 3d of November, the Dean and Chapter appointed the Rev. William Lodge, LL. D. administrator of the ecclesiastical jurisdictions in the diocese and province of Armagh, *sede vacante*.

In his will, Primate ROBINSON devised about £12,000, to be applied to various charitable purposes, and in support of public institutions. An abstract of a part of this will is given in the annexed note, for the satisfaction of our readers.

“ I Richard, Archbishop of Armagh, being mindful of mortality, do make this my last Will and Testament, and I do hereby revoke any Will by me formerly made, and declare this to be my last Will and Testament.

“ At the appointed time I am prepared to resign my Soul, the vital and active principle of my Nature, to the self-existent Creator of all things, and the Benificent Governor of the universe, from whom I received it, in all humble hope through the mediation of Jesus Christ my only Saviour, that the sins and errors of my past life may be pardoned, and that I may be removed to a more permanent scene of happiness in a future state. On this occasion, likewise, I must declare my well-grounded affection to the religion established in England and Ireland, which I am persuaded is the most primitive and rational system of Christianity, at this time publicly professed in any part of the earth, and that it will be found, when duly considered, to be exactly framed for the encouragement and advancement of learning and piety, and

Primate ROBINSON was succeeded in his peerage and baronetage, by his cousin, Matthew Robinson, (Morris)

for the preservation of the peace and the promotion of the general interest of society.

I desire my remains may be deposited in the Cathedral Church of Armagh, as that City has been the principal place of my residence, since my advancement to the Primacy, and the inhabitants have been witnesses to the regular exertion of my mind for a succession of years, in promoting a variety of public works for the future benefit and improvement of that ancient city in which the Christian Religion was first preached in Ireland.

I give to the Trustees of the First Fruits £1000

To the governors of the Hibernian Society, for maintaining and educating soldiers' children 500

To the Female Orphan Society 500

To the Marine Society 500

To the Lying-in Hospital, to support a new ward to be called the Primate's ward 1000

To the Incorporated Society in England, for the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts 1000

For establishing a University in Ulster, provided it be done within five years after my decease 5000

All books, medals, coins, sculptures, prints, and books of prints, to the Library at Armagh.

To assist in building a Chapel of ease between the barrack and school at Armagh 1000

To the governors of Armagh County Infirmary, to be laid out in bank stock 1000

To the corporation of Armagh, to advance to tradesmen ... 200

To the Charitable Loan of Armagh 200

The portraits following to the Dean and Chapter, for the time being, in trust for the use of the Primate for the time being: Charles the 1st... William and Mary... Queen Anne... Prince George of Denmark, King George the 1st... King George the 2nd... Frederick Prince of Wales... King George the 3rd. Queen Charlotte, the Elector of Hanover... The Princess Sophia, Electress and Dutchess Dowager of Hanover... The — of Tell... Thirteen Portraits of Primates, and my own Portrait, painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

To Matthew Graham 100

To Mrs. Sarah Langstaff, Mr. William M'Mullen, Mr. Giddings, Mrs. Giddings, Mr. Thomas Dent, an annuity of Ten Guineas each during their lives, to be paid them half yearly, and to each of them a complete suit of mourning.

To all my other servants living with me, at the time of my death, I give one year's wages.

To the poor of Armagh and Parishes, in Louth, of my estate, in trust to the Dean of Armagh 200

To the poor of St. Michan's, Dublin 100

Gold Snuff Box to Matthew Robinson Morris, as a memorial of our very early acquaintance.

To the Rev. William Maximilian Friend 2000

To his son 1000

To the Rev. Wm. M. Friend and John Robinson 100l. by the year, being annuities vested in my name, in trust for Mrs. Campbell and her daughters, to be given at times and in portions, as said trustees shall judge proper.

Esq. of Horton, near Hythe, in Kent, who was the great grandson of Sir Leonard Robinson, Knight, Chamberlain of London, and fourth son of William Robinson, of Rokeby. William of Kendal, who was a common ancestor of these illustrious Barons, sprang from the Robinsons of Strouan, in Perthshire, Scotland. In the reign of Henry VIII. he settled at Kendal, in Westmoreland, from which place the family removed to Brignall, near Rokeby, and again in the reign of Eli-

To Mrs. Campbell's only son, at ditto time	...	...	£500
To her unmarried daughter	...	...	500
To Mrs. Elizabeth Montague, 500 Guineas, to be laid out in purchasing a ring or any other memorial of a friend, who retains the most lively and unalterable sense of her uncommon accomplishments and virtues	...	...	568 15 0
The Portrait of Mrs. Montague to Matthew Montague, Esq. by Sir Joshua Reynolds			
To Mrs. Scott 100l. per year, long annuities, vested in my name			
To Mrs. Jane Robinson	...	...	500
To the Rev Mr. William Robinson	...	...	500
To the Rev. Mr. Matthew Robinson, his son	...	...	500
To Morris Robinson, Esq.	...	...	2000

It may be proper that I declare my intentions, that the several legacies and bequests contained in my will, not specifically distinguished, shall be paid in Irish currency.

To Sir Martin Stapleton, of Minster, in the county of York, }
 Bart. Leonard Smelt, Esq. Morris Robinson, Esq. }
 Charles Robinson, Esq. and Henry Hoyle Oddie, Esq. } 10000
 in Yorkshire, for the purpose of purchasing an estate in }
 Yorkshire, to go with the title and barony of Rokeby }

All the estates and property in Ireland, England and France,* except the foregoing bequeaths (and those to the executors) to the Rev. Archdeacon Robinson, who is residuary legatee.

Rev. William Lodge, executor	...	...	500
His son Richard	...	...	500
Rev. Dr. Hamilton	...	...	500
Henry Upton, Esq.	...	...	200
The Speaker, his choice of any two Pictures out of the collection in Henrietta-street.			

To Sir Martin Stapleton, Bart. to buy a ring or any memorial	113 15 0
... Leonard Small, Esq.	1000
... Charles Robinson, Esq. Lincoln's Inn	1000
... Henry Hoyle Oddie, Esq.	200

Whereas the Dean and Chapter of Armagh have granted a Burial Vault under the Choir of the Cathedral Church of Armagh, to Richard, Archbishop of Armagh and his heirs, I do hereby resign, convey and assign all my right and title to the said Burial Vault, to the Rev. John Robinson, Archdeacon of Armagh, and his heirs.

* We have heard that his Grace was the survivor in some Tontine establishment in France, from which he derived considerable property.

zabeth, to Rokeby Park, within eight miles of Richmond.* If the reader be curious to trace the descent of Dr. ROBINSON from William of Kendall, he will find that portion of his pedigree in the annexed note.†

A bust of Lord Rokeby was erected in the northern aisle of the cathedral, at Armagh, by the Rev. Archdeacon Robinson, his nephew and chief legatee. It is a monument altogether unworthy of so exalted a character. Perhaps the inhabitants of the city of Armagh, may, at some future period, express their gratitude, by some memorial more accordant to the dignity of the man who was their chief benefactor.

WILLIAM NEWCOME, D. D. succeeded Dr. RICHARD ROBINSON, in the primatial see of Armagh, to which he was translated from Waterford, by privy seal, dated at St. James's, on the 16th, and by patent on the 27th

* Biograph. Peerage, vol iv. p. 349.

† " William, grandson of William, who settled at Kendal, purchased Rokeby of Sir Thomas Rokeby, in the reign of queen Elizabeth. Thomas Robinson, of Rokeby, his eldest son, was killed in the civil wars in 1643, and buried at Leeds, in Yorkshire. He married Frances, daughter of Leonard Smelt, Esq. of Kirby Fletham, in Yorkshire. From his second daughter, Frances, married to George Grey, of Sudwicke, in the bishoprick of Durham, Esq. sprang Dr. Zachary Grey, the learned editor of Hudibras, and also the present countess Dowager Grey. This Thomas had also four sons, William, Thomas, Matthew, and Sir Leonard ancestor of the present peer. Matthew, the third, was rector of Burniston, in Yorkshire; and left his fortune to the grandson of his brother, Sir Leonard.— William Robinson, of Rokeby, eldest son, married Frances, daughter and co-heiress of Frances Layton, of Layton, and Rowden, in Yorkshire, and was father of Thomas Robinson, of Rokeby, who died 1719, aged 72; and had issue by Grace, eldest daughter of Sir Henry Stapylton, of Myton, in Yorkshire, by Elizabeth, second daughter of Conyers Darcy, Earl of Holderness, one son, William Robinson, who died a few months after his father, aged 44; leaving by Anne, his wife, daughter and heir of Robert Walters, of Cundall, in Yorkshire, seven sons: first, Sir Thomas, second, Robert, died young: third, Sir William, succeeded his brother, Sir Thos. fourth, Henry, died a major in the army; fifth, Richard, primate of Ireland, and first peer; sixth, a son, died young; seventh, Sir Septimus, knighted, and gentleman usher of the black rod, died 1764. Sir Thomas, eldest son, represented Morpeth in parliament 1727; and was made a baronet 1730, with collateral remainders to the issue male of his father, and in default, to Matthew Robinson, Esq. grandson of his great great uncle, Sir Leonard. He married, in 1728, lady Elizabeth, daughter of Charles, Earl of Carlisle, widow of Nicholas, Lord Lechmere; but died without issue; having sold his seat and estate at Rokeby, to the father of J. B. S. Morritt, Esq. now member of parliament for Northallerton, and was succeeded in the baronetage by his brother, Sir William, who died unmarried."—Ibid.

January, 1795. He was the 2nd son of the Rev. Joseph Newcome, who, though said by some biographical writers, to have been the descendant of a respectable non-conformist family, enjoyed church preferment in Bedfordshire, and Berkshire.* WILLIAM NEWCOME was born on the 10th of April, 1729, at Barton le Clay; and educated at Abington, where his preeminent talents rendered him conspicuous among his fellow students. In 1745, he became a scholar of Pembroke college, Oxford, and in the regular time, took his degree of "Bachelor of Arts." After this he attained a fellowship in Hertford college, where he graduated A. M. in the year 1753, and attained great celebrity as an academic tutor.† He had the honour of being preceptor to the late Right Hon. Charles James Fox, who, ever after, held him in the highest veneration and esteem. The friendship of these illustrious personages was reciprocal—and Dr. NEWCOME felt great mental delight in reflecting, that he had instilled the principles of true liberty and of pure religion, into the mind of his pupil, and had enriched his understanding with the sterling ore of genuine literature. In Hertford college, he met with an accident which eventually deprived him of his left hand.‡ In 1765, he took his degree of D. D. and was appointed chaplain to the Earl of Hertford, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and in the following year he was promoted to the see of Dromore, from which he was translated to that of Ossory, in the year 1775—in 1779, to Waterford, and lastly, in 1795, to the archbishoprick of Armagh,

Shortly after his promotion to the see of Dromore, Dr. NEWCOME married an English lady, by whom he had a daughter. A few years after the death of his wife,

* Chalmers's Biog. Dict.—Reeves's Encyc. † Ibid.

‡ We believe, but are not certain, that this misfortune was occasioned by the sudden closing of a door, in a sportive mood, by his pupil Fox. The arm was caught betwixt the edge of the panel and the door case, and received such injury as to render amputation necessary.

he married a second time and was blessed with a numerous and very amiable family of children, with whom he lived in the enjoyment of pure domestic felicity.

Dr. NEWCOME was a man of mild, pleasing, and unaffected manners—a pious, humane, and deeply-learned divine. In 1775, he wrote “An Harmony of the Gospels, in which the original text is disposed after Le Clerc’s general manner with such various readings, as have received Welstein’s sanction &c.” This able work subjected him to a literary controversy, with the redoubted and most indefatigable polemic, Dr. Priestly. The bishop considered the ministry of Christ, as comprising a period of time, above three years and a half in duration, whilst his opponent strenuously maintained, that it was limited to a single year. In the year 1780, Dr. NEWCOME published a tract, entitled “The Duration of our Lord’s Ministry particularly considered,” in which he vindicated the opinions inculcated in his former work. Priestly replied, and the bishop printed a rejoinder, in another discussion, on the same subject. In 1782, he published “Observations on our Lord’s conduct, as a divine instructor, and on the Excellence of his moral character.” This was succeeded, in 1785, by “An attempt towards an improved version, a metrical arrangement, and an explanation of the twelve Minor Prophets,” 4to. His lordship has himself assigned the motives which induced him to undertake this work, in the following terms, “One design of engaging in the present arduous province, was to recommend, and, in a small degree, to facilitate, an improved English version of the Scriptures; than which nothing can be more beneficial to the cause of religion, or more honourable to the reign and age in which it was patronized and executed. The reasons for its expediency are, the mistakes, imperfections, and many invincible obscurities of our present version; the accession of various helps since the execution of that work; the advanced state of learning, and our emancipation from

slavery to the Masoretic points, and to the Hebrew text as absolutely uncorrupt."

In 1788, Bishop NEWCOME published "An Attempt towards an improved version, a metrical arrangement, and an Explanation of the Prophet Ezekiel," and "A Review of the chief difficulties in the Gospel History respecting our Lord's resurrection."* In an able preface to the former of these works, he earnestly recommends the study of the Hebrew language. "The venerable books (says his Lordship) written in Hebrew are highly curious and instructive, apart from religious considerations. The historian, the geographer, the chronologer, the antiquary, the naturalist, the poet, the orator, the legislator, the observer of human nature in its original simplicity, of the sources whence nations sprang, of society in its earliest stage, and of ancient Eastern manners in their only genuine representation, will here find their researches amply rewarded, no less than the divine who raises his eye to the adorable ways of Providence, in the religious and civil history of mankind. Such a vein of Hebraism runs through the writings of the *Old* Testament, that even these divine oracles cannot be accurately understood, nor the anomalies of their style explained, without some knowledge of Hebrew literature."

In 1792, he published "An historical view of the English biblical translations; the expediency of revising by authority our present translation, and the means of executing such a revision," 8vo. This was a very valuable and important work. Soon after his translation to the primatial see, he published "A Charge to the Clergy," in which he earnestly exhorted them to give private and occasional instructions, to the people committed to their pastoral charge.

This excellent and truly-learned prelate, died on the 11th of January, 1800, at his house in St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, in the 71st year of his age, and was

* Chalmers,

interred in the new chapel of Trinity College.* A Posthumous work appeared soon after his decease, styled "An attempt towards revising our English Translation of the Greek Scriptures, or the new Covenant of Jesus Christ." He had bestowed much time and attention on "An attempt towards revising our English Translation of the Hebrew Scriptures." The result of his labours on this curious subject, was noted down in an interleaved bible, in four volumes, which he bequeathed to the library at Lambeth-palace. It is said there is extant an interesting manuscript memoir of the archbishop, written by himself, in which he details, at some length, the progress of his studies, and points out the sources from which he had derived his theologic opinions.†

During the period of his primacy, Dr. NEWCOME resided very much at Armagh, and attended to the duties of his high office with becoming solicitude and zeal. His life terminated, before he had an opportunity of conferring any very essential benefits on the city; but his gentleness, urbanity, and benevolence, secured him the respect and the affections of the people; and his literary works will transmit his name with honour to posterity.‡

WILLIAM STUART, D. D. was translated from the see of St. David's, in Wales, to that of Armagh, by letters patent, issued by his present majesty, under the great seal, at Dublin, on the 22d of November, in the 41st year of his reign.§ On the 8th of December, 1800, the Rev. James Hamilton, D. D. prebendary of Mullabrack, was enthroned in the cathedral of Armagh, as Dr. STUART's duly authorized proxy.

* Chalmers.

† Reeves.

‡ On the 30th of March, 1800, the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral of Armagh, empowered, by commission, the Rev. William Lodge, L.L. D. to administer spiritual and ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the diocese of Armagh, during the vacancy in the see, consequent on the primate's demise. That learned clergyman was, we believe, son of the famous John Lodge, to whose literary labours this country is so highly indebted, and who is styled by De Burgh, "*Politisimus hujus ævi scriptor.*"

§ Rot. Canc. 41^o Geo. III.

His Grace, who was born in February, 1755, is the youngest son of the late Right Honourable John Stuart,* Earl of Bute, a lineal descendant of Robert II. king of Scotland.† He is said to have had a predilection for the clerical profession, at a very early period of his life; and to have studied, with much assiduity, under a private tutor, before he had entered any public academy. At Winchester school, he made important additions to his literary attainments; and afterwards became an alumnus of St. John's College, Cambridge, where he obtained a fellowship and various collegiate degrees, in due succession. After ordination, he was appointed vicar of Luton, in Bedfordshire,‡ and was subsequently nominated a canon of Windsor. He was next promoted to the see of St. David, and from thence translated to the primacy of all Ireland. In April, 1796, his Grace married Sophia Juliana, one of the daughters of Thomas Penn, of Stoke Pogis, in the county of Bucks, England, co-proprietor of Pennsylvania, by Lady Juliana Firmor,

* Biographical Peerage, vol. iv, p. 440—vol. i. p. 124.

† The Earl of Bute married Mary, the only daughter of the celebrated Lady Mary Wortley Montague, "the eldest daughter of Evelyn Earl of Kingston, (afterwards Marquis of Dorchester and Duke of Kingston) and of Lady Mary Fielding, daughter of William Earl of Denbeigh."§ Lady Mary (the Primate's grandmother) attained a high rank amongst the English writers, who distinguished themselves in polite literature, during the 18th century. In her twentieth year, she translated the *Enchiridion* of Epictetus. Her poems display considerable talent; but as an epistolary writer, she stands almost unrivalled by any contemporary author. Her beauty, wit, vivacity, and learning, commanded general admiration, and extended her fame through the British empire. By the introduction of the Turkish practice of inoculation for the small pox into Europe, she became the common benefactress of Christendom. She not only recommended the adoption of the practice to the English, through the medium of Mr. Maitland, the medical attendant on an embassy to the Porte, but she gave the best possible proof of her confidence in its utility, by inoculating her own son, at Pera, in 1718. We have somewhere seen a well written essay on inoculation, with the signature "WILLIAM STUART," which we believe to have been the production of her ladyship's grandson, the present Primate of all Ireland.

‡ About this period, Boswell, in his *Life of Dr. Johnson*, speaks of him in the following terms:—"On Thursday, April 10th, (1783,) I introduced to him, at his house in Bolt-court, the Honourable and Reverend William Stuart, son of the Earl of Bute; a gentleman truly worthy of being known to Johnson, being, with all the advantages of high birth, learning, travel and elegant manners, an exemplary parish priest, in every respect."—*Boswell's Life of Johnson*.

§ Reeves, article Montagu.

daughter of the Earl of Pomfret. Mrs. Stuart is a lineal descendant of the celebrated philanthropist, William Penn, the founder of Philadelphia and lawgiver of Pennsylvania, who justly ranks amongst the most eminent benefactors of the human race. His Grace has issue four children—Mary Juliana, born May, 1797, who, in March, 1815, was married to the Honourable Thomas Knox, eldest son of the present Viscount Northland—William, born October, 1798, who is at present a fellow commoner of St. John's College, Cambridge—Louisa—Henry, born May, 1804.

It cannot be expected, that we shall enter into any minute biographical account of our present Metropolitan.* Indeed, if we were to delineate his character with the most scrupulous accuracy, we should appear to those who know him not, to have descended to the meanness of adulation; whilst it would be impossible to raise him higher in the estimation of those who have witnessed the whole tenor of his life, and have made his worth the measure of their approbation.

* There are, however, a few things which we cannot, in common justice, omit mentioning.—1st. He is a resident Primate, who superintends the church committed to his care, with conscientious vigilance. His presence in Armagh, and the money which he expends in that neighbourhood, are highly beneficial to the country.—2d. He seems anxious to provide for the acting clergy of his own diocese.—3d. He has given parishes to several old curates, who possessed no other interest in the church, than a certain consciousness in his Grace's bosom, that they merited preferment.—4th, He has encouraged the building of comfortable Glebe-houses for his clergy, and the natural consequence is, that there is scarcely a non-resident clergyman in his diocese. Indeed his own salutary example has greatly contributed to this effect.—5th, He has adorned Armagh with some beautiful public buildings, which shall be mentioned in the sequel of this work.—6th, During the late famine, his pecuniary grants to the committee established in Armagh, for relieving the indigent poor, were munificent.—We shall conclude these brief remarks on the conduct of this excellent prelate, by observing that so long as he shall be spared to the church and the people,

“Non periere mores, jus, decus, pietas, fides.”

CHAPTER XXVI.

Modern state of the City of Armagh.

WE have already stated that the city of Armagh is situated in latitude $54^{\circ} 20' 55''$ north, and longitude $6^{\circ} 37' 57''$ west, from the meridian of the royal observatory at Greenwich*. It is the metropolis of the county of Armagh, in Ulster, a district, in which the rural population is more numerous than that of any other tract of equal extent in Ireland. There are no very large towns in this county; yet there is little more than an Irish acre of land to each individual. Its length from north to south is twenty-five Irish miles—the breadth, from east to west, fifteen. The mean breadth of the county is about twelve Irish miles—its mean length twenty-four—the superficial contents 181,450 Irish acres,† equivalent to 283 square miles.‡

The following tables will satisfactorily ascertain the ratio which the population bears to the acreable surface. The census, on which these tables are founded, may have fallen short of, but cannot exceed, the actual population of the county. At the period when it was taken, some of the more indigent peasants were impressed with an idea that it was preparatory to a poll tax, and therefore endeavoured, as far as possible, to make a deficient return of the number of individuals in their respective families, in hopes of thus lessening the amount of the anticipated impost.

* See page 73 of this work.

† Memoir of a Map of Ireland, by D. A. Beaufort, L. L. D. p. 17.

‡ A survey taken in 1778, makes the breadth of the county, from the two most distant extremities sixteen miles—*i. e.* from the bounds of the county of Monaghan on the west, near the village of Glasslough, to Scarva village on the east, where it touches the Newry Canal line, where it is separated from the county of Down.—Coote's Survey, p. 2.

A STATEMENT of the Population and Number of Houses in the County of Armagh, as taken in the year 1814, distinguishing the Males from the Females, and the Total Number in each Parish in said County.*

<i>Names of Parishes.</i>	<i>Do. Baronies where situated.</i>	<i>No. of males.</i>	<i>No. of females.</i>	<i>total of persons.</i>	<i>No. of houses.</i>
Armagh, } Ballymoyer, } Eglis, &c. }	Armagh, Turenny, O'Neiland- West, Upper-Fews, and Lower-Fews ... }	12852	13845	26697	4912
Ballymore.....	Lower-Orier ...	4400	4754	9154	1752
† Creggan.....	Upper-Fews ...	4975	5099	10074	1733
† Clonfecle.....	Armagh and O'Neiland-West	1354	1516	2870	563
Derrynoose	Armagh and Turenny ...	4146	4286	8432	1639
Drumcree.....	O'Neiland-West ...	4279	4598	8877	1537
Forkil.	Upper-Orier ...	2991	3006	5997	1344
† Jonesborough	Ditto ...	620	730	1350	271
Killeavy.....	Upper and Lower-Orier ...	6997	7272	14269	2782
Killmore.....	O'Neiland-West & Lower-Orier	4994	5086	10080	1790
† Killyman.....	O'Neiland-West ...	600	593	1193	204
Keady.....	Armagh and Turenny ...	3319	3497	6816	1316
Loughgall.....	Armagh and O'Neiland-West	4001	4430	8431	1582
Loughgilly. }	Lower-Fews, Upper & Lower- Orier, ... }	4215	4332	8547	1600
† Maralin	O'Neiland-East ...	174	186	360	61
Mountaghs.....	Ditto ...	1144	1194	2338	420
Mullabrack.. }	O'Neiland-West, Lower-Fews and Lower-Orier ... }	6456	6758	13214	2432
† Newry.....	Upper-Orier ...	2179	2436	4615	860
N. T. Hamilon	Upper-Fews ...	2675	2803	5478	968
Sego	O'Neiland-East ...	3441	3765	7206	622
Shankill.....	Ditto ...	2605	3000	5605	1025
Tartaraghan...	O'Neiland-West ...	2134	2217	4351	789
Tynan.....	Armagh and Turenny ...	4941	5318	10259	2015
Total	County Armagh	85492	90721	176213	32217

The baronial returns, made by order of the Grand Jury, on the 1st of August, 1814, correspond exactly with the parochial census printed above. The reader will find them in the succeeding page.

* This census was made pursuant to an act of parliament, passed in the 52d year of Geo. III. cap. 133, entitled "An Act for taking an Account of the Population of Ireland."

† Part of the parishes thus marked, is situated in other counties, and is not included in these returns.

‡ In the county of Armagh, there are 5229 more females than males: yet in the small villages of Forkil, Crossmaglen, Ball's-Mill, Cullyhanna, and Mountnorris, the males exceed the females in number. The average population, with respect to houses, is about five persons and eight-sevenths to each habitation.

Baronial Statement of the Population of the County of Armagh.

Armagh	...	...	...	...	32708
Upper-Orier	...	...	...	...	24104
Lower-Orier	...	...	...	...	19864
O'Neiland-West	...	...	...	...	33160
O'Neiland-East	...	...	...	...	15509
Upper-Fews	...	...	...	...	19617
Lower-Fews	...	...	...	...	17294
Tureny	...	...	...	...	13957

Total Population of the County 176,213

The following is the Account of the Population and Number of Houses in the City, Towns, Villages, &c. in the County of Armagh.

<i>Names of Cities, Towns, Villages, &c.</i>	<i>Ditto Baronies, where situated.</i>	<i>No. of Males.</i>	<i>No. of Females.</i>	<i>Total of Persons.</i>	<i>No. of Houses.</i>
Armagh (city of)	Armagh	3140	3559	6699	1152
Blackwatertown	Ditto	230	277	507	110
Charlemont	Ditto	159	287	446	60
Keady	Ditto	279	304	583	125
Killilea	Ditto	196	243	439	92
Middletown	Tureny	216	243	459	95
Tynan	Ditto	118	155	273	51
Loughgall	O'Neiland-West	176	189	365	66
Portadown	Ditto	362	405	767	155
Richhill or Legacurry	Ditto	331	403	734	161
Lurgan	O'Neiland-East	996	1211	2207	379
Newtownhamilton	Upper-Fews	333	363	696	165
Crossmaglen	Ditto	132	122	254	66
Cullyhanna	Ditto	38	31	69	13
Cullovile	Ditto	44	46	90	20
Ballinaglera or Ballsmill	Ditto	46	45	91	20
Johnston's-bridge	Ditto	11	18	29	6
Markethill	Lower-Fews	211	217	428	91
Balleek	Ditto	45	47	92	18
Hamilton's-bawn	Ditto	118	123	241	56
Ballybot and part of Newry*	Upper-Orier	1069	1210	2279	392
Forkil	Ditto	125	109	234	61
Jonesborough	Ditto	68	74	142	27
Mountnorris	Lower-Orier	49	44	93	27
Tandragee	Ditto	512	569	1081	222
Acton	Ditto	80	118	198	49
Pointzpass	Ditto	179	200	379	77

* The above-mentioned part of Newry is situated in the county of Armagh side of the river Newry, formerly called "*Inbher cean Trag*," the river at the head of the strand.

It appears by this census, that, in the year 1814, the inhabitants of the county of Armagh amounted to 176,213 persons, and if the lands were to be divided amongst the people by an Agrarian law, one acre, four perches, and three-fourths of a perch, would be allotted to each individual.

This diffusion of the populace over the whole face of the county, is neither the result of any settled plan, nor of mere accident. It has its origin in the nature of the linen manufacture, so essential to the prosperity of the province. It is not at all necessary to the advancement of that trade, that either the spinners or the weavers should be collected into overgrown cities, or congregated into crowded and unwholesome factories. Those branches of the linen business, which are their peculiar concern, can be perfectly well managed in their respective cabins. The linen weavers of Ulster, unlike the mere manufacturers of Great Britain, are free agents, whose employments are diversified and rational. They are sometimes engaged in the labours of the loom, and sometimes in the cultivation of their farms, and in this voluntary alternation of business, they find health and recreation. Lawns, streams, pure springs, and the open atmosphere, are necessary for perfecting the process of bleaching. Hence our eminent bleachers, and all their subordinate assistants, reside in the country. It cannot, therefore, be a matter of wonder, that in the county of Armagh, the towns are of small extent, and that every hill and vale should abound with rural habitations.

Notwithstanding the minute subdivision of land, which is the natural result of these peculiar circumstances, the farmers of this district are more than competent to supply its population with vegetable, though not with animal, food, and some of the less productive and less crowded parts of Ulster, receive a considerable supply of oats, barley, and flour, from the county of Armagh.

Hills of gentle ascent, pleasing forms, and various altitudes, agreeably diversify the surface of the land. Large tracts of the county are covered with a stratum of very rich and prolific soil. Many of these tracts abound with wheat lands, formed by a strong clay, resting on a substratum of excellent limestone. The south and western parts of the Fews baronies are mountainous; but even here the population is numerous, and considerable crops of potatoes, oats, and flax, amply reward the labours of the husbandman. The county was formerly divided into three baronies—O'Neiland, Fews, and Orier,* and afterwards into five baronies; but as three of these have been again subdivided, they may be classed thus—1st, Armagh—2d, Turenny—3d, O'Neiland-East—4th, O'Neiland-West—5th, Upper-Fews—6th, Lower-Fews—7th, Upper-Orier—8th, Lower-Orier.

In the most populous part of this thickly-inhabited district, Armagh is boldly situated on the far-famed hill of Druimsailech.† The country through which we approach the city, is, in almost every direction, exquisitely beautiful. A traveller who enters it from the rural village of Richhill, will be much pleased with the tasteful improvements which partly encircle the family seat of the Richardsons; but he will be delighted with the more romantic and magnificent demesne of Sir Capel Molyneux. In Castledillon, every advantage of hill and dale, wood and water, are united; and Art has most judiciously perfected the grand outline which Nature had so nobly drawn. Near the centre of the lands is an extensive lake, on which various species of wild fowl sport undisturbed. Hills, crowned with woods and interspersed with lawns, surround the lake, and the spires of Grange and Armagh churches, beheld through vistas, render the scene more picturesquely beautiful. An obelisk, built on the summit of a lofty hill, towers over the demesne, and recalls to memory the volunteers of

* Pynnar's Survey.

† See p. 74, 82, of this work.

Ireland, to whose honour it was erected, by the late Sir Capel Molyneux, a genuine patriot.* By a natural association of ideas, it also reminds the spectator of Molyneux and of Locke, names sacred to Friendship, and dear to Science and the British Isles.† As we approach Armagh, in this direction, the deanery, the observatory, the Primate's obelisk, demesne and palace, and the city itself, surmounted by its ancient Gothic cathedral, burst at once upon the view, giving to the surrounding landscape, "rich by nature and improved by art," a nameless and indescribable charm.

The approaches to Armagh, both from the west and from the north, are also beautiful. The improvements at Glasslough demesne, the ancient seat of the Leslie family—the noble edifice erected by the Earl of Caledon, and the surrounding plantations—the rural mansion of Woodpark‡—the groves of Elm-park§ and Knappa||—the rich and highly-improved lands of the Maxwells—the undulating hills, interspersed through the country, whose summits are crowned with forest trees—these, and an uninterrupted succession of sylvan scenes, afford the purest satisfaction to the tourist, as he passes from the county of Monaghan to the ecclesiastical metropolis of Ireland. In the vicinity of Armagh, the rural habitations,¶ and the light and lofty mills, erected near the winding banks of the river Callan, give cheerfulness and animation to the landscape. The roads which lead from Dungannon and its vicinity, pass through a rich and well-wooded country. The improvements in Viscount

* The estate of the late Right Hon. Sir Capel Molyneux is distinguished from that of the other gentlemen of the county of Armagh, by a very peculiar circumstance. Trees are planted, at proper intervals, along the highways, which, in every direction, intersect his lands. These have flourished exceedingly, and give much additional beauty to the country.

† The patriot Molyneux was a collateral ancestor of Sir Capel Molyneux, and his estate lay at Castledillon.—See p. 422 of this work.

‡ The seat of N. G. Johnston, Esq.

§ The residence of the Closes.—See p. 398 of this work.

|| The residence of James Johnston, Esq.

¶ Such as the mansion-houses of Tullamore and Rosebrook, and the mills of Ballinaowenbeg, Lurgavallen, and the lofty windmill lately built at the end of Callen-street, by Robert Jackson, Esq.

Northland's demesne—those of John Henry Burges, Esq. near Castle-Caulfeild—the neat and simply-elegant dwellings of the colony of Friends (Quakers,) who inhabit Grange—the rural villages of Moy, Charlemont, and Blackwatertown—the romantic hills, rocks and glens, which encircle the ruined castle of Benburb—the navigable river Blackwater, which forms a grand and noble boundary betwixt two populous counties*—the bleach-green† which adorn its margin, deepening to the eye the verdure of the adjacent lawns, by contrast with the splendid robe of white which mantles their surface—these diffuse around the whole country an air of tranquillity, successful industry and domestic happiness, on which the imagination of the patriot and of the philanthropist dwells with pure and uninterrupted delight. The roads, also, which lead to Armagh, from the neighbourhood of Loughgall, intersect a rich and remarkably populous country, fertile of wheat, and adorned with numerous highly-productive orchards.‡ Nor is the approach to the city, from the lofty hills of Keady, devoid of beauty. The river Callan descends rapidly from the mountain lakes, and its winding banks are not only ornamented with neat dwelling-houses, half embosomed in forest trees, but with many bleach-greens overspread with linen—and various powerful oat and flower-mills in full and extensive work.

The approaches by the Newry, Hamilton's-bawn, and

* The river Blackwater forms part of the boundary line at which the counties of Armagh and Tyrone meet. On the northern extremity, the county of Armagh is bounded by Lough Neagh—on the south, by the county of Louth—on the west, by the county of Monaghan—and on the north-west, by the county of Tyrone. Its form, which is somewhat oblong, stretches angularly on the north-east and western extremities, and is situated between $54^{\circ} 4' 0''$ and $54^{\circ} 30' 0''$ of north latitude, $6^{\circ} 5' 0''$ and $6^{\circ} 45' 0''$ of west longitude, from Greenwich.

† Such as those of Tulladoey, &c.

‡ The antique mansion of Drumilly, with its noble plantations—Loughgall demesne, the seat of Camden Cope, Esq.—Crowhill—Summer-Island—Hayes'-hall—the parsonage-houses of Loughgall and Grange—the churches of Kilmore, Grange, Loughgall, and Armagh—the rural seat of Drumsill, and the magnificent demesne of Castledillon, with many other pleasing objects, give peculiar interest to the landscape, viewed in the approach to Armagh in this direction.

Dundalk roads, are less interesting than those already described. Yet in the neighbourhood of Markethill, the neat church and elegant parsonage of Loughgilly arrest the attention of the traveller. Earl Gosford's demesne, and Mullabrack church seen over the summit of his woods, are pleasing and picturesque objects; and the ruined barracks, in the neighbourhood of Hamilton's-bawn, recall to memory the pleasant altercation betwixt Sir Arthur Acheson and his lady, which Swift has immortalized in song. As the tourist advances to the vicinity of Armagh, a noble landscape rises, as it were, by enchantment, full before his view. On his left, the Primate's obelisk towers magnificently above the groves which environ its base; and on the right, that of Sir Capel Molyneux serves as a splendid landmark for the commencement of Castledillon demesne. The city and some of its public edifices stand boldly in front. The mansion-house and mills of Ballinaowenmore, situated on the margin of a winding stream—rural dwellings—hills skirted with forest trees—cultivated fields and distant spires, complete the general outline.

The ancient cathedral which crowns the summit of Druimsailech-hill, is at once the most central point, and the most conspicuous object, in the city of Armagh. Towards this venerable church, some of the streets seem to converge, like radii, to a common centre—others ascend, in more oblique directions, from the base of the hill, and are intersected by those of greater magnitude, which encircle the town. The citizens' houses are neatly built with calcareous stone, and generally slated. Numerous public edifices, erected with hewn limestone of a very vivid colour, and finished in a chaste style of architecture, unite beauty with utility, and give peculiar interest to the city. The sites of these edifices have been so judiciously selected, that the buildings are not concealed from view by contiguous dwelling-houses, nor degraded by the neighbourhood of any uncouth or despicable objects. They are each possessed of unity and

elegance, and being distinctly visible, in various directions, are at once ornamental to the town itself, and to the surrounding country.

Before we proceed to describe these public edifices, and the objects for which they were erected, we shall lay before our readers a short account—1st, Of the mode by which the city is governed, and of the regulations which have been adopted for its welfare.—2d, Of its present population, and the various religious communities which it contains.—3d, Of the longevity of the people, resulting either from their moral habits or the state of the atmosphere and other local causes.—4th, Of such relics of antiquity, as are yet to be found in this ancient ecclesiastical metropolis, or its immediate neighbourhood.—5th, Of the state of commerce, &c. in the city.

OF THE INTERNAL GOVERNMENT OF THE CITY, ETC,

SINCE the year 1771, no *freemen* have been made according to the forms prescribed by the charter, and uniformly acted upon previous to that period.* The borough-assembly itself has been long discontinued, and seems to have fallen into total disuse.† At present, the sovereign issues his summonses and collects, from the most respectable inhabitants of the city, a jury of twenty-three persons, who, having been sworn to act impartially, continue in office for a period of twelve months.

* For a translation of the charter, see Appendix, No. XXII.

† We cannot find that there is, at present, a single regularly made *freeman* of the borough of Armagh, now alive, (exclusive of the Burgesses) except Robert Jackson, Esq. who, in the year 1756, took the necessary oaths, as appointed by the charter, and was admitted to the freedom of the city. In the year 1771, the following persons were sworn in, viz — Samuel M'Clave, James Lowry, George Parks, James Reilly, Peter Jervaise, Esq. Joseph Shewbridge, Esq. and Samuel Brown, merchant. Formerly the official acts of the sovereign and Burgesses were performed with much formality and state. A pew was appropriated to their peculiar use in the cathedral, and on each Sunday the corporation mace was borne before the sovereign, with great gravity and decorum, on going to divine service, and in returning from church.

At the end of this time, another jury is summoned by the new sovereign appointed by the burgesses, and so on from year to year, in continued succession.

The sovereign, for the time being, is always president of this CORPORATION JURY or ASSEMBLAGE, but gives no vote on the decision of any question. In the nomination of the jury, no attention whatever is paid to the religion of the individuals of whom it consists. Episcopalian Protestants, Presbyterians, Roman Catholics, &c. meet amicably in the jury-room, to regulate the common affairs of the town. The only requisites, to qualify them for this important duty, are experience, integrity, general information, and local knowledge.

It is the business of this jury to receive, consider, reject, or ratify presentments for the repair of the borough roads, and the completion of various improvements, proposed by individuals, for the benefit of the community. To effect these improvements, if deemed worthy of support, they levy a reasonable, but never an oppressive tax, off the citizens. It is their duty to prevent the existence of nuisances—to nominate town constables, for the preservation of the public peace—to take special care that, in the erecting of new buildings, no man shall wantonly infringe on, or break the established range of the street, or encroach on the public footpaths—to appoint overseers to inspect the markets, examine the beams, weights and measures, used in the sale of goods, and to seize them, if fraudulent—to regulate the lighting and cleansing of the city—and, in short, to make such useful bye laws for the benefit of the town, as are not prohibited by the common or by the statute law of the land.

Whatever theoretical objections may be made to this system of internal legislation, it is certain that its effects are excellent in practice. The CORPORATION JURY or ASSEMBLAGE have hitherto acted with much zeal, fidelity and judgment, for the general interest of the city. It would, indeed, be extremely difficult to find,

in the British empire, a single town whose affairs are more ably or more honestly managed, than those of Armagh.

Under the auspices of this jury, the foot paths of the city have been flagged in a neat and durable manner, at the expense, partly of individuals and partly of the community. The system under which this useful measure has been effected, is simple, just, and efficacious. When any citizen is desirous that the space opposite to his house or stores should be flagged, he forms an estimate of the running measure, &c. which he presents to the jury. Viewers are then nominated, and if their report be favourable, 1s. or 1s. 4d. per foot, are allowed to aid in completing the work. The line of the new flagging must be coincident with the general range of the footway; and thus the uniformity of the street is preserved. We mention these circumstances, to shew the general principle on which the jury acts. If an improvement be at any time proposed, which is likely to be of equal benefit to the various members of the community, the expense is levied off the borough at large—if, on the contrary, it appear to be particularly useful to an individual, and, at the same time, generally advantageous, though in a minor degree, to his fellow citizens, the expense is equitably divided.

We have already stated,* that by the charter granted by King James to the city of Armagh, “the body corporate was to consist of a SOVEREIGN, TWELVE BURGESSES, and the ASSEMBLY OF THE BOROUGH.” For their respective powers, we refer the reader to our translation of the charter itself which we annex in Appendix XXII. We shall, at present, merely state that the burgesses, of whom the sovereign is always a member, were originally empowered to elect, from time to time, two parliamentary representatives for the borough of Armagh. Since the period of the Union, they can return but one

* See p. 545 of this work.

member to the House of Commons. Such freemen as are not burgesses have no participation in this franchise. On the death, expulsion, or resignation of any of the burgesses, the survivors proceed, according to the forms and regulations prescribed in the charter, to elect another in his place, by which means a perpetual succession is preserved. The sovereign of the city is annually chosen by this body.

The first representatives in parliament for the borough of Armagh, were Marcus Ussher and Christopher Conway. These were succeeded by the following gentlemen, viz.

A. D.	NAMES.	A. D.	NAMES.
1639,	William Dixon, Archibald Hamilton.	1768,	Sir George Macartney, Rt. Hon. Philip Tisdall,
1661,	James Graham, Thomas Chambers.	1769,	Charles O'Hara.†
1662,	James Graham, Thomas Margetson.	1773,	Sir G. Macartney, K. B. Charles O'Hara.
1692,	M. Coghill,* Edward Lindon.	1776,	Rt. Hon. Philip Tisdall, Henry Meredyth.
1695,	M. Coghill, Samuel Dopping.	1777,	Henry Meredyth, George Rawson.
1713,	Hon. S. Dopping, E. Marsh.	1783,	Henry Meredyth, George Rawson.
1715,	Sylvester Cross, Charles Bouchier.	1790,	George Rawson, Henry Duquerry,
1717,	Sylvester Cross, John Eyre.	1790,	George Rawson. Rt. Hon. Major Hobart.
1727,	Edward Knatchbull, Ambrose Philips.	1794,	George Rawson, Rt. Hon. Viscount Lord Hobart.
1749,	Edward Knatchbull, Lieut. Gen. Philip Bragg,	1796,	Viscount Hobart, Rt. Hon. S. Hamilton,
1759,	Edward Knatchbull, The Most Hon. Francis Russell, Marquis of Tavistock.	1797,	Rt. Hon. T. Pelham, Patrick Duigenan, L.L. D.
1761,	Rt. Hon John Ponsonby, Robert Cunningham, Hon. Barry Maxwell.†	1799,	Patrick Duigenan, General Lake.
		1801,	Patrick Duigenan.§
		1816,	Daniel Webb Webber.
		1818,	John Leslie Foster.

* In the year 1689, Constantine O'Neill and Francis Stophard were returned to King James's parliament, by burgesses of his own creation; but the acts of that parliament were cancelled and burned in the year 1695.— See p. 412, 421, of this work.

† This Gentleman was returned on the 11th of November, 1761, in lieu of the Right Hon. John Ponsonby.

‡ On the 20th of November, 1769, Charles O'Hara, Esq. was returned in lieu of the Right Hon. P. Tisdall.

§ Dr. Duigenan was also elected in 1802, 1807, and 1812.

We have not been able to obtain a correct list of the gentlemen who presided as sovereigns in the borough of Armagh, during the seventeenth century, after the decease of Mark Ussher, who was nominated by King James himself to that office. It is said that about the year 1688, the public documents of the city were seized and destroyed by the adherents of King James II.* We are, however, possessed of a pretty accurate list of those borough-sovereigns, commencing in the year 1713, which, as necessarily connected with our subject, we submit to our reader's perusal.

A. D.	NAMES.	A. D.	NAMES.
1713,	William Hamilton.	1741,	Joseph Burches.
1714,	Thomas Reed.	1742,	William English.
1715,	Thomas Field.	1743,	Edward Harcourt.
1716,	James Ogle.	1744,	Thomas Ogle.
1717,	James Ogle.	1745,	William English.
1718,	Thomas Dawson.	1746,	Joseph Burches.
1719,	Thomas Reed.	1747,	Thomas Ogle.‡
1720,	Thomas Field.	1747,	Thomas Ogle.
1721,	Thomas Dawson.	1748,	Edward Harcourt.
1722,	Thomas Reed.	1749,	Thomas Ogle.
1723,	Patrick Houston.	1750,	William English.
1724,	Thomas Field.	1751,	Thomas Ogle.
1725,	Thomas Dawson.†	1752,	John Marshall.
1725,	Thomas Field.	1753,	Edward Harcourt.
1726,	Thomas Reed.	1754,	Thomas Ogle.
1727,	Patrick Houston.	1755,	William English.
1728,	Thomas Field.	1756,	Henry Cust.
1729,	Thomas Ogle.	1757,	Thomas Ogle.
1730,	Joseph Burches.	1758,	Edward Harcourt.
1731,	Chapel Dawson.	1759,	Thomas Macan.
1732,	William English.	1760,	Thomas Ogle.
1733,	Thomas Ogle.	1761,	Henry Cust.
1734,	Thomas Ogle.	1762,	Edward Harcourt.
1735,	William English.	1763,	Thomas Ogle.
1736,	Joseph Burches.	1764,	Thomas Macan.
1737,	Joseph Burches.	1765,	Henry Cust.
1738,	Edward Harcourt.	1766,	Edward Harcourt.
1739,	Thomas Ogle.	1767,	Henry Cust.‖
1740,	William English.‡	1767,	Thomas Macan.

* We have reason to believe, that about that period, the sovereigns were chiefly elected from the families of the Dawsons, Fields, Ogles, and Reeds.

† Thomas Field being abroad, Thomas Dawson was sworn in on the 11th of February, 1725. Mr. Field resumed on the 8th of March.

‡ Thomas Ogle was sworn Mr. English's deputy.

§ In 1747, Mr. Ogle was elected on the 6th of April—reappointed 24th June.

‖ Mr. Harcourt being dead, Henry Cust was sworn in, on the 24th of June, for the remainder of the period.

A. D.	NAMES.	A. D.	NAMES.
1768,	Henry Cust.	1795,	Arthur Jacob Macan.
1769,	Thomas Macan.	1796,	Arthur Jacob Macan.
1770,	Henry Cust.	1797,	Arthur Jacob Macan.
1771,	Thomas Macan.	1797,	Rev. Daniel Kelly.†
1772,	Henry Cust.	1798,	George Perry.§
1773,	Thomas Macan.	1801,	Rev. James Archibald Hamilton, D. D.
1774,	Henry Cust.	1801,	Rev. Thomas Carter.
1775,	Thomas Macan.*	1802,	James Iles.
1776,	Henry Cust.	1805,	Arthur Irwin Kelly:
1777,	Thomas Macan.†	1806,	James Iles.
1795,	Rev. W. Lodge, L.L. D.		

The monthly manor court, in which the seneschal presides, exercises the limited power which it possesses with remarkable equity and decorum. Prior to the passing of the late acts of parliament, which vested in the quarter sessions a right of trying and deciding on certain actions for debt, &c. by a summary mode of civil bill, this court was in considerable request, and we have rarely heard of any appeal from its decisions. It is still in high repute; but the frequency of quarter sessions, and the facility with which debts of small amount may be now recovered at those courts, have, in some measure, diminished its general utility in the borough, and fewer actions are now tried by manor juries than

* On the 25th of October, Thomas Ogle, the oldest surviving burgess, being dead, Richard Olpherts, Esq. was elected in his place.

† Thomas Macan continued in office from the year 1777, till 1795, in which year he died. On the 5th of March, the Rev. William Lodge, L.L. D. was chosen in his place, and on the 24th of June, Arthur Jacob Macan was sworn into office, Dr. Lodge having resigned.

‡ On the 20th of December, 1797, the Rev. Daniel Kelly was appointed in place of Arthur Jacob Macan, who resigned and went to Bengal.

§ The Rev. D. Kelly having resigned, George Perry, Esq. was chosen on the 7th of May, 1798, and continued in office till the 24th of June, 1801, on which day the Rev. J. Archibald Hamilton was elected. On the 30th of the same month, Mr. Hamilton resigned, and the Rev. Thomas Carter was elected.

|| Mr. Iles continued in office from the year 1802 till 1805, when he resigned, and A. I. Kelly, Esq. was elected in his place. On the 14th of April, 1806, Mr. Kelly resigned, and Mr. Iles was again chosen.—From that period till the present, Mr. Iles has been annually reelected.

☞ All the above were elected on the 24th of June, and sworn into office on the 29th of September in each year, except those who are expressly mentioned to have been appointed on other days.

formerly.* The seneschals, during a great part of the two last centuries, were generally selected by the primate from the Dawson family, the lineal descendants of Archbishop Henry Ussher.† Thus we find that on the 25th of April, 1702, Walter Dawson resigned the seneschalship, which he had for some time held, and Thomas Dawson was nominated his successor by Archbishop Michael Boyle. Again, in July, 1726, Walter Dawson was appointed seneschal by Primate Boulter. In 1757, Thomas Macan was chosen to fill this office, by Dr. Stone.—All these nominations, and, we believe, every subsequent similar appointment, were ratified by the Dean and Chapter of Armagh cathedral.

Independent of the bye laws made by the city jury, there are various useful regulations and institutions which result from a kind of mutual agreement among the more wealthy part of the citizens, and are supported by voluntary subscription. Amongst these we may reckon the ASSOCIATION FOR THE TOTAL SUPPRESSION OF STREET BEGGING.

In aiding those persons who formerly lived by public begging, it is laid down, as an invariable rule, that such mendicants as are capable of earning money by any kind of labour, shall not be enabled to live by alms alone ; and persons who, through incorrigible laziness,

* The manor and the borough of Armagh do not seem to be co-extensive.—Part of the city of Armagh is situated in the manor of Charlemont, and the seneschal of that manor may issue his distringas in certain cases of debt, and try the cause in his own court. The seneschal of Armagh manor can issue a distringas for the amount of £10. and actions of debt. &c. to the amount of £10 may be tried in his court. A part of the city belongs to the manor of Mountnorris. These anomalies proceed from the grants of Abbey lands to the families of Caulfeild and Annesley. A more extraordinary anomaly exists with respect to the parish of Armagh. A house in the centre of the city, and very near the wall of the church yard, is, we believe, pronounced by act of parliament to be part and parcel of the parish of Killeavey. When this act was passed, the rector of Killeavey was precentor of Armagh choir, and this law enabled him to fulfil his choral duties, whilst he obeyed those regulations which required him to reside in his parish. Formerly Killeavey parish was distant from the church yard of Armagh about 13 miles ; but this act of parliament places part of it within less than as many feet of that ancient cemetery.

† See p. 345, 346, of this work,

keep their houses in dirt, are not permitted to derive any benefit from the institution. Common paupers have been subdivided into three classes. The first class consists of those who are incapacitated from earning a livelihood by age, disease, blindness, lameness, and similar infirmities. The second class comprises orphans and children destitute of support—the third, paupers burdened with growing families, which they are, in some measure, though not wholly, able to support by their own industry.

To effect these important objects, an acting committee of forty-eight gentlemen has been appointed, which is assembled weekly. The city is divided into six districts, and for each of these, eight resident visitors are nominated, one of whom collects the subscriptions on every Wednesday, and distributes them to the poor inhabitants on the ensuing Monday. His Grace the Lord Primate contributes £50 per annum.—About £777 are subscribed by the citizens.

Itinerant mendicants are prevented by two authorized beadles, from following their idle and vagrant occupation in the streets of Armagh, where at present there are no beggars to be found.

It necessarily results from the very nature of this institution, that the paupers must gradually acquire habits of regularity, cleanliness, and industry. The visitors personally inspect their houses, pay them their weekly allowance, and make correct reports of their conduct to the general committee, which either advances, diminishes, or withdraws their pension as the nature of the case may require. The general health of the people is benefitted by this institution; for lime is given gratis to the poor for whitewashing the inside of their houses, and clean straw is furnished for their beds. In 1818, the current receipts of the year amounted to £827 11s. 3d.—the disbursements to £664 6s. 3d. and the number of paupers who received weekly relief, to 120.*

* See the report published by Mr. Thomas Lindley, secretary to the institution, in the *Newry Telegraph* for February 12, 1819.

Paupers who are able to work in the open air are obliged to sweep the streets and lanes of the city, under the direction and superintendence of beadles, and for this useful labour, men are paid at the rate of 6½d. women, 5d. and children, 3d. per day, in addition to their pensions. In consequence of this regulation, the public roads are kept in an almost unexampled state of cleanliness.

AN ASSOCIATION FOR THE RELIEF OF THE SICK POOR was established some years ago, and has tended greatly to alleviate the miseries of a very distressed portion of the community.* The society meet in the Methodist preaching-house weekly, and appoint visiters periodically, who are vested with a discretionary power of assisting the objects of the institution, according to their respective wants and merits. In support of this establishment, subscriptions are entered into through the city, and an annual charity sermon is preached in the Presbyterian meeting-house with good effect.

Armagh possesses, also, a BENEVOLENT SOCIETY, founded on a liberal and durable plan. Sick, blind, and superannuated members, obtain support from the general funds, and when any of the fraternity departs this life, the survivors defray the expense of the funeral, and bury their deceased brother with great decorum and solemnity.† A SAVINGS BANK has been lately formed, with every prospect of success. Young tradesmen, on commencing business, may be supplied with from £10 to £50, from a fund vested by Primate Robinson in the corporation of Armagh. This loan is to be repaid by annual instalments of £5 each.

There are also in Armagh, a BIBLE SOCIETY, and one for the distribution of religious tracts, and all these institutions obtain support in proportion to their utility and importance. A fund has been long established for

* We believe it was first set on foot about the year 1808, by Mr. Matthew Lanktree, a Methodist preacher, and Mr. Thomas Greer, then an inhabitant of Armagh, now of Belfast. The present secretary is Mr. John Noble.

† They also bury the deceased wives of brothers.--We understand that this society is now in a very prosperous state.

the purpose of aiding distressed tradesmen by small loans, which are to be repaid by monthly instalments. In 1772, the funds amounted to £446.

To the public spirit of the more wealthy part of the citizens, the inhabitants of Armagh are, in a great measure, indebted for a plentiful supply of water, which is conveyed by pipes into their dwelling-houses. A sum of money had been bequeathed by Lady Primrose, the benevolent daughter of the humane Peter Drelincourt, D. D. dean of Armagh, which was to have been expended in some useful work, for the benefit of the city. Lord Cremorne, the trustee, had deposited the money in a bank in London, where it had accumulated to a considerable amount. In the year 1790, his Lordship having presented the city with a fire engine, three of the inhabitants were deputed to return him thanks for his generous donation.* In the course of the conversation, which ensued betwixt him and the deputies, he mentioned his determination that Lady Primrose's bequest should be applied to the purpose of supplying the town with pipe-water; and about the year 1793, he vested £994 6s. 3d. in the sovereign and burgesses, the dean and chapter, and the members of Parliament for Armagh, to carry his design into execution. These gentlemen proceeded under two acts of parliament† to effect the object in view, and some other important purposes. Thus empowered, they procured a small tract of ground, (about an acre, we believe) on which they made an excellent and capacious basin, and built a neat dwelling-house for a resident superintendent, whose business it was to have transmitted the water, at stated times, to the people. The basin, which is situated in the borough, on the east side of the town, is said to be on a level with a window in the cathedral, which stands on the very summit of the city. In the progress of the work, the engineer whom the commissioners had employed,

* The deputies were Messrs. John M'Kinstry, William Cochran, and George Murray.

† Vide 29 and 34 Geo. III.

attempted to bore the pipes with machinery moved by water, which he withdrew for the purpose from the neighbouring river of Ballynaowenmore. In consequence of this proceeding, Mr. Thomas Quin, then proprietor of corn mills on that stream, brought an action of damages against the commissioners, who defended the suit and were defeated. The matter in contest was subsequently settled by the parties; but, in the interim, Lady Primrose's bequest, or the greater part of it, was expended, and the city was not yet supplied with water.

In 1799, the commissioners authorized a committee of the citizens to manage the business.* Two members of this committee† procured through the town a subscription of £1350, for which debentures of £25 and £50, bearing legal interest were granted on security of the works. They received, also, the following donations, viz. from Primate Newcome, £200—General Lake, (representative for the borough,) £100—Lord Cremorne, under Lady Primrose's will, in addition to the former grant, £160. With these sums and an annual impost of £50, which, under the sanction of an act of parliament, is levied off the inhabitants of the borough, in aid of the institution, the committee completed the work. Main and lateral pipes run through almost every street in the city, and many houses are copiously supplied with water, at the small rate of £1 per year each. The revenue arising from this rental, added to the £50 levied off the borough, is found to be more than sufficient to bear all incidental expenses, and to discharge the interest accruing on the debentures.‡—As the wooden pipes decay, they are replaced with metal tubes.

* Viz. Messrs. Thomas Prentice, William Cochran, William M'Williams, and John Singleton.

† Mr. William Cochran and Mr. William M'Williams.

‡ Mr. William M'Williams, we believe, now manages the whole of the business, without any reward whatever. Mr. Cochran made a present to the establishment of 20 guineas, for the purpose of erecting a fountain for the use of the poor. Accordingly, one capable of holding 3,000 gallons has been made near the head of Callan-street, by which the inhabitants of that street, and of Irish-street, Primrose-lane, Castle-street, &c. are amply supplied with water, which descends to the basin from the river of Ballinaowenmore, and from thence to the town.

OF THE POPULATION AND THE VARIOUS RELIGIOUS
COMMUNITIES OF ARMAGH, ETC.

WE have already stated, that by a census made in the year 1814, the population of the city of Armagh was found to amount to 6699 persons : but about the end of the year 1817, a second census was taken by two very respectable gentlemen, inhabitants of the town, and the numbers appeared to be 7010. The difference in these calculations proceeds from two distinct causes. 1st, The census, made pursuant to act of parliament, was taken by constables, and many housekeepers gave in deficient returns of the individuals in their families, through dread of a poll tax.—2d, In the interval of time which had elapsed betwixt the year 1814 and the latter end of 1817, a new range of houses was erected on the Barrack-hill, and an entire new street was opened, and in a great measure built, by Leonard Dobbin, Esq. This street commences near the foot of Scotch-street, and at its termination approximates the point in which Thomas-street and Ogle-street meet, thus opening a direct line of communication betwixt the eastern and southern portions of the city.* The houses in Dobbin-street are very neatly constructed, and its proprietor has rebuilt a great portion of Scotch-street with beautiful hewn limestone, in a very tasteful style of architecture. All the new dwelling-houses are occupied, and few of the old ones are untenanted. We may, of course, infer that a real increase in the number of the inhabitants has taken place betwixt the years 1814 and 1818.

The gentlemen by whom the second census was made, estimated the number of Protestants of the *established church* in Armagh at 2001—those of the *Presbyterian religion*, &c. at 1596, and the *Roman Catholics* at 3413.

* For the time when Thomas-street and Ogle-street were opened, &c. see p. 443 of this work.

In this estimate, the *Methodists* were included partly amongst the *Episcopalian* and partly amongst the *Presbyterian Protestants*. We have already given a succinct account of the archbishops who presided over the established church, and of those concurrent titular prelates who regulated the ecclesiastical affairs of the Roman Catholics. We shall now lay before our readers some account of the Presbyterian ministers of the parish of Armagh. On this subject the materials which we have been able to procure are very scanty—a circumstance which we lament, but cannot remedy.

By a parliamentary statute, enacted in the third and fourth of Philip and Mary, against bringing in, retaining, or marrying Scots, which continued in force during the reign of Elizabeth, adventurers of that nation were precluded from settling in Ireland. This act was repealed* in the reign of James I. and multitudes of Presbyterian Scots passed over into Ulster. The first minister of that persuasion, who accompanied these colonists, was the Rev. Edward Brice, who settled in Broad Island, county of Antrim, in the year 1611, and nearly about the same time, the Rev. Robert Cunningham, in Hollywood, in the county of Down. Contemporary with these, were Mr. John Ridges, of Antrim, Mr. Henry Calvert, and Mr. Hubbard, of Carrickfergus, pupil to the great polemic, Cartwright. In 1622, Mr. Robert Blair, a Scot, was ordained minister of Bangor, under the patronage of James Hamilton, then the Lord Claneboy, who had been a fellow of Trinity College, and tutor to the illustrious Ussher. Mr. James Hamilton, his lordship's nephew, became minister of Ballywalter; John Livingston, of Killinchy, in the county of Down; Josias Walsh, (grandson to the reformer, Knox) of Templepatrick; and George Dunbar, of Larne.† These divines held monthly meetings at Antrim, and were indefatigable in the performance of the religious

* 11, 12, 13, James I, cap. 6. † *Loyalty of Presbyterians*, p. 161, 162.

duties attached to their ministry. They were highly esteemed by Ussher and many other episcopalian prelates; by some of whom a form of ordination was invented, not inconsistent with their ideas of church government, in which they acquiesced, and under this ordination they enjoyed the churches and tithes, and were consulted by the prelates of the established religion, about affairs of common concernment. In the year 1634, some of them were members of the convocation then held.*

The Presbyterian religion now made rapid progress in Ulster, and a regular form of church government was soon established by its members. Ministers were appointed, and Presbyteries formed in various districts. A powerful colony of Scots settled in different parts of the county of Armagh, and meeting-houses were successively built for the worship of God. The records, however, of the synod of Ulster, prior to the year 1691, are lost, and the earliest documents possessed by the Presbyterian congregation, in the city itself, are in the handwriting of the Rev. John Hutcheson, who became its established minister about the year 1697.†

The first Presbyterian minister of Armagh, of whom we have any authentic notice, is the Rev. Archibald Hamilton. This gentleman, accompanied by Mr. Patrick Adair, Mr. William Semple, and Mr. Alexander Hutcheson, held a conference in Dublin, with Sir Arthur Forbes, in the year 1672, relative to the *regium donum*, or annual pension, which King Charles II. had determined to bestow on such Presbyterian ministers as had been established in Ulster in the year 1670, (and their successors,) in consideration of the remarkable loyalty which they had displayed during the prevalence of the republican and Cromwellian parties, &c.‡

* Loyalty of Presbyterians, p. 163:

† There is, we believe, but one person now alive who was baptized by Mr. Hutcheson, when minister of Armagh.—*MSS. Registry of Baptisms, kept by John Hutcheson.*

‡ Loyalty of Presbyterians, p. 383, 384.

A. D. 1691. Mr. Hamilton returned to Scotland, and an application was made to the synod, by the congregation of Armagh, for "supplies until they be in a condition to call home their minister again." In 1692, Mr. Hamilton supplicated the synod "to dissolve the connexion betwixt him and the congregation of Armagh, on account of his necessitous condition;" which request was granted, with the consent of the people. In 1694, this congregation gave a call to the Rev. John Hutcheson, then settled at Downpatrick; but his Presbytery determined against his removal.* They then applied for the translation of Mr. Archibald Hamilton from Killinchy to Armagh; but did not succeed.†

In 1697, Mr. Francis Fredell, minister of Donegore, whose removal to Armagh had been ordered by the synod, petitioned that body to reverse their decision, quaintly stating that his "transportation (from Donegore) would be most *gravanimous* and crushing to him, both in body and in spirit." His petition was granted, and the Rev. John Hutcheson was appointed in his place, about the latter end of the year 1697.

Alexander Hutcheson, father to John Hutcheson, was the second son of a respectable gentleman, the descendant of a very ancient and reputable family of Ayrshire, Scotland.‡ He was a clergyman possessed of pleasing manners, social disposition, and excellent talents. Having been elected Presbyterian minister of Saintfield, in the county of Down, he formed a resolution of establishing himself finally in Ireland, and therefore purchased a townland called Drumaleg, which is yet in the possession of his posterity.§ His son, John Hutcheson, was also educated for the Presbyterian ministry, and having been chosen for their pastor by the congregation of Armagh, settled at Ballyrea,

* Minutes of the Synod of Ulster, from 1691 till 1694.

† It does not appear whether or not this was their former minister.

‡ Life and Writings of Dr. Francis Hutcheson, prefixed to his works, p. 1.

§ MSS. in possession of his descendants, the Ogles, of Drumalane, Newry.

within two miles of that city, on the direct road to Killilea.* In the performance of his duty as a Christian minister, Dr. Hutcheson displayed much zeal, industry and talents. He was a man of sound learning, probity and virtue, whose precepts and practice were in perfect concordance. He was thrice married. By his first wife, Miss Trail, daughter of Colonel Trail, of the county of Down, he had three sons—Hans, Francis, and Robert. By his second, Miss Wilson, of Tulla, in the county of Longford, he had two sons, Alexander and John, and one daughter, Rhoda.†

Dr. Hutcheson's children were remarkable for their gentleness, docility, and fraternal affection. In FRANCIS, in particular, the fond grandfather discovered (even in the boy's infancy) the strongest traits of capacity and genius. Such, indeed, were the child's powers of intellect, and his avidity for learning, that when he was only three years old the happy grandsire ventured to anticipate his future fame. "Francis," said he, placing his hand on his head, "I predict that thou wilt one day be a very eminent man." Surely this prophetic ebullition of parental affection has been fulfilled to the very letter. In process of time, this admired boy became professor of moral philosophy in the university of Glasgow,‡ and his literary works do honour to his country and to human nature.§

Alexander carried his predilection for his second grandson so far, that, in the disposal of his landed property, he passed by his elder brother, and devised it to Francis, who generously rejected the bequest, which he insisted should be transferred to Hans. With similar liberality of mind, Hans declined the proposal, and the amicable contest which ensued was at last adjusted by

* Here he planted orchards, and built a neat house, since fallen to ruin. The author of this work perfectly recollects the house.

† Manuscript in possession of his descendants, the Ogles, of Drumalane.

‡ Life and Writings of Dr. Francis Hutcheson, prefixed to his works.

§ His System of Moral Philosophy is one of the best works, on that subject, extant: As such it is ordered to be read in Trinity College, Dublin.

an equitable partition of the lands. Hans died without issue, and bequeathed his part of the property to the son of Francis, and some tenements which he possessed in Newry, to the family of his brother Robert.

The following curious anecdote of the celebrated Francis Hutcheson may not prove unworthy of the reader's attention. His father had originally intended him for the Presbyterian ministry. With this view, he himself initiated him into the elementary parts of literature, and when the boy was eight years of age, sent him from Armagh to the school of Mr. Hamilton, of Saintfield, where he was under the immediate inspection of his grandfather. Subsequent to this, he became an alumnus of Glasgow university, under the tuition of the learned professor, John Simson. After six years spent in study, he returned to his native country, and preached as a probationer before various congregations, some of which were highly pleased with his eloquent discourses, whilst others totally disapproved of his doctrines. At Armagh, his father, who laboured under a slight rheumatic affection, deputed him to preach in his place, on a cold and rainy Sunday. About two hours after Francis had left Ballyrea, the rain abated—the sun shone forth—the day became serene and warm—and Dr. Hutcheson, who found his spirits exhilarated by the change, felt anxious to collect the opinions of his congregation on the merits of his favourite son, and proceeded directly to the city. How was he astonished and chagrined when he met almost the whole of his flock coming from the meeting-house, with strong marks of disappointment and disgust visible in their countenances! One of the elders, a native of Scotland addressed the surprised and deeply-mortified father thus—“We a' feel muckle wae for your mishap, reverend sir; but it canna be concealed. Your silly loon, Frank, has fashed a' the congregation wi' his idle cackle; for he has been babbling this oor about a gude and benevolent God, and that the sauls of the Heathens themsels will gang to heeven, if they fol-

low the light of their ain consciences. Not a word does the daft boy ken, speer, nor say aboot the gude, auld, comfortable doctrines of election, reprobation, original sin, and fath. Hoot, mon, awa' wi' sic a fellow!"*

Primate Boulter entertained sentiments of respect for Dr. John Hutcheson, and lived on terms of intimate friendship with his son, Francis, through whose influence "he made a donation to the university of Glasgow of a yearly fund for an exhibitioner to be bred to any of the learned professions," an act of liberality honourable to his memory.†

It is said that during the ministry of Mr. Hutcheson, Primate Lindsay enforced certain clauses in the lease under which the old meeting-house was held, and levied heavy penal fines, or rather additional rents, from the lessees.‡ To avoid the recurrence of so unpleasant a circumstance, a *new meeting-house* was erected on freehold ground, in 1722, with part of the ruins of the ancient church and monastery of *St. Peter and St. Paul*,§ which were situated in the very neighbourhood of the building. It may be worth remarking, that while the workmen were engaged in preparing the materials, Dean Swift, accompanied by a friend, went to the place, and found the masons busily occupied in smoothing a number of curiously carved stones, adorned with grotesque heads and the figures of cherubs, which probably had been sculptured in the days of Imar O Hædagain.|| "See," said Swift, turning to his friend, "these fanatic puritans are chiselling Popery out of the very stones!"—

* The author received this anecdote from his near relation, Mary Stuart, whose husband, the Rev. James Maxwell Stuart, was well acquainted with Dr. Francis Hutcheson. The Presbyterian congregation of Armagh then held Calvinistic doctrines. The only members who waited to hear Mr. Hutcheson's discourse finished, were, Mr. Johnston, of Knappa, Mr. M'Geough, and the clerk.

† Life of Hutcheson, ut supra, p. ix.

‡ Such clauses, prohibiting, under a certain fine, the building of chapels, meeting-houses, &c. on the see lands, were formerly inserted in leases granted by the Primates: but the liberal-minded Dr. Newcome ordered, we believe, these severe restrictions to be omitted.

§ See p. 86 of this work.

|| See p. 99 of this work.

“ Pray,” added he addressing himself to a sawyer, who was then cutting some timber on the premises, “ how much do you earn per day ? ” — “ Fifteen pence, please your reverence. ” — “ Fifteen pence ! Why I can get in Dublin a better sawyer to work all day for ten pence. ” “ And I, please your reverence, can produce a parson who preaches better sermons than the Dean of St. Patrick’s, though he is paid only £40 a year, whilst the dean receives £700. ” — Pleased with the sawyer’s humour, the dean presented him with half a crown.

The meeting-house, which is built in the form of a cross, is roomy and convenient. It stands, however, in an enclosed yard, and cannot be classed amongst those edifices which give any additional beauty to the city. In the front, an excellent mansion house, which faces the public street, has been erected for the minister and his family.

Mr. John Hutcheson died on the 10th of February, 1729 ; and in 1731, the congregation applied to the synod for the removal of the Rev. James Bond, from Longford to Armagh ; but the request was refused.* On the 15th of March, 1732,† the Rev. John Maxwell, A. M. was ordained their minister, at Armagh. He was the son of the Rev. James Maxwell, Presbyterian pastor of Omagh, a venerable man, who died in the eighty-ninth year of his age.‡

John Maxwell was born in the year 1700, at Omagh, and was educated in an academy kept by Mr. Spratt at Donaghadee.§ Having subsequently graduated A. M. at Glasgow university, he returned to Ireland and married Miss Rose Carson, of Strabane, by whom he had

* Minutes of the Synod of Ulster.

† Ibid.

‡ Such was the vigour of his constitution, that in the whole period of his ministry he had been but one Sunday unable to perform his public duty.—See a sermon by the Rev. James Moody, printed in Armagh, in 1764, by Wm. Dickie, who published a newspaper in that city, prior to that date.

§ Manuscript Compendium of Logic written by himself, (in which he speaks of his preceptor, Spratt,) now in possession of his grandson, John Simpson, Esq. M. D. This Spratt, or his son, was, we believe, preceptor to the famous Dr. Black, the celebrated chymist.

two sons and three daughters. After his settlement at Armagh, he purchased the fee simple of a tract of land, named Eanach-buidhe, contiguous to the farm of his predecessor, John Hutcheson,* and two townlands called Balliduff and Taimlaight, held under the see of Armagh.

Mr. Maxwell gave to Eanach-buidhe the new denomination of Rosebrook. Here he erected a neat and convenient dwelling-house, and planted orchards and forest trees, on an eminence encompassed with a flat, which, when he commenced his improvements, had been almost completely covered with water. His contemporary Dr. Barton informs us, that his mansion was, in a great measure, built with petrifications found in the drained lands. In fact, the lake, or rather perhaps the soil with which its waters were impregnated, possessed a petrifying quality, similar to that of Lough Neagh.†

Many curious specimens of these petrifications were sent by Mr. Maxwell to Dr. Francis Hutcheson, of Glasgow. He made also a collection of other singular petrifications found at Lough Neagh, which he transmitted to that university, at the request of the professors.‡

Varennius speaks of a small lake, possessed of petrifying powers, situated "a little above the city of Armagh," but seems to doubt its existence. It is, however, certain that the lake of Eanach-buidhe, or the adjacent soil, was endowed with this curious property. A part of this lake is yet undrained. Rosebrook is now a de-

* Eanach-buidhe (pronounced anach-bwyee) signifies "the yellow marsh or moor." English writers have corrupted the word into Annagh-boy, which they interpret "the yellow island;" but Annagh does not signify an island, and Annagh-boy seems devoid of meaning. In like manner, the words Baile-na-owen, *i. e.* the town of Owen, or Owen's town, is corrupted into Ballynahone—a vulgar and somewhat obscene term.

† In a small streamlet which flows in the grip of a ditch, in the Primate's demesne, at Armagh, near the gate which is opposite the junction of the Keady and Dundalk roads, the fruit and branches of hawthorn trees are often found petrified.

‡ See also, on this subject, Barton's Lectures on Natural Philosophy, printed 1751, p. 73.

lightfully rural retreat, and is still enjoyed by Mr. Maxwell's posterity.*

Primate Stone entertained sentiments of esteem for Mr. Maxwell, and evinced his respect for his character by granting him the lands, which he held under the see, on very reasonable terms.† Thus encouraged, he manured his grounds with marl, of which he found an abundant supply on the spot, and as he was a perfect master of the best system of practical agriculture then in use, his plan of farming was generally adopted by the neighbouring landholders.

Mr. Maxwell, who was a man of fine literary taste, correct judgment, pure morals, and ardent piety, was the intimate friend of the learned Dr. Francis Hutcheson,‡ with whom he maintained a regular and highly interesting epistolary correspondence. Many of their letters were on philosophic and metaphysical subjects, and amongst these, was a copy of some objections which Dr. Hutcheson had made to Dr. Clarke's *a priori* Demonstration of the Existence and Attributes of the Deity, and had transmitted to its author. Dr. Clarke's reply was subjoined—an interesting, unpublished document, which is now a desideratum in the literary world. Mr. Maxwell died, in December, 1763, and his papers, which were for some time in possession of his son, the late James Maxwell, Esq. have been since burned, and these valuable letters are no more.§

* Multitudes of cowslips are interspersed through the grass lands of Rosebrook. Mr. Maxwell had scattered a great quantity of cowslip seed over his farm about 73 years ago, and different kinds of that plant have continued to flourish there ever since.

† Barton, ut supra.

‡ From an admirable portrait of Dr. Francis Hutcheson, in possession of his collateral descendants, the Ogles, of Drumalane, Newry, it is evident that he was a man of fair and somewhat florid complexion. His forehead is remarkably capacious, his eyebrows, lips, and dark blue eyes peculiarly expressive, and every feature in his countenance indicative of good temper and intelligence. A similar portrait of Dr. Kirkpatrick, who wrote the historical essay on "The Loyalty of Presbyterians," &c. is now in possession of his collateral descendant, Miss Mary Boyd, of Armagh.

§ The author received this anecdote from the late Mr. Andrew Prentice, a man of great learning and talents, who had perused those papers, and who never mentioned their destruction without strong expressions of indignation.

During Mr. Maxwell's ministry, his congregation became less Calvinistic in their religious tenets, than they had been in the days of his immediate predecessor, Dr. John Hutcheson.

In the year 1764, the Rev. William Campbell, D. D. was installed Presbyterian minister of Armagh. This divine was born in High-street, in the town of Newry, and was the great grandson of Robert Campbell, a Scot, of the family of Sassnach and house of Straher. This gentleman and his three brothers settled in the county of Down, at the time of the plantation of Ulster. They were the intimate friends and companions of the learned James Hamilton, (afterwards Lord Claneboy,) who, in the reign of Elizabeth, had been sent into Ireland, by James VI. of Scotland, to encourage his adherents and keep them steady to his interest in this country.*

From Dr. Campbell's grandmother, Jane Wallace, of Ravara, near Belfast, almost all the respectable Protestant families of Newry, are lineally descended. This lady possessed great influence in that town, and as she lived to see and bless the fifth generation of her descendants, and was venerable both for her age and her benevolence, she was deemed by its inhabitants a kind of general parent, and styled Granny Campbell. When a part of Newry was burned by the troops of James II. she (then a widow) fled in disguise, with some of the younger branches of her family, and escaped, uninjured, to the Isle of Man. On her return to High-street, after the termination of the war, she was received in triumph by the inhabitants of Newry, who illuminated the town in token of their respect.†

Dr. William Campbell received a grammatical education in an academy in Newry, and was also materially assisted in his studies by the Rev. James Moody, minister to the Presbyterian congregation of that town.— Having enriched his mind with much preparatory know-

* See p. 314, 339, of this work.

† Manuscript Pedigree of Dr. Campbell, in our possession.

ledge, he became an alumnus of Glasgow college, where he was greatly distinguished by the universality of his literary attainments, and graduated with high reputation. After his departure from the college, he accompanied the family of Mr. Bagwell, of Clonmell, to France, where he spent seven years, and became thoroughly acquainted with the manners, language, and habits of the people.

Dr. Campbell, who in conversation was gentle, affable, polite and instructive, was nevertheless remarkably tenacious of his religious and political opinions, which he adopted from principle, after serious investigation, and was ready to maintain at any hazard. In the streets of Paris, he accidentally met the host, borne in solemn procession. He refused to kneel as it passed, and was seized and imprisoned for this marked and singular disrespect. In vain did he plead that he was a subject of Great Britain, and that the French government had no right to punish him for the non-performance of an act of which his conscience disapproved. His language was so pure, so fluent, and so perfectly French, that he was pronounced by all who heard him a native of Paris, and his plea was rejected as a mere fiction.—After a few days, the Bagwells received information of his confinement, and interfered in his behalf. As it was now manifest that Dr. Campbell was really a British subject, it was proposed to liberate him, on his simply declaring that he had been unacquainted with the nature of the procession which he had met, and that he had ignorantly refrained from kneeling as it passed. But the unbending Presbyterian divine refused to make this apology, as inconsistent with truth. His confinement was, therefore, prolonged, till the English ambassador solemnly and earnestly demanded his liberation, as a matter of national concern, which, if refused, would eventually involve the two nations in the horrors of war.

After his return from the continent, Dr. Campbell was licensed to preach, by a Presbytery connected with

the synod of Ulster. In 1759, he was installed Presbyterian minister of Antrim; from whence he was removed to Armagh, in 1764, and thence finally to Clonmell, in 1789.

Dr. Campbell was perfectly acquainted with the belles lettres, and with the whole circle of the sciences. His recollection was apt and tenacious—his judgment correct—his language flowing and perspicuous; and his knowledge of history was at once profound and minute. His mind seemed to have been an exact register of dates, anecdotes and events; and time possessed no power to erase the records of facts engraven on the tablet of his memory.

About the year 1770, he submitted to the general synod of Ulster, a plan for the collegiate education of Irish students designed for the ministry, and he was appointed to correspond with the professors in the Scotch universities on that subject. In 1771, the regulations suggested by him, for the admission of candidates to the ministry, were published by order of the synod, with a short address from the Presbytery of Armagh to their various congregations. About the end of the year 1783, he was appointed their commissioner to solicit government for an augmentation of the *regium donum*, and obtained an additional grant of £1000.

A. D. 1787. The Right Rev. Dr. R. Woodward, Lord Bishop of Cloyne, published, in Dublin, a work in 8vo. styled, “The Present State of the Church of Ireland: containing a Description of its present Precarious Situation, and the consequent Danger to the Public; recommended to the Serious Consideration of the Friends of the Protestant Interest,” &c. &c. &c.

In this work, his lordship represented the Presbyterians as “*a body of men who cannot be entitled to national confidence.**”—He maintained also that “*the established church is so essentially incorporated with the state, that the*

subversion of the one must necessarily overthrow the other."*—Dr. Campbell controverted both these propositions, in a pamphlet styled, "*A Vindication of the Principles and Character of the Presbyterians of Ireland,*" &c. &c. published in Dublin, in 1787. In this treatise, he displays strong reasoning powers, an intimate acquaintance with the history of his country, and great polemic talents. The Bishop of Cloyne published a defence of his principles; and the Rev. Dr. Stock, a fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, and afterwards Bishop of Killala, replied with considerable ability to "*Dr. Campbell's Vindication,*" &c. To both these works, the Rev. Doctor published a rejoinder, in 1788, styled, "*An Examination of the Bishop of Cloyne's Defence of his Principles, with Observations on some of his Lordship's Apologists, particularly the Rev. Dr. Stock,*" &c. 8vo. Belfast, 1788, pp. 216.

Without at all entering into the merits of the interesting controversy in question, we cannot avoid remarking, in common justice to Dr. Campbell, that his treatise is one of the most dispassionate, able, and argumentative polemic works which we have ever perused. When he dictated this work to his daughter, who acted as his amanuensis, he was almost blind, and he was, of course, necessitated to rely, in a great measure, on memory, for the accuracy of his references to the various ancient ecclesiastic writers, and the different historians, whose authority he cites. Notwithstanding this peculiar disadvantage under which he laboured, he has not been detected in a single misquotation. Doubtless he managed the whole controversy with the urbanity of a gentleman, and the erudition of a scholar, and hence it is not surprising that his learned antagonist, Dr. Stock, solicited his acquaintance in terms of respect and esteem.†

* *Present State of the Church of Ireland*, third edition, p. 6.

† The less candid Musgrave, in his "*Memoirs of the Different Rebelions,*" &c. styles Dr. Campbell "*a virulent antagonist of the bishop's,*" (p. 102)—a most unfounded assertion.

The almost inexhaustible fund of scientific knowledge which Dr. Campbell possessed—his skill in ancient and modern languages—and his perfect acquaintance with the laws, manners and religion of the continental European nations, rendered him an amusing and instructive companion. As a pulpit orator, he was rather monotonous and prolix, subdividing his discourses into multitudinous heads, which perplexed the memory of his hearers; but in mildness, learning, benevolence, and piety, he has, perhaps, left no man superior to him in the Presbyterian church of Ulster.

In 1758, Dr. Campbell married his cousin, Jane Carlile, Daughter of Robert Carlile, of Newry, by whom he had issue eleven children. Three of these survived him, viz.—1st, Mary, who married S. Maxwell, of Armagh, M. D. who died in the year 1785. In 1796, she married George Williams, of Dublin, Esq. counsellor at law, by whom she had two sons—George Campbell and William.—2d, Margaret, who married John Evans of Clonmel.—3d, Elizabeth, who married George Murray, of Armagh, Esq. by whom she has issue one son.

Dr. Campbell* died at Clonmel, about the year 1808.

* We are in possession of an authentic genealogical table of Dr. Campbell's ancestors, which affords an extraordinary exemplification of the geometrical ratio in which the human race increases in numbers, in the course of a few generations. The various respectable families of Newry which descended lineally from his grandmother, Jane Campbell, were, from their union and mutual affection, denominated, about the middle of the last century, "*the grand alliance*." Amongst her posterity were, the Gibbons, of Holland and Barbadoes; the Hunters, of Mourne; the Johnstons, of the Fews; the Gwyns, of Dundrum; the Orrs, of Dromore; the Jessons, Watsons, Carliles, Ogles, Courtneys, Turners, Greers, Pollocks, Montgomeries, Russels, Corrys, (the chancellor's branch of the family,) Davises, Scotts, Hannas, Reeds, Alsops, and various other respectable families of Newry; the Gordons, of Sheepbridge; the Bensons, of Dublin; the Evanses of the county of Louth; the Hamiltons and M'Cormicks, of Rosstrevor; the Kyles, of Ballybeen; the Cowans and Campbells, of Hillsborough and Dromore; the Gordons, of Belfast; the Dixons and Gordons, of Rathfriland; the Magills, of Tullycairn; the Wallaces, of Crobane; the Murrays, of Armagh; the Hares, of Moira; the Williamses, of Dublin, &c. &c. &c.—At this day, the descendants of Granny Campbell would probably be found to exceed 1500 persons. She survived her husband 43 years, and died in 1727.

The Rev. William Henry was installed Presbyterian minister of Armagh, on the 14th of July, 1791, and continued to officiate there till the 10th of June, 1795.

In December, 1795, the Rev. Thomas Cuming, A. M. minister to the first congregation of Dromore was invited to Armagh, and installed there on the 27th of January, 1796. Mr. Cuming was born near Ballymena, in the county of Antrim, and educated in Glasgow. He was a correct classic scholar, and for a considerable time assisted the Rev. Dr. Mercer, in Crumlin academy, near Dublin. He was a man of sterling worth—an admirable preacher—and highly respected by the clergy and laity of all denominations. During several years he held the office of clerk to the general synod of Ulster. He published “A Funeral Sermon on the Death of the Rev. Mr. Livingston, of Clare,” and “A Sermon preached before the General Synod of Ulster.” His style was clear and nervous, and it is to be regretted that he has left no other monument of his literary talents. He died at Armagh, on the 19th of August, 1816.

On the 16th of June, 1817, the Rev. Samuel Eccles, A. M. was unanimously called to the ministry of the Presbyterian congregation of Armagh, and ordained on the 17th of the ensuing September.

There is in Armagh another respectable congregation of Presbyterians, denominated Seceders, which was established there about the year 1785. Their first stated pastor was the Rev. James Hamilton, who continued to officiate there for a period of nine years. A neat meeting-house was built in the rear of Sydney-place, by Surgeon Samuel Carson, and other members of the congregation, and their affairs were managed with much regularity, till the year 1803, when some ministers of the “Independent or Evangelical religion” began to preach at Armagh, and Mr. Hamilton having become a convert to their doctrines, left the Secession

church, and renounced Presbyterianism. A schism was thus made in his flock, some of whom preserved their original faith, whilst others, convinced by the arguments of their pastor, became Independents. The Seceders were then supplied by the Presbytery with occasional preachers, till the year 1811, when the Rev. Samuel Oliver Edgar, A. M. a man of studious habits and considerable literary research, was ordained their minister.

That body of Presbyterians which belongs to the associate synod, usually called Seceders, disavow all sectarian principles in religion. They profess to form themselves on the model of the church of Scotland, in doctrine, discipline, &c. and have, for many years, been patronised by the British government, from which more than a hundred Seceding congregations in Ireland receive an annual salary, or *regium donum*. Since Mr. Edgar's appointment to the ministry, the congregation has, we believe, increased in numbers and in respectability.

A roomy and neat tabernacle has been built for the Evangelical or Independent congregation, with a school-room and dwelling-house annexed. Their present pastor, the Rev. Mr. Howden, is a zealous and active minister.*

There were lately some Baptists in Armagh and its vicinity, and some male and female adults were, according to the rites of their church, immersed, with great solemnity, by their pastor, Mr. Hasty, in the river Ballinaowenmore, and others in the river Callan. This recurrence to the primitive mode of baptism has not been much imitated in that neighbourhood, where, indeed, the baptists can scarcely be said to exist, as a distinct religious community.

* About ten years ago, some members of this body adopted the opinions of Dr. Walker, who had digested a scheme of sublimated Calvinism, to which he had obtained some converts. This schism produced a literary controversy betwixt Mr. Hamilton and one of his hearers, in which each of the contending parties deemed himself the victor.

Armagh can boast of but few Quakers—a religious society whose members are inferior to no other men on earth, in regularity of conduct and purity of heart.

Methodism was introduced into the city by the indefatigable John Wesley himself.* Prior to its establishment in Ulster, its members had divided into two distinct communities. At the head of the one party was the laborious George Whitfield, whose doctrines were Calvinistic. John Wesley, (aided by his brother, Charles,) whose principles were Arminian, was the leader of the other. Whitfield's oratory was vehement—his voice sonorous. Simplicity, mildness, gentleness, and a certain persuasive loquacity, characterized that of Wesley. The zeal of this active missionary had induced him to cross the Atlantic, in 1735, and to preach in various parts of North America, till the latter end of the year 1737, when he sailed for England. After his return to London, in January, 1738, he conversed with Peter Bohler, whose opinions he seems then to have imbibed, and to have ever after retained and taught, with his whole heart and soul.—As the subject is one of a curious nature, the reader will not, it is hoped, be displeased if we lay before him those opinions, as we find them digested by Mr. Wesley himself, in the following brief propositions, which form the key of Methodism.—1st, When a man has living faith in Christ, then is he justified—2d, This is always given in a moment—3d, And in that moment, he has peace with God—4th, Which he cannot have without knowing that he has it—5th, And being born of God, he sinneth not†—6th, Which

* Methodists are said to have derived their name either from the strict and *methodical* order of their lives, or from a supposed resemblance to an ancient sect of physicians whose medical practice accorded with a *certain method*, in contradistinction to that of empirics.

† The doctrine of “Christian perfection,” resulting from these propositions, is inconsistent with the tenets of the Moravians, of whom Mr. Wesley at first entertained a high opinion, and in a dialogue of a very singular nature carried on in the Latin language, by John Wesley and Count Zinzendorf, we find the leader of the Moravians using the following curious and intolerant expression.—“Nullam inhaerentem perfectionem in hac vita agnosco. Est hic error errorum, Eum per totum orbem igne et gladio

deliverance from sin he cannot have without knowing that he has it.*"

Mr. Wesley made frequent visits to Ireland, and preached in various parts of Ulster, before he endeavoured in person to make any converts in the city of Armagh. In Lurgan he was entertained by Mr. Miller, a very ingenious gentleman, who had executed a piece of mechanism, unique and almost unparalleled in the world. This was a wooden figure, in the form of a man,† which uttered articulate sounds, by means of internal valves and tubes, of a most ingenious and singular construction.‡

In Tandragee he was favoured with the protection, friendship, and countenance of the Rev. Dr. Leslie. Afterwards, in Killiman, he was hospitably received by the Rev. Charles Caulfeild; and, in Clonmain, by Mr. Thomas Ryan. Having made some impression at Cockhill, Clonmaine, Mountroe, Caledon, &c. he proceeded, on Wednesday the 15th of April, 1767, to Armagh. Half an hour before the time appointed for preaching, a town constable went to him and said, "Sir, the sovereign orders me to inform you, that you shall

persequor, conculco, ad internecionem do. Christus est sola perfectio nostra. Qui perfectionem inhærentem sequitur, Christum denegat."—"I acknowledge no inherent perfection in this life. This is the error of errors. This I persecute through the whole world with fire and sword, I trample on it and give it to destruction. Christ is our sole perfection. He who follows inherent perfection denies Christ."—*Wesley's Journal*, Sep. 1744.

* Vide John Wesley's Journal, vol i. July, 1738.

† We have seen the remains of Mr. Miller's speaking figure, which may possibly yet be in the possession of his son, Joseph Miller, of Lurgan, Esq. M. D. The mock-man used to call the hour—"Past twelve o'clock—O how the time runs on!" &c. It repeated some sentences with a full and distinct voice: but, in pronouncing the letter R, its articulation was harsh and grating to the ear. Mr. Miller, having taken it asunder to render it more perfect, died before he had completed his plan.—An ingenious mechanic, Mr. Ballentine of Armagh, who, under Mr. Miller's direction, had made some of the valves and tubes, and who was the only man who could have reconstructed this singular figure, after the death of its inventor, is now no more, and it is probable that nothing of a similar kind will be again attempted. It is, however, said, that Albert the Great made a curious piece of mechanism, which uttered vocal sounds; but Thomas Aquinas demolished it with his stick.—We have no doubt that some inhabitants of Lurgan are yet in being who have seen and heard Miller's speaking figure.

‡ Vide Wesley's Journal, vol. iv. p. 93—vol. v. p. 177.

not preach in his town." At six o'clock, however, he proceeded to the market-house, and commenced his discourse. He was interrupted by Mr. Harcourt,* who that year was sovereign of the city. At this moment he was invited by William M'Geough, Esq. a very wealthy merchant, to preach in his avenue, near the old school-house, at the site of the ancient chapel of St. Columba.† He revisited Armagh on Monday the 17th of April, 1769, and preached in the same avenue—and again, on the 19th, in Mr. M'Geough's stable, with considerable effect.—At seven o'clock in the evening of the 21st of June, 1771, this indefatigable man appeared again in Mr. M'Geough's avenue, where the congregation stood in a kind of arbour, embowered amongst overshadowing trees, then in full foliage. Again, on the 3d of June, 1773, and on the 10th, 11th, and 12th of June, 1775, as well as on the 30th of May and 1st of June, 1785, he renewed his labours in that city. On the 21st of June, 1778, he preached in Mr. M'Geough's walk, where the congregation was noisy and turbulent.

When, on Sunday the 17th of June, 1787, Mr. Wesley once more visited Armagh, the house, then prepared by his friends, was found insufficient to contain half of the congregation, which had assembled to hear his discourse. In the evening, the Seceders accommodated him with their meeting-house—an act of liberality at which he expresses some surprise. It is probable that he had been grossly deceived as to the principles and conduct of this religious community. In a part of his Journal, he speaks of a Seceder who was represented to him as talking deliberately of hewing the Methodists to pieces, as the Israelites did Agag. Such aspersions on the character of a very harmless and very moral body of Christians should not have been lightly credited.

In the evening of Tuesday the 16th of June, 1789,

* The sovereigns of Armagh are elected in June, and sworn into office in September, from which time they continue for one year.

† Wesley's Journal, vol. iv. p. 278.

he preached at Armagh, for the last time, in Mr. M'Geough's avenue. To that gentleman himself, then rapidly approaching the confines of eternity, he bade an affectionate and final adieu.

In 1791, Mr. Wesley closed his singular labours, and his eventful life. He had long arranged a regular system, for the preservation of union amongst his disciples; and a conference of active and zealous preachers was already established in Ireland, to keep the spirit, which he had diffused amongst them, in full action.

A neat and convenient meeting-house was built in Armagh, in 1786, by the Methodist society, in Abbey-street, a little above the spot where Mr. Wesley had so often preached. It is attended by about 40 families. Their preacher inhabits a comfortable house, very near the building. The regular methodist ministers are itinerant, and though appointed to a town or city, for one or two years, they generally make a periodical circuit through various other places. The first regular annual appointments for Armagh were those of John Smyth, John Morgan, and Thomas Morgan, in the year 1767. In 1818, Archibald Murdock and Edward Cobain were the resident preachers.—The whole series of ministers amounted to 130.

OF THE LONGEVITY OF THE INHABITANTS, ETC.

THE vapours which ascend from the Irish sea are arrested in their progress towards the county of Armagh, by the lofty mountains of Downshire, and the air is thus rendered less humid and more salubrious.—Minute subdivisions of land have greatly drained the country, and purified the atmosphere. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and in part of the eighteenth, severe dysenteries, agues, asthmas, putrid fevers, and endemic diseases, afflicted the people. At present the ague has disappeared, and the other maladies are comparatively of rare occurrence. The causes of this

change are obvious. Formerly the country abounded with lakes, marshes, and unreclaimed bogs. In the city of Armagh itself, there was, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, a small lake, containing many eels. It was called Lake Lappan,* and was situated behind the site of the old sessions-house, at the foot of Market-street. Another lake covered a great portion of the demesne lands, till about the year 1767, and served as a feeder for the stream by which Thomas Ogle's marble-polishing mill was wrought. The Barrack-street commons contained various stagnant pools. In the rear of the ground on which Ogle-street has been built, there were formerly a tract of marshy land, and a small lake.† Bogs were every where interspersed over the face of the adjacent country. In the seventeenth century, deep woods and thickets, impervious to the sunbeams, prevented the free circulation of the air, and kept the surface of the earth in perpetual moisture. At present the ground is greatly denuded of trees,‡ the

* Narrated by John Dogherty, a shoe-maker, who died about the year 1774, aged ninety-four. This man recollected Lake Lappan perfectly, and asserted that in 1704, the houses which stood at the foot of Market-street, near its junction with Scotch-street, were accidentally burned.

† In an old lease, by which the Ogles held the land, and which is now in the author's possession, it is styled "a flaggy park."

‡ Before the woods were felled, the country abounded with *pheasants* and *wolves*, and Wolf-dogs were to be found in every farm-house. There were then few partridges, and neither magpies nor frogs in the country.—Fynes Moryson, who was in the kingdom from 1599 till 1603, says, "Ireland hath neither singing nightingale, nor chattering pie, nor undermining mole, nor black crow, but only crows of mingled colour, such as we call Royston crows. They have such plenty of *pheasants*, as I have known sixty served up at one feast, and abound much more with rails, but *partridges* are somewhat scarce."§ At present partridges, black crows, and magpies, are numerous; but pheasants can scarcely be found. Wolves, which were indigenous, and thence styled by the Irish "Mac-tir,"—"son of the earth," have totally disappeared, and, we believe, there is not now a wolf-dog in existence. The late Dr. Robinson, (a pupil of the celebrated Boerhave,) who lived near Tynan, had two immense wolf-dogs, which we have seen accompanying him in the year 1776. These were the last remains of the Ulster wolf-dogs; but Lord Altamont, (since Lord Sligo,) had some wolf-dogs, about 20 years ago, at Westport. These are since dead, and the present Lord Sligo has, we believe, introduced in their stead a kind of double-nosed Grecian water-dogs, larger than Newfoundland dogs; and another species which, in head, resembles a wolf, and, in the hinder parts, a fox. Since we have incidentally mentioned some of the animals which formerly abounded in Ireland, we may be permitted to add, that the first *frog* which was ever seen in this country made its appearance in a pasture field near Waterford, about the year

§ Moryson, vol. ii. p. 368.

bogs are drained, few swamps exist, and the atmosphere is pure and healthy. The people are more habituated to habits of industry, and less addicted to drunkenness than formerly—an effect partly due to the flourishing state of the linen manufacture, and partly to the high price of spirituous liquors. Having made these few observations, we shall lay before our readers some curious instances of longevity, taken from the citizens of Armagh. We are, however, aware that the prolongation of life, to extreme old age, is frequently the result of a vigorous hereditary constitution. Thus John Newell, grandson of Thomas Parr, died at Mitchelstown, in the county of Cork, aged 127 years,* and Catharine Parr, great granddaughter of Thomas, died in Shiddy's alms-house, Cork, in 1792, aged 108.† Their common ancestor, who had transmitted to them this constitutional tenacity of life, attained his 152d year, and then died, *prematurely*, from a sudden change of diet, so that these his descendants might have said, "Few and evil have been the days of the years of our lives, and have not attained unto the days of the years of the life of our forefather, in the days of the years of his pilgrimage.‡

1630, and is noticed by Colgan, in a work printed in 1647.§ It had probably been conveyed from England in some vessel. It was viewed with horror by the Irish; but it did not continue its species. Frog-spawn was afterwards placed, it is said, about the year 1696, in a moist place in the college park, Dublin, from which our fields have been colonized by these croakers. Formerly there were black rats in this country, & brown rats were unknown; and Holinshead says, "the towne of Ardmagh is an enemy to rattes, and if any be brought there, presentlie it dieth, which the inhabitants impute to the prayers of St. Patrick."—It may be worth remarking, that at the Irish feasts, to which Moryson alludes in the above passage, the lights used were made of the pith of rushes, twisted together, with a small part of the skin, to preserve cohesion. This was saturated with unctuous matter, and formed into a taper about the size of a man's waist, from which issued a splendid flame, visible at an immense distance.—See *Annals Donegal*, A. D. 1557.

* Exshaw's Gentleman's and London Magazine, July, 1761, p. 344.

† Ibid. for 1792, p. 624.

‡ Parr, at the age of 107, did penance in the parish church, for having, in the warmth of his youthful fancies, seduced his neighbour's daughter, who bore him a child. It is said, that Charles II. addressed this juvenile old man thus—"Well, Parr, you have lived longer than other men, but what have you done more than other men?"—"I have done penance," replied the man of antideluvian years, "at the age of 107, for having given your majesty a new subject.—What other man has proved his loyalty thus?"

§ *Tria Thom.* p. 256.

Robert Blakenney, Esq. a citizen of Armagh, attained the age of 114 years*—William Campbell, a native of the city, who was reduced to beggary, died there about the year 1770, aged 114. This man had been impressed on board the vessel which broke the boom thrown across the river at the siege of Derry.† Michael Boyle, a silver haired pauper, who died about the year 1776, was found, on reference to the date of his baptism, to have lived 113 years, and this corresponds with the account he had himself given of his age. John Dogherty, a shoemaker, died about the same period, aged 94. Thomas Prentice died about the year 1750, aged 107—John Prentice, in 1778, aged 97—George Boyd, a tailor, in 1796, aged 101.‡ William Johnston, also a tailor, attained the age of 101.—Thomas Connor, a butcher, died in 1799, aged 105—Isabella Ballentine, 100—Thomas Ballentine, of Tyross, her father, 99—Mrs. Jane Jones, otherwise Duff, who died in 1817, 94.—Mrs. O'Brien died at Armagh, in 1815, aged 104. At the period of her decease, she and her descendants, to the fifth generation, inhabited the same house. George Torrington, a painter, died about the year 1750, aged 98. In the year 1807, Thomas Little died in a house near the Callan-bridge, aged 98; and lately, Anne Neale, of Killifady, died, aged 121, and Robert Cunningham, of Shanrods, aged 117.

In the latter end of the year 1800 and beginning of 1801, the following five persons died at Armagh, viz. James Maculla, Esq. aged 104§—Mr. Charles M'Kew,

* General Gazetteer.

† He recollected Captain Cochran's|| father living in a house in English-street, built on the site of one of the present seven houses. In opening the foundations of one of these houses, some plate was found, with Cochran's name on it.

‡ This man, who lived in Church-lane, was a native of Armagh, and was in the habit of riding, in his ninety-ninth year, on a little pony, to Moy, where he had some customers, who respected him for his honesty and his age. He was a man of sanguine temperament, and subject to hemorrhage at the nose.

§ He was able, till the last period of his life, to transact the business of deputy register to the consistorial court.

|| See p. 418 of this work.

aged 102*—Ann Strain, aged 97—Mary Campbell, 100, and Bernard Kerr, of Lisnadill, 103.—The joint age of these five persons, amounted to five hundred and six years. Mary Bassnett, otherwise Stuart,† died in 1797, aged 99 years. She not only possessed all her senses in perfection, but was communicative, well informed, perfectly good-humoured, and fond of improving conversation, till the latest period of her existence. She was active on her limbs, and able to walk to the shambles and purchase meat for her family use, ten days before her decease. Her sister, Jane Bassnett, otherwise Gardner, died a few years before her, aged 95.—This lady perfectly remembered the death of Queen Anne.—James Fox, of Ballygallen, died at the age of 102—Alexander Dixon, of Balleer, 98—In 1802, Margaret Mac Aulay, of Armagh, 95. Mrs. M'Williams, of Armagh, a mild, pleasing and benevolent old lady, lately died in her 88th year. Her father, Thomas Oates, attained his 92d—her great grandfather, — Oates, his 105th—Mrs. Kerr, of Tullamore, her 93d—Gabriel King, of Armagh, M. D. his 89th.

Robert Pooler, of Tyross, Esq. died about the year 1742, aged 116.‡—Other branches of the same family lived to extreme old age.

In the year 1818, died in Newry, aged 100, Mrs. Ann Barns, otherwise M'Cullough, a native of Armagh, where she spent the first 70 years of her life.§ Her brother, John Barns, Esq. father of General Barns, is still alive, aged 93; as well as her brother, Robert Barns, Esq. aged (we believe) 89. In the year 1756, six amateurs of campanary melody, were in the habit of amu-

* In the year 1721, he was ordered by the sheriff to assist the *posse comitatus* in conducting a felon to execution; but the crowd having learned that the ring of bells which Primate Lindsay had presented to the cathedral was approaching the city, went in a body to escort it in triumph to the church, and left the convict to the care of the sheriff, the gaoler, and the hangman.

† Grandmother to the author of this work.

‡ He is somewhere mentioned in Exshaw's London Magazine.

§ The author conversed with her about six months prior to her decease. She was somewhat deaf, but could see very well, and her memory of long-past events was apt and tenacious.

sing themselves by occasionally ringing the Armagh bells. Of these gentlemen, three were alive in the year 1814, after the lapse of 58 years, viz. Mr. Samuel May, who since died in Newry, aged 87; Mr. John Richardson, who died in Armagh, aged 86; and Mr. J. Barns, who has survived his contemporaries. Mrs. Mary Johnston died in Armagh, aged 92—also Mrs. Murray, 91—and Mrs. Morton, 93.*

A mother and daughter, (paupers,) who had resided for many years in the neighbourhood of Hamilton's-bawn, about four miles from the city, died within the last 34 years—the elder aged 140—the younger 122.

There is now living in Armagh, Robert Jackson, Esq. an active, hale man, perfectly able to conduct a variety of complicated business, in which he is engaged, though in his 91st year. In the immediate neighbourhood is Robert Pooler, of Tyross, Esq, an athletic gentleman, aged 88, who bids fair to rival Eccleston and the Countess of Desmond in longevity, to which indeed he has an hereditary claim. His neighbour, John Sherry, of Lurgavallen, has attained the age of 87; and a shoe-maker, named Lappan, a bustling humourist and an improvvisante poet, recites his stanzas, in the streets of Armagh, with great energy, at the age of 91. Many more instances of longevity might be found amongst the inhabitants of the town and its vicinity—but “*Jam satis est.*”

Armagh, notwithstanding the salubrity of its atmosphere, was not wholly exempt from the Typhus fever, by which Ireland was so dreadfully afflicted in the years 1816, 1817, and 1818; and some of its most valuable inhabitants were hurried prematurely to the grave. A fever hospital, however, was established at Killuny, within a mile of the city, in a house originally pre-

* This lady lived in Scotch-street with her husband, a famous clock-maker, in the year 1717, and afterwards in Market-street, where Mr. Morton struck off a number of silver tokens, which were long used as current coin in Armagh. She died towards the end of the last century, in the house of her friend, Miss Boyd,—*MSS. Applotment of Cess for 1717.*

pared for a lying-in hospital, by Lady Molyneux. The institution was well supported, and the malady was more speedily eradicated in Armagh, than in any other town of equal magnitude and population in the kingdom. The hospital has, of course, been long discontinued.

OF RELICKS OF ANTIQUITY, ETC.

FEW remains of antiquity can be discovered in Armagh or its immediate vicinity. In our memory, the last fragment of the Culdean buildings were pulled down, and the habitable part of the Augustinian monastery, dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, was levelled to the earth.* All traces of the other churches and monasteries, which once adorned the city, have long since disappeared, except the cathedral itself, and a small portion of the wall of the parish church, of which we have spoken in the first chapter of this work.†

We have already stated,‡ that, at a very early period, seven stone crosses had been erected in the city of Armagh. A fragment of one of these, called St. Patrick's chair, stands at this hour in the church yard, near the great door of the western aisle of the cathedral. Some broken remnants of a second, which lately stood in Market-street, are deposited in the church. It is generally believed that this stone had been brought by Primate Prene from Raphoe, about the year 1441, and erected by him in the cathedral.§ Be that as it may, this ancient cross had been thrown down in the latter end of the seventeenth century, and had remained neglected in Market-street, till about the year 1763, when some of the citizens raised it from the rubbish in which it was buried, and placed it in the centre of the street,

* See p. 349, 95, of this work.

† See p. 94, 95, 96.

‡ P. 143.

§ The reader is requested to consult what we have said on this subject in p. 197, 143.

on a large block of calcareous stone,* to which they connected it firmly by iron cramps. Here it stood unmolested till the 2d of July, 1813, when it was prostrated at night, and broken to pieces, by some miscreants, who were actuated by motives of bigotry and party spleen.† After the secret destruction of this freestone cross, the calcareous base on which it had rested, was no longer useful, and as it was found difficult to remove it in a mass, it was blown into fragments with gunpowder. Our readers will find an accurate engraving of the cross, in page 143. The figures in the different compartments represent the crucifixion of Christ—Adam and Eve beneath the tree of life—Noah's ark—the descent of the Holy Spirit as a dove, &c. A curiously-carved and regularly-formed octagonal stone was found, on the 13th of June, 1805, in the bottom of a grave seven feet deep, near the south-west angle of the western aisle of the church. It is covered with figures of cherubs and of fleurs-de-lis, and is probably a part of a sepulchral pillar, erected to the memory of some chieftain.

Camden says,‡ the ruins of the ancient palace of Eamhain Macha or Eamania, which both he and Speed, who wrote in 1614, call Owen Maugh, were visible near Armagh, in his time. O Halloran, a modern author, speaks positively of their existence in his day. We, however, have not been able to discover any such ruins. The townland, indeed, on which the building

* We believe the party were Robert Jackson, R. Gardner, Wm. Stuart, James Prentice, Lee M'Kinstry, Boatswain Moisson, Thomas Dobbin.

† We had intended to give some sketch in this work of the party feuds which have so long agitated different districts of the county of Armagh. We are, however, obliged at present to decline the undertaking—1st, Because it belongs rather to the history of the county, if any such shall be written, than to that of the city of Armagh—2d, Because we have not space. The battles fought betwixt the Peep-of-day-men and Defenders have been described by Mr. Burns, who printed the first work ever written on that subject in the city of Armagh, where he resided, about the year 1788. Musgrave is certainly mistaken when he refers the origin of Peep-of-dayism (p 35.) to a battle fought near Markethill, on the 4th of July, 1784. Arthur Young, the agriculturist, in his "Tour in Ireland, &c. brought down till the year 1779," and printed in Dublin, A. D. 1780, speaks explicitly of Peep-of-day-boys, in the 41st page of the 2d part of his work.

‡ Holland's Camden, article Ireland, p. 109.

stood, can be accurately ascertained; and for some curious information on this head, we refer our readers to Appendix, No. 2. In the Primate's demesne, contiguous to the city, are the remains of an ancient abbey, situated nearly south-east of the cathedral. In the middle of the last century, the ruins of this venerable edifice were very extensive, and even yet some of the arches are in good preservation.*

In the beginning of the eighteenth century, there were some ruins of an ancient public building on a part of the Windmill-hill, and the proximity of a common indicated that it had been a religious establishment.† Rocque, in a map of Armagh, which he published in 1760, and republished in 1765, assumes this to have been the site of the temple Na Fearta; but on that supposition, Lupita's monastery must have been westward of the city, contrary to the whole current of history.‡

* We know not to what religious order this abbey belonged; but probably some information might be obtained on this head amongst the muniments of the see. The district Na Fearta, where Lupita's abbey stood, was situated, as Ussher states, eastward of the city. On the 9th of January, 1618, Temple Na Fearta was assigned to Francis Annesley, and as the annexed land is contiguous to the grounds appertaining to the old abbey, it might be conjectured, that the latter establishment had been an affiliation of that of Lupita. It seems, however, manifest that it had not been granted to Annesley with the Temple Na Fearta; for the author of this work is in possession of an assignment of the lands round the abbey, made in the year 1665, to his great grandfather, James Ogle, and witnessed by James's grandfather, William Ogle, in which the rent is reserved to the Primate, as chief landlord. Henry Fetherston had assigned these lands to John Marsh, whose widow, Dorothy Marsh, sold them to Ogle for a trifling consideration. The deed is curious, as it ascertains what the acreable value of farms immediately adjoining the city of Armagh, was in the year 1665. It specifies—1st, Seventeen acres immediately surrounding the old abbey, rent £3 8s. 0d. 2d, Three other parks, containing thirteen acres, in possession of John Collan, rent £2 12s.—acreable value of the whole, 4s. The present value would probably be about £5 10s. 0d, per acre. An inventory made of this James Ogle's chattels, by his personal representatives, after his decease, enables us to give our readers some idea of the price of grain, cattle, &c. in the early part of the eighteenth century. We find five milch cows valued in it at £1 16s. 0d. each—four yearling heifers, 10s. each—five good horses, £3 each—nine sheep and lambs, £1 7s. 0d. or 3s. each—three boles of oats, (probably about 29 stones to the bole,) £1, *i. e.* 6s. 8d. per bole—twenty-five boles of barley, (styled bere, and probably about 34 stones to the bole,) £15 15s. 0d. or 11s. per bole.—six barrels of beans, £3, or 10s. per barrel. Other articles, which it is needless to recite, were in proportion.

† See p. 89 of this work.

‡ It is more likely, that it was a Franciscan friary, which Wadding says was built in the year 1291, by the O'Donnels. This monastery was re-

The district Na Fearta, which is situated in the rear of the south side of Scotch-street, nearly east of the church, was purchased by Leonard Dobbin, Esq. from the representatives of the Annesleys. He has built an excellent dwelling-house on the premises. In clearing the ground, many human bones were found, and some coins, similar, we believe, to those mentioned in page 181 of this work.*

There are some ancient ruins at Grange, within a mile of the city, which are usually called the Bishop's-court. Not far distant from these ruins, is the place which Speed calls Mac Killoran, which is probably the site of Kilotir church, spoken of by O Sullivan and other Irish writers.

Various golden instruments and ornaments, of divers shapes, have been found, from time to time, in the neighbourhood of Armagh. Of these, some were dug up a few years ago at Knappa, of the form exhibited in the annexed plate, No. 1, and purchased by the late Thomas Blakeley. A ring of gold was found about thirty-eight years ago, near Crieve-row, (Craobh-ruadh,) the site of the ancient palace of Eamhaim Macha, or Emania. It was part of a round ingot of very pure gold, bent into a sort of ring, while belonging to a larger bar, and cut off a little beyond the points which terminated the circle. It weighed, we believe, twenty ounces, and was purchased by James Macartney, Esq. and afterwards sold in Dublin at £4 per ounce.†

Siliceous arrow points,‡ antique, Punic-fashioned swords, spears, celts, and brazen trumpets, with rivetted edges,§ have been found in the vicinity of Armagh.||

formed by the observants of the year 1518. In 1565, the fathers appertaining to it were publicly whipt for persisting to inhabit the premises, contrary to the express prohibition of the law.

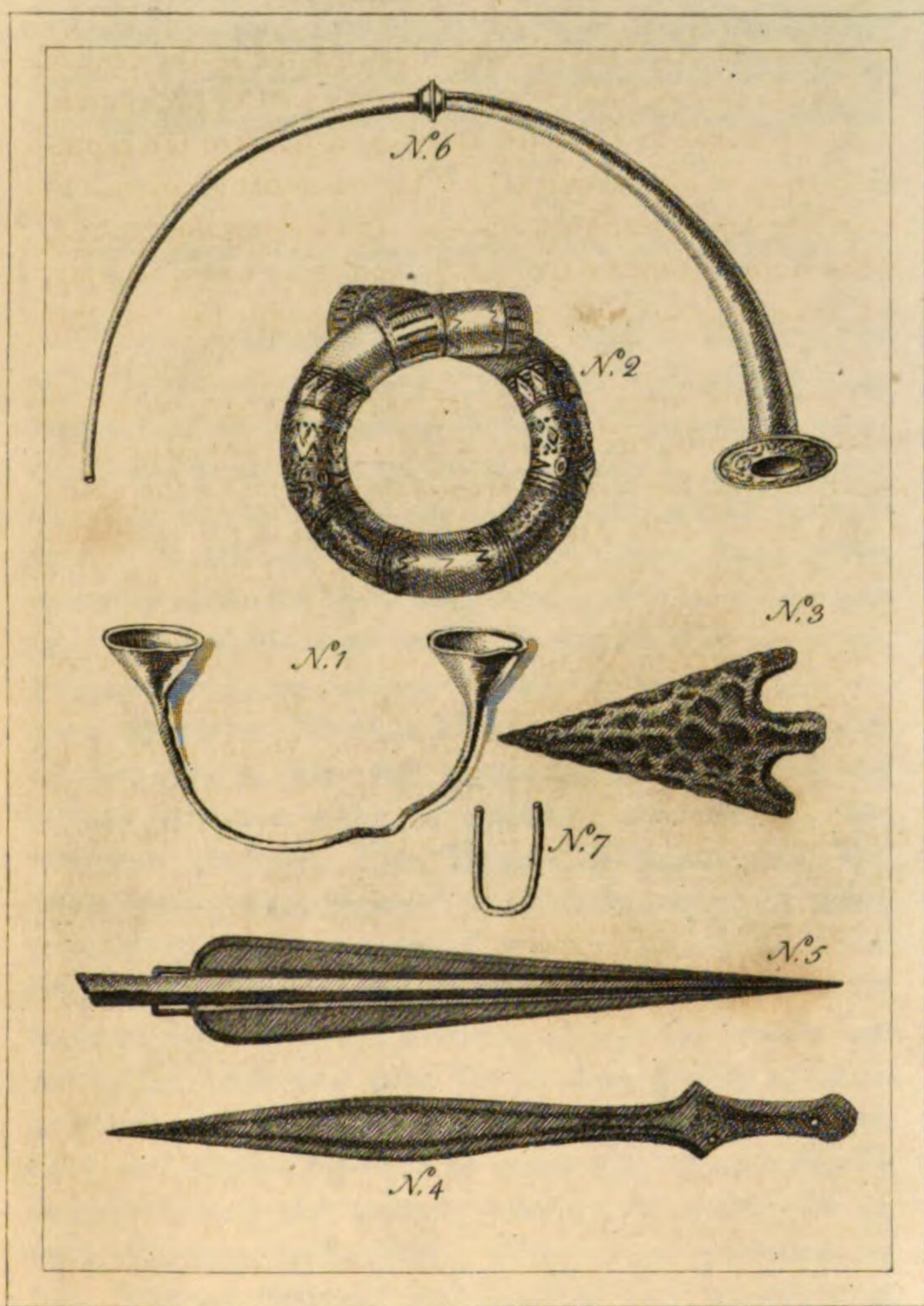
* For the sites of the other ancient buildings, so far as we have been able to discover them, see p. 95, 96.

† See annexed plate.

‡ Some of these are now in possession of Mr. John Bell, landscape painter.

§ One of the swords alluded to is the property of Mr. William Gough. It was dug up at Grange. Robert Pooler, Esq. has some of the trumpets.

|| See same plate, No. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.



J.B. del.

J. Martyn, sc.^r Dublin.

N°1 A Golden Instrument, found at Knappa. Page 512

N°2 A Golden Ring, found near Crieve-row. Ibid.

N°3 Flint arrow-head, found in Navan-rath. Ibid.

N°4 Punic fashioned brazen Sword, at Carrick. Page 610

N°5 A brazen Spear, found at the same place. Ibid.

N°6 A brazen Trumpet, found near Lough-na-Shade. Page 608

N°7 An Antique golden instrument, found at Knappa.

There is a natural cave, in the farm called the Sheep-walk, contiguous to the city, concerning which there are various absurd traditions, that do not merit notice.

OF THE TRADE, COMMERCE, ETC. OF ARMAGH.

WE have already shewn that diapers, camlets, as well as woollen and linen cloths, were manufactured at Armagh in the seventeenth century.* At present, however, the great mass of the population in the adjacent districts is employed in the linen trade and in agriculture.† In the year 1793, a very erroneous return of the quantity of brown linen sold weekly in Armagh, having been made to the linen board, by their Ulster inspector, Primate Robinson, distrusting the accuracy of this report, requested Thomas Macan, Esq. then sovereign of the city, to have the matter investigated with the minute attention which it merited. Accordingly, Mr. William Cochran, Mr. Thomas Stringer, and Mr. Williamson, were deputed to effect the object in view, which fortunately was not of difficult attainment. The owners of houses in which the linen merchants settle their accounts with the weavers, charge the buyers one penny for each web paid for in their premises. The accounts of the proceeds of three successive market days, kept and signed by each of these men, were carefully inspected, and the average number of webs sold on each was found to be 6062. These were estimated by Mr. Thomas Stringer and another very experienced bleacher, at £1 9s. 0d. per web. Their pecuniary value would, of course, be £8,789 18s. 0d. sterling, which, as the market occurs once in the week, (on Tuesday,)

* See p. 422, 423, 424, of this work.

† For proof that the people of Ireland were known on the continent as manufacturers of woollen, in the fourteenth century, &c. see p. 144, 145, 146, 147, of this work.

would make the annual amount thus sold in the city, £457,074 16s. 0d. sterling.*

From similar accounts, which we lately caused to be taken in Armagh, we find the average rate of weekly sales may be fairly estimated at 7,000 pieces, which, valued at £1 9s. 0d. per piece, amount to £10,150, *i. e.* to £527,800 sterling, per annum. Prices of brown linen, in this market, are from 6d. to 2s. 1d. per yard.

A description of yard-wide lawns, or fine-threaded linen, manufactured near Loughgall, has been lately introduced into the Armagh market, where some of it is purchased for the American mart. A considerable quantity of it is sent to Great Britain in the brown state, and some, which is died black and calendered at Moneyquin mill†, meets a brisk demand in England. Unbleached linens are purchased in the open air. The buyers stand on stools or forms, and the webs are handed to them by the weavers, and examined in the full glare of day.

A neat, roomy, and excellent yarn-market, with convenient apartments for the merchants, has been lately erected by Mr. Leonard Dobbin, in his new street, built on the old district of Na Fearta. We have not been able to ascertain the weekly sales of yarn in Armagh; but it may probably be estimated at the value of £2,800, or £145,600 per annum.

Those markets are held on each Tuesday, pursuant to a grant made by Queen Elizabeth, on the 10th of May, 1587, on the petition of Hugh O'Neil, Earl of Tyrone.‡

On the 25th of February, 1614-15, King James I. granted to Archbishop Hampton, a power of holding a market on each Tuesday, and two fairs, one on the 17th of March, and the other on the 1st of August, and the

* The original documents, signed by the deputies and the valuator, are now in our possession, and their accuracy can be ascertained on oath at this day.

† Otherwise Muinnacuin; *i. e.* Quin's (or Con's) brakes or thorns.

‡ 29° Eliz. dors. R. 9.

§ 12° Jac. I. 1ma, p. f. R. 32.

day after each, at Armagh.*—In page 347, we have given a copious abstract of this grant, which not only created the manor of Armagh, but vested several curious powers in the primate or his courts, such as that of causing scolding women to be placed in trebuckets or cucking-stools, and fraudulent bakers in the pillory, and plunging brewers who make bad ale into well filled dung carts; for such were the uses to which “Tumbrel pillorie and thewe” were applicable.† On the 3d of July, 1620, this market was again confirmed, and the customs and tolls of the town, market and fairs of Armagh were granted to the primate.‡ On the 23d of May, 1634, King Charles, in the charter to the vicars choral, granted to Archbishop James Ussher, the power of holding a market on each Saturday, and a fair on St. Peter’s day and the day after, with the tolls, &c.§ and on the 25th of October, 1753, George II. granted two additional fairs|| to be held on the 20th of May and 20th of November.¶

The corn market (that for wheat excepted) is held on Saturdays, and the sales of oats and oatmeal are considerable. Vast quantities of wheat, the produce of the surrounding country, are every day exposed for sale in the streets, or tendered to the various flour merchants, who have mills in the neighbourhood. Some of these mills are wrought by the river Callan, viz.—that of Lurgavallen—of Umgola—of Ballinaowenbeg—of Balliards—and two at Keady. Besides these, there is a powerful wind-mill and a water-mill, the property of

* These are now held on the 28th of March and 12th of August, since the introduction of the new style.

† These punishments are not required in this city. There have been but four notorious scolds in Armagh during the last century. One of these, a Mrs. King, poisoned her husband, and her eloquence was stopped by the hangman—There is no part of Ireland in which better bread is made than in Armagh.

‡ 18 Jac. i. 2da. p. f. R. 1.

§ 10 Car. i. 1ma. p. f. R. 8.

|| 27 Geo. ii. 2da. p. d. R. 19.

¶ The fairs actually held are on the 28th of March, 10th of July, 12th of August, and 10th of October.

Robert Jackson, Esq. engaged in the manufacture of flour. The annual consumption of wheat in these mills may probably be averaged at 2,800 tons.* There are numerous oat-mills and bleach-mills on the banks of the various rivers by which the country is intersected.—Much of the flour manufactured near Armagh is carted to the county of Tyrone and other districts, and immense quantities of wheat, oats, and barley, the produce of the adjacent country, are purchased by the corn merchants of Portadown and Newry, for exportation and for home consumption.†

Turbary is scarce, and fuel dear, in the neighbourhood of the city. Turf is brought on cars from the mountainous districts of the county—from the vicinity of Keady—from Armagh-breagh and Moinochmie,‡ and even from the neighbourhood of Newtownhamilton, which is nine miles distant. The carriers purchase limestone in the vicinity of Armagh, with which they return to their farms; and thus reap a double advantage from their traffic. They burn this limestone in sod kilns, erected on their lands, which are naturally devoid of calcareous matter. Thus manured the mountain grounds become exceedingly productive of potatoes, flax and oats.—English coals are obtained at Armagh from Newry, and Irish coals from Annabone and Coal-Island. It is hoped that Lough Neagh and Lough Erne will soon be connected by a grand canal, from which a lateral branch might extend to Grange, in the neighbourhood of Armagh. Fuel would then be obtained from Newry at reasonable rates, and the export trade of that town would be more completely opened to the farmers of the country. The following

* Lurgavallan and Umgola are within a quarter of a mile of the city—Ballinaowenbeg within three quarters of a mile—Balliards is distant two miles—Keady six.—Mr. Jackson's windmill is at the west end of the town—his water-mill distant about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles.—All the flower millers have stores in the city.

† It is almost needless to remark, that manufactures of prime necessity, and common handicraft trades, are profitably exercised in Armagh.

‡ Moin signifies a bog.

table, taken from the outports of the Newry custom-house, will shew the nature and value of that trade.

NEWRY EXPORTS,

From the 1st of January, 1818, till the 24th of February, 1819.

	£	s.	d.
Oats, 5796 tons at 10l. per ton	57,960	0	0
Butter, 103,229 firkins at 3l. 10s. per	361,301	10	0
Linen Cloth, 4,719 bales and boxes, at 100l. per	471,900	0	0
Flax, { 3890 bales at 18l. per bale } { 37 tons }	72,684	0	0
Tow, 908 Bales, at 5l. 13s. 9d. per	5,164	5	0
Hides. 3903, at 1l. per	3,903	0	0
Oatmeal, 292 tons, at 18l. per ton	5,256	0	0
Feathers. 265 bales, at 37l. 10s. per bale	9,937	10	0
Pigs, 633, at 3l. per	1,939	10	0
Cows, 1618, at 10l. per	16,180	0	0
Horses, 70, at 15l. per	1,050	0	0
Glue, 12 Hhds. at 5 Guineas per	68	5	0
Bran { 788 Sacks at 6s. 8d. per sack } { 37 Tons, at 6l. 13s. 4d. per ton }	262	13	4
Tanners' Waste { 238 packages at 1l. per } { 21 tons, at 1l. 10s. per }	238	0	0
Potatoes, 470 tons. at 2l. per	940	0	0
Flour, 20 bags, at 2l. 12s. per	52	0	0
Soap, 29 boxes, at 6l. per	174	0	0
Bone Ashes, 11 hhds. at 2l. per	22	0	0
Hair, curled, 23 bales, at 3l. per	69	0	0
Calf Skins, 12 casks, at 30l. per	360	0	0
Calves Valves, 20 casks, at 7l. 10s. per	150	0	0
Old Rags, 84 packages, at 10l. per	840	0	0
Apples, 145 casks, at 10s. per	72	10	0
Hay, 59 tons, at 5l per ton	295	0	0
Whiskey, 30 puncheons, at 32l. per	960	0	0
Salt, 2000 bushels, at 1s. 3d. per	125	0	0
Wheat, 271 tons, at 17l, per	4,607	0	0
Beef, 60 barrels, at 3l. 10s. per	210	0	0
Ditto, 383 tierces, at 5l 5s. per	2,010	15	0
Pork, 100 tierces, at 7l, 10s. per	750	0	0
Ditto, 1177 barrels, at 5l. 2. 6d. per	6,032	2	6
Bacon, 569 bales, at 12l,	6,828	0	0
	<u>£1,032,579</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>2</u>

ARMAGH CORN MARKET.

Oats sold per annum, on an average,	1,607 tons.
Oatmeal,	1,049 tons.
Barley, for home consumption	4,000 barrels.
— for Newry, Dungannon, &c.	5,000 barrels.

There is at present no distillery at Armagh, to consume the oats and barley, and but one brewery, which belongs to Mr. Andrew Lyle, jun. merchant.

PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

ARMAGH CATHEDRAL was originally 140 feet in length;* but it has since been greatly enlarged, and its form considerably changed. It is now, from east to west, $183\frac{1}{2}$ feet in the clear, and 119 from north to south. The whole external length of the walls of the eastern and western aisles, including that of the central space comprised within the supporting arches of the tower and spire, is 192 feet—that of the northern and southern, 128.

This church is cruciform. Its great western aisle is appropriated to the celebration of morning service—the eastern, to that of the evening.—The north aisle forms the grand entrance into the cathedral, and in the southern aisle, the archbishop's court, parochial vestries, &c. are held.†

In the preceding part of this work, we have recited, in chronologic order, the various events which had led to the reiterated destruction of Armagh cathedral. Our readers know that it was burned by Sir Phelim O Neil, on the 2d of May, 142,‡ and finally rebuilt by the benevolent Archbishop Margetson, about the year, 1675.§

The east side of the northern aisle is adorned with a very beautiful monument, which was erected to the memory of the very reverend, pious, and learned Peter Drelincourt, D. D. dean of Armagh, by his widow, Mrs. Mary Drelincourt.¶ This elegant piece of sculpture was executed by the famous M. Rysbrack,

* Vitæ Tripart. St. Pat. 3ia. pars. c. 78.

† For an account of the time when the church and the city were originally built, see p. 75 of this work; and for the bells, choir, organs, height, &c. see p. 450, 448, 395, 367.—By the 15th and 16th Geo. III. the cathedral is now the mother church of Armagh, in place of the ruined parish church.

‡ See p. 371 of this work.

§ See p. 389 of this work.

¶ This was enclosed with a neat iron railing in 1731, by Mrs. Drelincourt, on which occasion she presented to the dean and chapter £11 10s. 0d. probably to be applied to charitable uses.

and is a noble specimen of his talents. The dean is represented as recumbent. His attitude is graceful and dignified, and the several parts of the figure harmoniously combine in producing a pleasing unity of effect. The drapery is simply disposed, and so arranged as to excite in the mind of the spectator the idea of a perfect symmetry of form, slightly veiled beneath its flowing folds. The features are strongly expressive of intelligence, mildness and benevolence, and were peculiarly admired, by Dr. Drelincourt's contemporaries, for the strong resemblance which they bore to the original. The whole monument is, indeed, an exquisite piece of workmanship, perfected by the hand of Taste, *usque ad unguem*. On the front of the sarcophagus is the following appropriate inscription:—

"Such was the second Drelincourt,* a name
Victorious over Death and dear to Fame;
The Christian's praise, by different measures won,
Successive graced the father and the son.
To sacred service one his wealth consigned,
And one the living treasure of his mind;
'Twere rash to say whose talent did excel,
Each was so rich, and each improved so well.
Nor was his charity delayed till death,
He chose to give what others but bequeath.
Much though he gave and oft, yet more he meant,
Had life proportioned to his will been lent.
But to complete a scheme so well designed,
Belongs to her who shared his bed and mind,
Whose pious sorrows thus to future days
Transmit his image and extend his praise."

The tenth and eleventh lines contain an admirable (and probably, at the time they were written, an original) thought. On the south end of the tomb are the following words:—"Doctor Peter Drelincourt was born in Paris, July 22d, 1644, died March 7th, 1720, aged 76 years."—A Latin inscription, on a marble flag, which is placed in the wall, gives a more minute account of his origin, and some particulars of his promotion, &c.

* Dr. Drelincourt's father, Charles Drelincourt, was a French Protestant, of some celebrity. The doctor himself was chaplain to his grace the Duke of Ormond.

On the south side of this aisle there is a handsome monumental urn, &c. with the following inscription:—

“ Henry Jenney, D. D. late rector of the parish, and some time archdeacon of the diocess of Armagh, is buried here, waiting for the adoption, which is the redemption of our body. A. D. MDCCLVIII.”*

On the same side of the aisle, there is a bust of Primate Robinson, with the following inscription:

“ Juxta situs est Ricardus Robinson, Baro de Rokeby, hujusce Ecclesiæ per triginta fere annos Archiepiscopus, Qui in munere obscuro ingenii liberi et perspicacis Egregium præstitit Exemplar. Avunculo suo, et Patrono Johannes Robinson. ejusdem ecclesiæ haud ita pridem archidiaconus, S.M.P. Obiit Octobris die decimo, 1794, annum agens Octogess sextum. Bacon, Sculptor, London, 1802.”

On the west side of the north aisle, there is a marble flag, with a Latin inscription, sacred to the memory of William Viscount Charlemont, (a privy counsellor in the reign of Charles II.) who died on the 25th of May,

* Dr. Jenney was a mild, benevolent, and highly-esteemed clergyman. He was frequently visited by Swift, and it is to him that singular humourist alludes, when, speaking of himself, he says—

“ For the dean was so shabby, and looked like a ninny,
That the captain supposed he was curate to Jenney.”†

The following anecdote of Dr. Jenney is probably worth narrating, as it demonstrates the force of habit. Robert Gardner, a coppersmith, had taken a house directly opposite to his mansion, where he plied his trade with such incessant industry, and commenced his hammering operations so early in the morning, and continued them so late at night, that the almost endless noise deprived the doctor of his rest. In vain did he remonstrate with his neighbour, and entreat him to discontinue his nocturnal operations. Gardner, a proud, independent, and somewhat surly tradesman, not only hammered on, but added another hour to his daily labours. At last, after having endured the evil for two months, Dr. Jenny agreed to give his tormentor twenty guineas, on condition that he should leave the premises on the next term-day, which happened to be the first of May. Gardner agreed, and took a house in Market-street, to which he punctually removed at the appointed time. In the interim, three more months had elapsed, and Dr. Jenney was not only reconciled, by habit, to the noises which he had so much abhorred at first, but he became unable to sleep when his ear was deprived and disappointed of the accustomed sounds; and he was, therefore, under the necessity of paying another coppersmith for working in the premises which Gardner had deserted. Dr. Jenney resided in English-street, in the house subsequently occupied as an inn, by George Parks, where, we believe, the system of bell pulls used in fashionable dwelling-houses, at Armagh, in Swift's time, may be yet seen. Instead of cranks and wires, there are (or lately were) pulleys and cords, by which the bed-chamber and parlour bells were rung. We forgot, in page 451 to class this house and that occupied, in Abbey-street, by the Rev. Mr. May, and the two adjacent habitations, amongst the shingled mansions.

† See Swift's *Grand Question Debated*.

A. D. 1671, and of his father, William Baron Caulfeild, of Charlemont. This monument was erected in 1698, by William Caulfeild, the then Viscount Charlemont, and the following lines are inscribed on the base:—

“ Hâc avus et Genitor vivi structoris in urna,
Ejusdem tituli et nominis ambo jacent
Nobilitant tanti cineres venerabile Saxum
Augeat ergo suum serius author opus.”

The whole is surmounted by the Caulfeild arms. Motto—“ *Deo duce, ferro comitante.*”

Adjacent to this monument is that of Elizabeth Caulfeild, third daughter of William Caulfeild, a lineal descendant, *a parte materna*, from the princely Mores, of Mellifont. Her first husband was Captain John Chichester—her second, Edward Walkington, D. D. bishop of Down and Connor.

The pupils of the late Rev. Thomas Carpendale, A. M. who, for thirty years, presided over the classic school of Armagh, with honour to himself and advantage to the community, have erected a monument to his memory, adjacent to that of Viscount Charlemont.—This testimony of sensibility and of gratitude is creditable to themselves and to their deceased preceptor, who fell a lamented victim to the late dreadful Typhus fever, in the sixty-third year of his age. The design of the monument is classic and appropriate. In front of a pyramid of dove-coloured marble, appears a female figure representing Science. She stands upon the Holy Scriptures, as the most solid foundation of all knowledge. In her right hand, she holds an inverted and expiring torch, and leans weeping over an urn, supposed to contain the ashes of one endeared to her by his literary merit. Around are classic books and other emblems of learning. The pedestal on which the urn rests is of a rich antique description, and highly striking. A Latin inscription on the base indicates the object of the monument, and in the under part, the family arms appear depressed. The sculptor is J. Smyth, Dublin, a

native artist. A. D. 1818.—The height of the entire monument exceeds sixteen feet.

In the bishop's court, there is a marble flag, sacred to the memory of Richard Chappell, Esq. and of his mother and daughter, &c. He was born in Armagh, in 1633, and, having removed to Dublin, was for twenty years deputy auditor general of Ireland. In advanced age, he returned to Armagh, where he fulfilled the duties of high sheriff and of justice of the peace, and adorned his native city with various buildings. He died on the 9th of March, 1706.—Another flag marks the resting place of Nathaniel Whaley, an alumnus of Eton college, and a fellow of Wadham college, Oxford, who was promoted by Primate Lindsay to the parish of Loughgilly, thence to Donoughmore, and finally to the rectory of Armagh. He died on the 20th of March, 1737, aged 60; and Elizabeth Vincent, his wife, on the 10th of October, 1736, aged 49.—In the great western aisle, are two flags, one to perpetuate the memory of Eliza Collyer, 1683—the other of — Shelston, gentleman, of Armagh, which is scarcely legible. In the church yard, there are no monuments worth mentioning, except one, erected to the memory of Mrs. Mary Lodge, by her husband, Dr. William Lodge, which is only remarkable for the classic concinnity of the inscription.

“ Subtus conduntur Reliquiæ
 Mariæ Lodge, alias Olpherts, uxoris
 Gulielmi Lodge, Clerici, L.L. D.
 Hujusce Ecclesiæ Cancellarii, &c.
 Obiit nono die Febr. A. D, 1799. Æt. 45.
 Febri confecta sex dierum spatio.
 O ! cara et adamata conjux Eheu ! quam
 Subito abrepta es !
 His saltem accumulem donis et fungar inani
 Munere !”

Armagh cathedral is attended by a large and highly respectable congregation, some of whom reside in the adjacent country. The parish, which is very extensive, contains a population of 26,697 persons,* for whose more effectual accommodation various neat and conve-

* See p. 465 of this work.

nient churches were built, by Primate Robinson,* in very eligible situations; but the cathedral is the place of fashionable resort. Here divine service is celebrated with most impressive solemnity; and the admirable performance of the choir is highly attractive to the lovers of refined and exquisite harmony.

THE OBSERVATORY.

THIS edifice, which was erected in the year 1793, is situated in latitude $54^{\circ} 21' 15''$ north, and longitude $6^{\circ} 37' 30''$ west, from the meridian of the royal observatory at Greenwich, on an eminence of easy and gentle ascent, at the north-east side of the city. It bears the concise and sublime inscription, "THE HEAVENS DECLARE THE GLORY OF GOD." The walls are constructed with beautiful hewn limestone, in the most firm and durable manner. Tasteful plantations, which adorn the sloping sides of the hill on which the observatory stands, have flourished exceedingly, and already the building is almost embosomed in trees. The tower is connected with the dwelling-house, and contains a remarkably fine equatorial instrument, made by the Messrs. Troughton, of London, which cost about £600. This rests upon a pillar of such height, that the instrument in the dome overlooks all the adjacent buildings. To the east of the dwelling-house, there is a range of apartments for the transit room, and other astronomical purposes. The transit instrument was made by Mr. James Waugh, a very ingenious mechanic, and a native of Armagh. It is highly creditable to his talents; and after having been used most successfully, for twenty-five years, is still in excellent order.

There is, also, in the observatory, a reflecting telescope, ten feet in length, and ten inches in aperture, with a variety of magnifying powers, from 75 to 1000.

* He acted under 7th Geo. III. c. 17.

This was made by the celebrated Dr. (now Sir William) Herschel, and cost about £300.

In addition to these valuable instruments, there are three excellent clocks; which are the transit-clock, the dome-clock, and the mean solar-clock. The first is in the transit-room, and has gone, with very great accuracy, during twenty-five years, without having been cleaned, or suffered to run down. It cost £400, and is the work of Mr. Earnshaw, of London. The dome-clock cost £60, and is the work of the same artist. It is used with the equatorial instrument, in the dome, which is on the top of the tower. This clock, as well as the former, goes sidereal time; that is, the hour hand makes one revolution in the same time in which the earth revolves on its axis. The third clock is the work of Mr. Crosthwaite, of Dublin. It cost £50, and goes mean solar time, or that used in common reckoning, which is nearly four minutes slower than sidereal time, in every twenty-four hours.

There is, also, belonging to the observatory, some philosophical apparatus in mechanics, electricity, and pneumatics, sent from the college of Dublin. A pyrometer, by Whitehurst, of Darby, is a curious instrument, intended to shew the expansion of metals, by the application of heat. The establishment is moreover furnished with barometers and thermometers of different kinds, and excellent workmanship. There are also several valuable books on science.

But this recital does not, by any means, exhaust the apparatus contained in the observatory; for beside the instruments, &c. already mentioned, which are public property, there are others, of a valuable description, belonging to individuals, which, of themselves, would make a considerable astronomical apparatus. The principal of these are as follow.

1st, A refracting telescope, with triple object-glass, forty-seven inches in focal distance, highly achromatic; bearing magnifying powers from 50 to 200. This, which is the work of the late celebrated John Dolland, is

adapted, in the very best manner, to a polar stand, and furnished with two excellent micrometers, one operating by moveable wires, and the other by a divided object-glass.

2d, A Hadley's sextant, by the Messrs. Troughton, $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches in radius, with which the latitude of the observatory, was found (as is believed) to the nearest second of a degree; which answers to 100 feet on the earth's surface. That is to say, the position of the observatory was defined within 100 feet of its real distance from the terrestrial equator.

3d, A night-telescope, by Mr. Dolland, on a brass pillar and tripod.

4th, An astronomical quadrant of 35 inches radius, constructed by the Rev. Robert Hogg, with the assistance of James Waugh, above-mentioned.

Lastly, An excellent transit-instrument, of the newest construction, by Higgins, of London.

The very Rev. James Archibald Hamilton, D. D. (afterwards dean of Cloyne,) was appointed the first principal astronomer at this institution, by Primate Robinson. His commission bears date July 31, 1790; and it is well known, that in consequence of Dr. Hamilton's taste for practical astronomy, the foundation of the observatory was first determined upon by Primate Robinson; although that munificent prelate had a view to the foundation of a college at Armagh, as evidently appears from his last will and testament.

The late Dean Hamilton was placed, in his infancy, under the care of the reverend, pious and truly learned Arthur Grueber, D. D. with whom he removed to Armagh school, when he was only six years old. Under that venerable preceptor, he completed his classical education, in that seminary. His academical courses he passed, with much credit, in Trinity College, Dublin. He made great proficiency in electricity, and soon evinced taste and ability in practical astronomy. He had a private observatory in Cookstown, county of Tyrone, where he resided, while rector of Derryloran,

between the years 1780 and 1790. In this place, he made several valuable observations; especially on the transit of Mercury, which established his reputation as a practical astronomer. In his travels, he determined the geographical positions of several important places, both in England and Ireland; and more especially contributed to the construction and correction of Beaufort's famous Map of Ireland. He was the friend of Doctors Maskelyne and Usher; and after his settlement at Armagh, his North-polar-distances of the fixed stars ranked as high, and were deemed as scientific, as any other observations then made in Europe; and he established the meridian line of the observatory, with such accuracy as will, of itself, transmit his memory with honour to posterity.

His papers, published in the Transactions of the Royal Academy, are the following:—

“On the Method of Determining the Longitude, by *Observations* of the Meridian Passages of the Moon and a Star, *made at two places*, Read Nov. 1st, 1794.”—This was intended to bring to greater perfection that excellent method proposed, some time before, by Mr. Piggot, in England.

His next paper was on the comparative accuracy of the wire and object-glass micrometers, which exhibited the wonderful precision with which small angles can be measured, with either of these instruments, when in the hands of a skilful practitioner.

In the year 1807, two papers by him appeared; one, styled “An Essay on the Present State of Astronomical Certainty, with regard to the Quantity of the Earth's Magnitude, the Distance of that Planet from the Sun, and the absolute Limit of the smallest possible Interval from the Sun to any one of the fixed Stars,” exhibits the very depths of practical astronomy.

The other paper is a supplement to that of 1794, and is entitled, “Farther Considerations on the *Comparative Observations* of the Differences of Right Ascension of the Moon's enlightened Limb, with the Sun's Centre,

and with Stars, *under different Meridians* ; together with the Actual Results of a great number of such Observations, made in various years, at the respective Observatories of Greenwich and Armagh."

This paper affords the means of finding the longitude of the Armagh observatory, from the meridian of Greenwich, with very great accuracy, the probable error not exceeding 100 yards ; and in comparing the *observations in right ascension*, made by the transit-instruments of Greenwich and Armagh, the result was highly honourable to the latter.

Dr. Hamilton died in the observatory, on the 21st of November, 1815, and immediately after his demise, was succeeded by the Rev. William Davenport, D. D. senior fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, and professor of natural philosophy in that seminary, whose abilities are so universally acknowledged, as to render all eulogium superfluous.

Beside the endowment of the principal astronomer, there is a separate one for an assistant astronomer, arising out of the rectorial tithes of the parish of Carlingford.*

The first person in this situation was William Gimmingham, A. B. a wrangler of high reputation in the university of Cambridge. To him succeeded a Mr. Brayden ; whose successor is the present assistant, the Rev. Robert Hogg, now Presbyterian minister of the parish of Loughgall, and a member of the general synod of Ulster. He has occupied this place since the 25th of February, 1799. His department has been chiefly observations in right ascensions, registered regularly in the transit-book. Nearly the whole of the observations and reductions contained in it, during twenty years have been made by him, and that with a success and attention highly satisfactory to all concerned ; and they have been eminently conducive to the establishment of the longitude of the observatory.

* See p, 450, for the other endowments of the observatory.

THE DEANERY.

NORTH-EASTWARD of the observatory, but in its immediate neighbourhood, is the deanery, a rural habitation, chiefly remarkable for having been, for a long series of years, the residence of the learned and celebrated Dr. Hugh Hamilton—an eminent theologian, natural philosopher, and mathematician. This gentleman, who was born in the county of Dublin, on the 26th of March, 1729, was educated in Trinity College, Dublin, of which he was elected a fellow in 1751, and in 1759, chosen Erasmus Smith's professor of natural philosophy. In 1764, he accepted a college living—in 1767, became rector of St. Ann's, Dublin—in 1768, dean of Armagh—in 1796, bishop of Clonfert—and finally, in 1799, was translated to the see of Ossory.* In 1772, he married Miss Wood, an Irish lady, of good family.

The works of Dr. Hamilton will be read with deep interest by men of science, as long as the love of literature shall exist. His admirable Treatise "*De Sectionibus Conicis*," was printed in 1758, and immediately established his fame as a mathematician.

In 1809. Dr. Hamilton's works, most of which had been previously printed in distinct volumes, were collected and edited by his son, in two volumes, octavo, the first of which comprised his Treatise on Conic Sections—the second, "An Attempt to prove the Existence and Absolute Perfection of the Supreme, Unoriginated Being, in a demonstrative manner"—"An Essay on the Permission of Evil"—three philosophic essays on the Ascent of Vapours, the Aurora Borealis, and the Principles of Mechanics—"Remarks and Hints on the Improvement of Barometers"—"On the Power of fixed Alkaline Salts to preserve Flesh from Putrefaction"—and four introductory Lectures on Natural Philosophy.

* Chalmers.

The Essay on the Existence and Attributes of the Deity, and that on the Permission of Evil, were written during Dr. Hamilton's residence at Armagh. The former, which was printed in Dublin, in 1784, contains an admirable introduction, in which the arguments used by preceding writers, on the subject discussed, are copiously detailed and judiciously reviewed. In demonstrating the Existence and Attributes of the Deity, Dr. Hamilton makes no other assumption than that of the simple axiom, "that whatever is contingent, or might possibly have been other than it is, had some cause to determine it to be what it is." On the important subject which he discusses, his arguments are certainly more conclusive and more legitimate, than those of Dr. Clarke, or any other preceding author. His lectures on natural philosophy, written in discharge of his duty, as Erasmus Smith's professor, &c. were studied by the undergraduates of Trinity College, with considerable advantage, being remarkable for their simplicity, conciseness and perspicuity. In the death of this learned, benevolent, and pious prelate, which took place on the 1st of December, 1805, the church of Ireland and the republic of letters sustained an incalculable loss.

THE NEW SESSIONS-HOUSE.

THIS building, which was erected in the year 1809, is situated a little to the north-west of the public walks, now denominated "The Mall." Thus situated, it is seen to considerable advantage, and has a striking effect. It is built with hewn limestone, with a handsome portico in front; but as the reader will find an accurate print of it on the opposite page, we shall merely add, that the interior is spacious and elegant.

The sessions-house is totally separate from the gaol, which stands on the opposite or south side of the public walks. Prior to the building of the present county

prison, in the year 1780, the old gaol consisted of a dismal suite of subterraneous apartments, directly under the sessions-house, which was situated at the foot of Market-street. A flight of stone stairs led down to these gloomy caverns, where debtors and felons suffered a kind of semi-inhumation. Hence in the middle of the last century, when the grave citizens would forebode the fate of any idle or dissolute townsman, they would say, "He will go down the nine steps," and when their predictions were verified, the town schoolmaster, Mr. Maclean, would sagely shake his head and exclaim—

*"Facilis descensus Averni
Sed revocare gradum superasque evadere ad auras
Hoc opus hic labor est."*

The wards of this doleful dungeon were not only arched over with heavy and solid mason work, abutted in front and rear on walls of seven feet thickness, but encircled and completely secured with a kind of massy reticulated iron work, through whose interstices a mouse, perhaps a rat, (but nothing larger,) might have crept. Here, in a kind of "darkness visible," the unhappy inmates sighed away their hours. Balls were sometimes held in the sessions-house, directly over the dungeon in which the condemned felons were deeply immured in solitary confinement. Above, all was harmony and joy. Below, were the horrors of remorse and sorrow, allied to despair—tears which none but God could behold, and groans of unutterable anguish, which he and the unhappy sufferers alone could hear.

The old gaol and sessions-house had been damaged by fire in 1704.—A curious extract from the Gentleman's Magazine, which the reader will find in the subjoined note, will satisfactorily ascertain the time when it was rebuilt.*

*"About the latter end of August last, at an assizes held at Armagh for the county of Armagh, one Mackin was condemned for cow-stealing. The day before his execution, he gave public notice that it would be worth people's while to come ten miles to see him at the gallows, and hear what he had to say. Upon his mounting the ladder and viewing the gallows, he said,

The present gaol is situated at the foot of Barrack-street, eastward of the church. It is a neat, strong and roomy building, with two well enclosed back-yards annexed, in which the prisoners are allowed occasional exercise. Considerable additions are now making to this edifice, and an hospital for the sick and convalescent is almost completed. The great increase of population and the pressure of the times have rendered this measure absolutely necessary. Flagitious acts are now more

'Hah! am I come to you at last?' and then, turning to the people, 'Pray, gentlemen, do not crowd each other. The farthest off shall hear me as plain as the nearest.' Then he began—'Gentlemen, I have been guilty of every crime except murder.'—Here he was interrupted.—'Pray, Mr. Mackin,' says one, 'do you know any thing of my mare?' 'Suppose I do,' says he, 'will you pay for one mass for my soul?' 'I will, by G—,' says the fellow, 'for seven.' 'Promise again,' says Mackin; and the other did so. 'Why then,' said he, laughing, 'I know nothing at all of your mare.'—Says another, 'Pray, Mr. Mackin, do you know any thing of my heifer?' 'Yes,' says he. 'Pray, then, what is become of her?' 'I took her to Middleton,' said Mackin—'I knocked her on the head—I sold the skin—the beef was very good—I sold it at a good rate—and I put the money in my pocket. After this, gentlemen, as little as you think, I stole half a dozen of wethers near this town, and drove them through the midst of it.'—One asked whether any of the Bishop of Kilmore's sheep were among them? 'Yes,' said he, 'and they were the best mutton I ever handled.' Then, turning to the people—'Pray, gentlemen, are any of you acquainted with that pretty gentleman that oversees the building of our new gaol?' One answered, 'You mean Mr. Lappington, I suppose?' 'No! no! a prettier fellow than he.'—'Mr. Boyle, then?'—'Aye! aye! Mr. Boyle. Pray present my service to him, and tell him, I beg he will give me this night's lodging—it is the last I shall trouble him for!' Then, turning to the sheriff, he said 'will you give me leave to step down * * * *?' 'No,' said he, 'I cannot now grant you that favour.'—'Well,' said Mackin, 'I am sure of going to heaven, for the priest gave me absolution yesterday.' Upon which, he was turned off, bidding the sheriff farewell. The criminal's mother, above seventy years old, was present when her son was cut down. She went to Dr. Sheridan's house to beg towards a winding-sheet for her son. Some persons there contributed on the occasion. It was delivered to the old woman by a young gentleman. She was so elated at her success, that, after giving her thanks and blessing, she said, 'My poor Johnny always had good luck!'—*Gentleman's Mag. vol. v p. 557, Sep 1735.*

The author of this work, at a very early period of his life heard some old men speak of Mackin's execution. Till the middle of the eighteenth century, it was customary for the sheriff and the *posse comitatus* to accompany the convicts, who were to be executed, to the gallows. The crowd appeared armed with long staves or clubs. They then formed into a kind of square divisions and proceeded, with the unhappy criminals, to the Gallows-hill, now a part of the primate's demesne. As they marched forward, they rattled their staves together in a terrific kind of concert. On this particular occasion, when Mackin made his appearance, he viewed the assembled crowd with a very complacent look. 'Welcome,' said he, 'ladies and gentlemen, to the sport; but you could have had no fun till I came.'

frequently perpetrated, both in England and Ireland, than during the greater part of the last century. Perhaps the county of Armagh partakes as little of this general deterioration of morals as any other district in the empire. Yet, even here, crimes, which a century ago, would have excited general astonishment and horror, have lost their appalling novelty. Men of feeling, indeed, still shudder, but are not amazed, at the commission of such daring and illicit acts.*

The curate of the established church, the Presbyterian minister, and the Roman Catholic priest of the parish, are the regularly appointed chaplains to the gaol, which is inspected by the Rev. William Ball.

A little north-eastward of the new gaol, are the barracks, which are capable of accommodating 800 men. They stand on elevated ground, in an airy and healthy situation. Part of the grand front is concealed from view by a range of lower buildings, which has been injudiciously erected for the soldiers. Yet the edifice has a pleasing effect, and adds something to the beauty of the surrounding scenery.

A regiment of infantry is usually stationed at Armagh. The former barracks, which stood near the site of the present gaol, were built about the year 1737, but were long in ruins.

THE COUNTY INFIRMARY.

THIS handsome, roomy and convenient edifice is situated a little to the north-west of the cathedral, at the junction of Abbey-street and Callan-street. The original estimate of the expense for completing the building was £2,150. Subscriptions and donations were

* We do not mean to insinuate that crimes have increased in the county of Armagh in the same ratio as in England, where the morals of the lower orders of the people have undergone a most rapid and lamentable change for the worse.

commenced in 1766, to effect the intended object. Primate Robinson, Sir William Robinson,* and Henry Meredyth, Esq. gave each 100 guineas—Lady Primrose, £150—General Graham, £119 19s. 3d.—the late Lord Gosford, £84 2s. 6d.—and fifty-eight gentlemen subscribed 20 guineas each. In 1767, a house was taken in Armagh, and used as an hospital, whilst the county infirmary was preparing for the reception of patients. A misunderstanding, which took place betwixt the patrons of the institution and the architect, prevented this from being completely effected, till October, 1774. At that period, it contained but fourteen beds, eight of which were appropriated to male, four to female patients, and two were reserved for such persons as might sustain bodily injury from sudden accidents. Fifty-nine intern, and one hundred and seventy-seven extern patients, were then relieved in the course of each current year. In 1806, the infirmary contained sixteen beds, but at present there are twenty-two, which are constantly occupied. This establishment comprises in itself all the advantages of a surgical hospital, a dispensary, and a vaccinary institution. The average number of intern patients, who have of late received surgical aid,

* The primate's elder brother, Sir William Robinson, though somewhat whimsical, "was a man of the mildest and most amiable qualities. Though perfectly unlike his athletic brother in form and constitution a feeble, infirm man, and a real valetudinarian, yet he followed step by step the same regimen, observed the same diet, took the same physic, swallowed the same number of rhubarb pills, and fought off the bile with raw eggs and mutton broth, mixed up with Muscavado sugar, and although this system did not seem by any means suited to his constitution, yet, being adopted by his brother, he was convinced of its being the best and wisest of all possible systems, and faithfully adhered to it. This good man carried his devotion so far as to form many articles of his wearing apparel upon the same scale with those which the primate wore. This was inconvenient enough in all conscience, and in some cases the disproportion was not a little ridiculous, particularly in the article of shoes, which he piqued himself upon having made upon the same last with the primate's, who, besides being a colossal man, studied his ease by far too much to cramp his feet. My friend, in the meantime, who with the pleasing consciousness of putting on the same fraternal shoe, had not by many degrees the same foot to put into that enormous case, was fain to shove it on before him like a boat on dry land; and indeed it was a boat of such size and burden, that the man, who wore it, ought by anatomical proportion to have been a Hercules *ex pede*,"—*Memoirs of Richard Cumberland*, vol. ii. p. 356.

is about one hundred and sixty, per annum. The extern and dispensary patients amount to about three thousand. These are supplied with medicine twice in the week, viz. from eleven till two o'clock, on each Tuesday and Saturday. The poor, who receive accidental hurts, have access to the infirmary at all times, without recommendation, and about three hundred and fifty of these sufferers are relieved per annum. The surgeon possesses a discretionary power of receiving those who may have been dangerously injured, into the infirmary. Many children are vaccinated here; trusses are given to Hernious patients; and the whole system is conducted with the most exemplary attention and regularity.

The philanthropist, Howard, intimates, that in his time, the surgeon's apartments and the wards were spacious; but the patients at first lay in a kind of boxes or cupboards, which were close and inconvenient.*

Under the care of the present very able surgeon, great improvements have been effected in the internal arrangements of the institution. A wall, too, which had extended along the front of the house, and prevented the free circulation of the air, has been removed, at his suggestion, and handsome iron palisadoes substituted in its place. The patients are now supplied with well-aired apartments, and most humanely treated. There are an apothecary to the institution, a house-keeper, a cook, two nurse-tenders, a man, who acts as porter and gardener, and a clerk to regulate the house-keeper's accounts. The total annual expense is between £700 and £800, of which £200 are levied off the county—£100 a year are granted by parliament—and the remainder consists of interest of money, donations, and annual subscriptions. The governorst hold quarterly meetings. The accounts are inspected by them at the end of each year,

* Howard on Lazarettoes, vol. ii. p. 99.

† The following persons are the present governors of the institution:—His Grace the Most Rev. Dr. William Stuart, Primate of all Ireland; Earls Farnham, Caledon, Gosford, Charlemont; Viscount Lifford. Sir Capel Molyneux, Sir James Stronge, Sir Walter Synott, Count De Salis,

and transmitted to the office of impost accounts, Dublin, for further examination.

The donor of twenty guineas to the institution, is entitled to be a governor for life—annual subscribers pay three guineas each.

A double annual subscription (six guineas) is paid by the parish of Armagh, which enables the church-wardens to recommend patients, but not to act as governors.—The Benevolent Society in Armagh subscribes, which empowers the secretary or treasurer to recommend its members for relief to the hospital.

The infirmary surgeon must, under the present regulation, belong to the Dublin college of surgeons, who examine the candidates for admission into their body, with almost unparralleled strictness.

Joseph Shewbridge, Esq. was elected surgeon on the 8th of August, 1767—Michael Whyte, Esq. on the 6th of April, 1776—Richard Daniel, Esq. on the 12th of January, 1788—Joseph Barclay, Esq. the present surgeon, on the 31st of July, 1806.

THE LIBRARY.

THE Library, founded by Primate Robinson,* is a very handsome edifice, situated near the infirmary, in Abbey-street, a little to the north-west of the cathedral. It

the Rev. S. Blacker, Rev. Archdeacon W. Bissett, Rev. Dr. Woodward, Rev. Dr. Stewart, Rev. Francis Gervais, Rev. John Cleland, Rev. Silver Oliver, Rev. James Tisdall, Rev. J. E. Jackson, Rev. W. Robinson, Rev. T. Quinn, Rev. William Lodge, Rev. Charles Atkinson, Rev. John Jephson, Rev. Richard Allot, Rev. William Barker, Rev. William Ball, Rev. Richard Olpherts, Rev. James Campbell, LL.D. Rev. Samuel Blacker, Rev. Wm. Davenport, D.D. Rev. Alexander H. Ryan; Major Close, James Verner, Esq. William Richardson, Esq. M. P. Charles Brownlow, Esq. M. P. N. A. Cope, Esq. Colonel Archdall, General Molyneux, Counsellor Hamilton, Major Thornton, James Johnston, Esq. Walter M'Geough, Esq. James Dawson, Esq. John Maxwell, Esq. William Irwin, Esq. Arthur Noble, Esq. Arthur I. Kelly, Esq. Robert M'Kew, Esq. William Parnel Hayes, Esq. Arthur J. Macan, Esq. John Moore, Esq. Mr. Thomas Greer, merchant, Mrs. Richardson, Mrs. Ogle, Mrs. Obins, Miss Hewett, Miss Close.

* See p. 409 of this work.

was completed in the year 1771, as appears from the date annexed to the motto, inscribed on the front of the building, in Greek characters—

TO THE ΨΥΧΗΣ ΙΑΤΡΕΙΟΝ

αΨόα.

Lord Rokeby not only granted to this institution a liberal endowment for the salary of the librarians, the repairs of the house, and the purchase of books, but presented it with a highly valuable collection of ancient and modern works, in every branch of literature.

The building contains a suite of convenient and excellent apartments for the accommodation of the librarian and his family. The room in which the books are chiefly arranged, is forty-five feet in length, twenty-five in breadth, and twenty in height. It is light, airy, commodious, and in every respect well adapted to the object in view. There is also a gallery, which contains many valuable works.

There are about 12,000 volumes in the library; but the number is continually augmenting by new purchases.

In THEOLOGY, the collection of books is very extensive, particularly in the department relating to biblical criticism, to which material additions have been lately made. The voluminous works of the FATHERS, of which there is a complete set, occupy a considerable space in the reading-room.

There are here a great number of good editions of the most important CLASSIC AUTHORS, and the collection of lexicographic writings is copious. That of the ancient grammarians seems rather deficient. The library contains many valuable and curious TRAVELS, such as Sir John Chardin's works—Pococke, with plates. Here inquisitive readers may find "*Purchas, his Pilgrimes*," (a scarce work,) with *the frontispiece*, which most of the copies extant do not contain, and on which book-collectors set a very high value.

IN HISTORY, particular that relating to Great Britain and Ireland, the collection is, perhaps, more copious than in any other department of literature. In books relating to science it is rather deficient; but by no means so in those which treat of the arts. Amongst the scarce volumes deposited here, the amateurs of ancient printing will find one exceedingly curious and difficult of attainment, viz. a work of Gerson, chancellor of the university of Paris, printed at Strasburg, in the year 1488, by Joannes de Westphalia. The most ancient Bible, which we have been able to discover in the Armagh library, is a Latin Bible with a Concordance, printed on the 24th of July, 1521, at Lyons, with singularly fanciful engravings at the head of the chapters.

Here also are "Rymer's Fœdera"—almost all Dugdale's works—"Thesaurus Antiquitatum Græcarum et Romanarum, Grævii"—Strype's works—"The Variorum Classics"—"Poetæ Græci Principes Henrici Stephani," &c. &c.

There are some manuscripts in the great public room, to which every reader may have access. But there are other writings and books in the library, which, under Primate Robinson's will, cannot be submitted to public inspection. These were committed by him to the care of the governors and librarian of the institution, in trust, for the use of each successive primate for the time being, to whom alone he devised a power of perusing them. This singular restriction excited much curiosity amongst literary men and others, who formed various conjectures as to the nature of the manuscripts, &c. thus withheld from general examination. Baron Rokeby was a man of liberal mind, and by no means averse from the general diffusion of knowledge; it is, therefore, highly probable that the documents in question relate to certain title deeds and muniments of the see, &c. and not to any department of literature.

The hours of attendance at the library are, from eleven till two o'clock, on Mondays, Tuesdays, Thurs-

days and Saturdays—from one till three, on Wednesdays and Fridays, on which days divine service is celebrated in the cathedral. The written rules, generally subscribed by readers who frequent the room, are liberal and judicious. Each subscriber may have the loan of such books as he may wish to peruse in his own habitation, on depositing, *pro tempore*, twice their value, in the hands of the librarian, as a security for their return.

The first librarian appointed by his grace, Primate Robinson himself, was the Rev. William Lodge, L.L.D. chancellor of Armagh cathedral, a man of extensive learning and considerable talents, of whom we have already spoken in this work. After his decease, the Rev. Richard Allott, A. M. and fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, was nominated his successor, by our present excellent metropolitan. Under his care, the general stock of books is rapidly increasing, and improvements are daily making in the theological and classic departments.

The deputy librarian, Mr. David Hamilton, one of the vicars choral, is remarkable for the regularity of his attendance at the institution, and for the obliging promptness with which he procures the books required by the different readers who are in the habit of studying in the room.

By the 13th and 14th Geo. III. c. 40, the public library, with its appurtenances, and ten acres of land situated in Lisanally, &c. were vested in trustees, for the uses recited in the statute. The trustees were, his grace the lord primate, the members of the dean and chapter, for the time being, and their respective successors, who were constituted a body corporate, and appointed governors and guardians of the library, with power to take free gifts for its benefit and support. They are also authorized to make rules for the better management of the institution, which the librarian is bound to fulfil

under pain of suspension, or, in case of seven days' obstinate disobedience, total removal. Another may then be appointed in his place, by the archbishop,* &c.

THE DRELINCOURT CHARITY-SCHOOL.

THIS establishment derives its origin from the benevolence of Mrs. Mary Drelincourt, (widow of Dr. Peter Drelincourt,) who assigned various sums of money to the Right Hon. Marmaduke Coghill, for the purpose of erecting an eleemosynary school, where twenty boys and twenty girls, children of the poor, were to have been religiously educated, and taught useful employments and regular habits of industry. The institution was endowed with £90 per annum by its humane founder.† In consequence of this very liberal act, a meeting of the sovereign, burgesses, and commonalty of the city of Armagh, was held on the 25th of September, 1738, and a grant was made by them of the Irish-street commons, to the Rev. Dr. Henry Jenney, rector of Armagh, in aid of Mrs. Drelincourt's charitable donation. On the 30th of September, 1738, the commonalty met separately to direct that the common seal of the corporation should be affixed to the deed. This transfer was ratified by the primate, and the land thus assigned for the site of the school and the accommodation of the teachers,

* It seems obvious that Primate Robinson, in founding, at Armagh, various literary institutions, had in contemplation the establishment of a national university in that city, and, therefore, judiciously provided for their continuance by acts of parliament. With this view, he appears to have procured a statute, 31st Geo. III. c. 46, "for settling and preserving an OBSERVATORY and MUSEUM in the city of Armagh for ever," which empowered his grace to endow it with lands. This statute also incorporated the primate, the dean and chapter, &c. into a body politic, not only to act as guardians of the institution, but to receive gifts for its benefit, not exceeding £300 per annum, and to make rules for its good government, which the astronomer is bound to obey, under pain of suspension, and removal, if obstinate. The statute requires that the Armagh astronomer shall obtain a certificate from the astronomer royal of England, which is to be entered in the registry of the corporation.

† Label in the chapter-room of Armagh cathedral; and see "Proceedings of the Incorporated Society," p. 35, from Feb. 6, 1733, till March 5, 1768.

&c. amounted to twenty acres. Experience, however, eventually proved that the funds were quite inadequate to the support and education of forty children, and it was found necessary to reduce the number to twenty. On this account, the society for erecting and promoting English Protestant schools, undertook the management of the establishment, at the request of the primate, about the year 1758, and the number of pupils was again increased to forty. The house, which is situated in Charter-school-lane, south-west of the cathedral, contains convenient apartments for the teacher, and is roomy and well adapted to the object in view. It is separated from the street by an enclosed court; but its external appearance is rather inelegant and gloomy.

The 13th report of the board of education, printed in 1812, gives the subjoined account of this institution.

“Drelincourt’s charity-school, which is situated in the town of Armagh, was founded in the year, 1732, by the widow of Dean Drelincourt. The present income of the school is as follows:—

An annuity, payable by the Marquis of Downshire, and which was the original endowment left by Mrs Drelincourt, ...	97	10	0
One hundred and six acres, two roods, and thirty-five perches, at one guinea per acre, of the townlands of Legumin, in the county of Tyrone, granted under a renewable lease, by Primate Robinson, in trust for the school, to the dean and chapter of Armagh, and of which lease ten or twelve years are unexpired. ...	121	7	10
A profit rent, received for half the school-house, and seven acres of land, held by S. Moore, farmer, by lease for seven years, from November, 1806, ...	34	2	6
A profit rent for a farm of five acres, one rood, and eighteen perches, at the rate of four guineas per acre, held by lease for ten years, from the 1st of November, 1810, being the unexpired term of the interest of the dean and chapter in the lands, ...	24	8	9
A profit rent for three acres and seventeen perches, held by the Rev. Mr. Cleland, tenant at will, ...	13	15	0
	291	2	1
And subject to two annuities, of about £7 each, to the poor of the parishes of Armagh and Clonfeele, and head rents, which amount altogether to ...	24	1	8
Net income, ...	£267	0	5

“The school-house, which was originally built for the accommodation of forty boarders, being more than sufficiently spacious for the accommodation of the pre-

sent number in the school, has been divided into two tenements, one of which is set as already stated. There are at present seventeen female children in the school, who are lodged, clothed, and dieted: they are orphans, or the children of the poor in Armagh, and are received at any age between eight and ten, and continue for five years in the establishment: they are brought up in the established religion, and taught reading, spelling, and needle-works, and to plat straw; and the produce of the sale of their works is stated to be about £40 per annum: they are apprenticed as servants or to trades, but in general as the former. There is a school-mistress, at a salary of £20 per annum, and an occasional gratuity of £10; a master attends three times in the week to teach the children accounts; their religious instruction is carefully attended to by the curate of Armagh, the Rev. William Ball; and altogether this charity is well and most carefully conducted."

There are now twenty female pupils under the present teacher, Mrs. Colburn. The primate and the rector of the parish act as trustees of the charity, and the officiating curate as superintendant of the school.

THE CLASSICAL SCHOOL.

THIS institution is to be classed amongst the free schools of royal foundation. By a grant executed on the 15th of December, 1627, King Charles I. vested in Archbishop James Ussher, and his successors, the lands of Mocullenowtra, Lisballyvally, Ballymore, (alias Mullymore,) Ballybottyn, Cornegrallagh, and Kincon, in the precincts of Orier, in the county of Armagh. This tract, which was supposed to have contained 750 acres, was to have been held by the primate, in trust for the support of a master, who was to have conducted and presided over a free school at Mountnorris; but Armagh was eventually deemed a more eligible situation for such an institution, as we have already stated in page 366.

By the 12th of Geo. I. c. 9, sec. 6, the primate was empowered to set the lands, for any term not exceeding twenty-one years, at the improved rent reserved to him and his successors, in trust for the master.* And by the 11th and 12th Geo. III. c. 17, sec. 12 and 13, this power was revived and made perpetual; but the rent was to be at least three-fourths of the true value, at the lessee's peril. By the 1st of Geo. II. the archbishop was authorized to appoint, by his certificate, part of the lands belonging to any free school, for the residence and demesne lands of the master, who was to be paid by his successor for any improvements he might make on the premises, in a similar manner, and in the same proportion, as improving rectors are to be remunerated by the succeeding incumbents of their respective parishes, &c.†

Under these acts, the lands, amounting, by accurate survey, to 1530 acres, English measure, including roads, lakes, rivers, and about 100 acres of bog,‡ have been set, at different times, by the archbishops of Armagh. In 1804, they produced the gross annual rent of £1144 10s. 5½d.§ in 1818, £1402 11s. 1d.

The present school-house is situated a little southward of the observatory. It is separated from the great Castledillon road by a quadrangular court, in front of which a portico of considerable length extends along the highway, and communicates with two distinct, convenient and roomy dwelling-houses, appropriated to the use of the master, his family and the students. Thus the court is completely enclosed by these dwelling-houses, the portico and the school-house itself, in the rear of which there is a spacious play-ground, surrounded by a well built wall, of considerable height, and here the boys are permitted to exercise, for health and recreation, in the intervals of study.

* The master's consent testified, either by his being a witness or a party to the indenture, is necessary to its perfection, and there is a proviso "that there should be no other lease in being, which should not expire within one year after the making of such leases."

† See said acts.

‡ Report of the Board of Education.

§ Ibid.

The buildings belonging to the institution, which were completed in the year 1774, cost £5,078, of which £3,000 were advanced by Primate Robinson, and £2,078 by the reverend and venerable Arthur Grueber, D. D.* They are extensive and well adapted to academical purposes; but as the dwelling-houses front each other, and are, in a great measure, concealed from view by the portico and school-house, those parts which are visible in the adjacent country, are seen to great disadvantage. It is, indeed, difficult to find edifices so well constructed and so extensive, which excite so little interest in the mind of the spectator, when merely considered as architectural objects. The apartments, however, are airy, convenient and healthy, and the surrounding atmosphere is remarkably salubrious.

The school-room is fifty-six feet by twenty-eight,† and the dining-room and dormitories are spacious and well ventilated. One hundred boarders can be comfortably

* Dr. Grueber had claims on his successor for the money expended in building the master's house, amounting to £1,078; and for the additional £1,000 which he expended, he procured a trust lease to be made for his benefit. When he retired and resigned this lease, in 1786, Mr Carpendale granted him an annuity of £200 per annum, which he afterwards purchased from him in the year 1792, for £2,000 ‡—We have already stated, that prior to the building of this seminary, the school was held in a part of the old Culdean abbey, till the year 1774. We have not been able to procure a correct account of the series of masters who presided over the institution. It is certain that they often permitted other classic teachers to open schools in the city, such as Mr. David Maclean, &c. It is said that early in the 17th century, a Mister Starkey kept an academy in Armagh, and it is unquestionable that a schoolmaster of that name, and a man of good family and parts, who resided there, was drowned by the insurgents in the year 1742, being then above 100 years of age.§—Mr. Carpendale removed from the free school of Carrickmacross to Armagh, in the year 1786—Dr. Grueber, from Athlone, in the diocese of Meath, to Armagh, A. D. 1754, and retired in 1786. His immediate predecessor was the Rev. Mr. Carthy, prior to whose establishment at Armagh, the school was under the care of Mr. Martin, a man of learning and talents. It is said that Martin, who was a very remarkable linguist, possessed certain peculiarities of temper, which had excited the displeasure of some clerical gentlemen of high authority, who had endeavoured to remove him from his situation as master of the free school. Some of his pupils, however, who had attained great political influence at court, introduced him to the king, whom he addressed in the German and Latin languages, which he spoke with fluency, and his majesty was so pleased with his eloquence, that he afforded him his decided protection.

† Young's Tour vol. ii. p. 159.

‡ Report of the Board of Education.

§ Temple.—Examination of Robert Maxwell, p. 114.

accommodated in this seminary, and in the general school-room or academy there is space sufficient for that number, with the addition of thirty day scholars.

It is truly stated in the Report of the Board of Education, that "*no school in this country maintains a higher reputation than that of Armagh.*" In the university, the bar, the pulpit, and the senate, many pupils of the late Dr. Arthur Grueber, and of the Rev. Thomas Carpendale have been conspicuous for knowledge, talents and integrity. Their predecessor, Mr. Carthy,* was a man of most extensive learning and piety, whose worth is yet treasured in the memory of his surviving contemporaries.

We have never known a man of more correct classic taste, or of more pure and benevolent heart, than Dr. Arthur Grueber. He was, indeed, an erudite scholar—a finished gentleman—a genuine Christian.† During a period of thirty-two years, in which he resided in Armagh, the urbanity and gentleness of his manners, and the active virtues which ennobled his character, had so conciliated the love and esteem of its inhabitants, that his removal from the place, in the year 1786, was lamented as a kind of general calamity. When this venerated teacher had almost arrived at the hundredth year of his useful life, he revisited the city, and multitudes of the people, as if with one accord, came forth from their respective habitations, and greeted him in the streets with the strongest marks of affection and of joy. To Mr. Carpendale's abilities and laudable attentions to the duties of his school, the board of education has borne the most honourable testimony, and his pupils, conscious of the inestimable benefits which they had derived from his instruction, have recorded their just sense of his merits, in a manner worthy of themselves and of their preceptor. Since his decease, the institution has been placed under the superintendence of the

* He translated Longinus.

† The author had the honour of being educated by this revered preceptor.

Rev. George Miller, D. D. lately a fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, and author of a well known and very valuable work, "The Philosophy of History." Under his care, the school fully maintains the high character which it had gained by the talents and industry of his predecessor.*

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHAPEL.

THIS edifice is situated south-eastward of the cathedral, near the spot where Temple Brigid formerly stood. It was built in an enclosure off Chapel-lane, which forms the direct line of communication betwixt Castle-street and Ogle-street. The ground on which it was erected was, in part, the property of the Annesley family, to whose ancestor it had been transferred by King James I. on the 9th of January, 1618.† The Roman Catholics, however, derived their title under a lease made on the 2d of December, 1750, by Thomas Conroy,‡ of the city of Dublin, to Messrs. Henry Whittington, Arthur O'Neill, Pierce Maguire, John Quinn, Robert Jones, Edward Whittington, and Edward Savage, for a term of thirty-one years, at two guineas per annum. Shortly after the perfecting of this indenture, the chapel was built. After the expiration of the lease, the tenement continued to be held under Thomas Campbell, in whom Conroy's title then vested. In 1806, the lease of the Rev. Mr. Martin, chief tenant for the premises to the Earl of Anglesey, expired, and the Annesley property was purchased, in 1799, by Leonard Dobbin, Esq. who generously granted a lease of the chapel, for 999 years, at 5d. per annum, to the Rev. Raymond O'Hanlon, D.D.

* There are four classic assistants—a writing master—a French master, &c. Terms:—For boarders, forty guineas—day scholars, eight guineas per annum.

† See p. 511 of this work.

‡ He was a sub-tenant of the Annesleys' representatives.

Messrs. Charles Whittington, Richard Whittington, Dennis M'Kee, Charles Cavanagh and James Gribbin, in trust for the Roman Catholics of the parish of Armagh, who, in gratitude for this liberal act, presented their benefactor with a silver cup, value £50, and an appropriate address of thanks. Another portion of the premises on which the chapel was built, belonged to Thomas Ogle, Esq. who granted it, during his own tenure, to the Roman Catholics of the parish, gratuitously. About the year 1799, Ogle-street became partly the property of Messrs. William and James Cochran, and these liberal gentlemen made a renewable lease of their interest in the chapel tenement, to the trustees of the congregation, at a barley-corn rent. For this act of kindness, the Roman Catholics of the parish returned public thanks to the donors, in a grateful and energetic address, and presented each of them with a silver cup.

The chapel has been greatly enlarged and improved within these few years. The roof is triple, as if constructed for three distinct houses, and has a singular appearance; but the entire building has a pleasing effect to the view. The very Rev. Patrick Byrne, D. D. Roman Catholic dean of Armagh, presides over the congregation which assembles here. This gentleman, a native of the county of Tyrone, was educated at Paris, and having graduated there, was appointed superior of the Irish seminary at Nantz. After many years, he returned to Ireland, and officiated as a parish priest, first in the neighbourhood of Aughnacloy, and afterwards near Dungannon. He was subsequently chosen president or principal of the college of Maynooth, where he resided about five years, and fulfilled the duties of his office in a manner creditable to himself and advantageous to his pupils. He then removed to Armagh, where he succeeded the very Rev. Raymond O Hanlon, D. D. a most liberal, pious, humane, hospitable and learned divine.

Dr. Byrne preaches to a very large, and very respectable congregation. His chapel, though capable of containing a multitude of people, is excessively crowded on Sundays; and it frequently happens that numbers of his hearers are unable to gain admission, and are obliged to worship in the open air. The Roman Catholic inhabitants of the parish of Armagh, unlike those of Killeavy, &c. can all speak the English language fluently.* They are remarkably fond of their spiritual pastors, on whose superintending care they place the utmost reliance; and are in general a peaceable, well conducted, and devout body of people.

THE CHAPEL OF EASE.

A NEW church, or chapel of ease, has been lately erected by his grace, the most Rev. Dr. William Stuart, near the public walks, to the eastward of the cathedral. It stands on an eminence fronting the city, and forms a conspicuously beautiful object. There is a chasteness

* From a very singular cause, the aboriginal Irish have latterly made great progress in attaining a certain degree of knowledge in the English tongue. Bank notes are now used as the current money of the country, and as they form the common medium of business, the people are necessitated to make themselves acquainted with every thing relating to this paper money. Thus they are obliged to inquire—1st, From what bank have the notes which they are passing or receiving issued?—2d, Is the bank solvent?—3d, Are the notes genuine or forged?—4th, What is the amount of each?—5th, Are they under a discount, or can they be passed at par?—6th, Have they the water mark, and are they rightly stamped, spelled, signed, witnessed and endorsed?—7th, Are they payable to bearer, or to order, and when are they due? &c. &c. To investigate these points, requires some knowledge of the English language, which the people are, therefore, anxious to attain.

Since we have incidentally glanced at the language spoken in the neighbourhood of Armagh, we may be permitted to add, that the accent used there is, in point of musical intonation, a mean betwixt the spurious Scottish dialect of the county of Antrim, in which the voice rises at the end of each sentence nearly a note higher than that with which it commenced; and the southern recitative, or descending tones, denominated *the brogue*. About Lurgan, the accent is more pure than in any other part of Ireland. In general, the English language is spoken grammatically in the county of Armagh. There are, however, some curious anomalies. Thus, *exempli gratia*, many of the inhabitants of this district say—"These are good broth—these are good soup—whose owe that hat—whose owe these gloves, &c."

and correctness in the design, and a harmony in the parts of this edifice, highly agreeable to the spectator, and the effect is heightened by the very vivid colour of the hewn, calcareous stone, with which it is constructed. Perhaps the addition of a spire to the tower, which ornaments the church, might have rendered it a more complete and finished piece of architecture.*

A numerous and highly respectable congregation attends the celebration of divine service in this new church; though the mind cannot there be gratified with the noble compositions of Handel,† whose exalted strains so often fill the old cathedral with sublimest harmony. There is, however, a choir of girls who attend the chapel of ease, and sing the poetic compositions of the royal Hebrew bard, with simple, but pleasing melody.—These females are educated at a school established at the deanery, by the benevolent Lady Lifford, where they are trained to industry, virtue and religion. There are many who prefer the vocal strains of such artless choristers, to the most rich and complicated harmony, and indeed no instrument has yet been devised which,

* By the 7th of Geo. III. c 17, the primate is empowered to erect new churches on the ancient sites, in the parish of Armagh, and a new one in the city and liberties, to be perpetual cures, and to have benefit of acts of encouragement, and £100 from first fruits, &c.

† Many of the anthems which are performed in the cathedral are selected from Handel's works, for which the present organist, Mr. F. W. Horncastle, as well as his predecessors, doctors Jones and Clarke, and Mr. Langdon, seem to have entertained a strong and well-founded predilection. Yet some objections may be made to the church music composed by that eminent master, inasmuch as it is sometimes discordant with the meaning of the passages for which it was written. Thus, *exempli gratia*, in an anthem which comprises the following sentences, taken from the psalmist, the sentiments of David and the music of Handel are both sublime; but the rhythmus of the latter does not correspond with the emphasis necessary for the true enunciation of the former;—

“Who is the King of Glory? The Lord God of Hosts; he is the King of Glory.”—In singing this sublime interrogatory and response, the emphasis is unnaturally laid on the verb *is*: thus—“Who *is* the King of Glory? The Lord God of Hosts; he *is* the King of Glory.” As the question and answer are often repeated, the impression made on the mind of the hearer is, that the respondents are warmly maintaining the claim of the Deity to preeminence in glory, which the querists seem obstinately to doubt. Thus the music and the sense of the passage are at variance, and the meaning is sacrificed to the sound.

in soft and silvery tone, can rival woman's voice, nor make such instantaneous and lasting impressions on the human heart.

THE TONTINE.

THIS spacious and handsome building, which is situated in English-street, is private property, but is occasionally rendered applicable to public purposes. It contains an extensive ball-room, with a convenient and well planned suite of apartments. In one of these, on the ground floor, the inhabitants of the city have established a news-room, which is well supported by a considerable number of very respectable subscribers. No theatre has yet been erected in Armagh; but when comedians occasionally visit the town, and perform in such houses as they can procure, they receive very great encouragement and support.

The shambles, built by Primate Robinson, in the same street, are neat, convenient and spacious. They consist of ranges of slated shades, so disposed as to enclose an area which is paved and kept perfectly clean in every season of the year. The shades are subdivided into various stalls, which are allotted to different butchers, whose names are inscribed in front, so that the stand of each individual is generally known. No cattle are ever killed here; and the place is free from every thing offensive to the sight or to the smell. The regular markets for the sale of butcher's meat are held on Tuesdays and Saturdays, and the supply is abundant. Beef, mutton and pork, of the very best kind, are sold here; and the veal fed in the neighbourhood of Armagh is deemed superior to that of any other district in the kingdom. The crane-master and clerk of the market are always in attendance, to adjust the weights; and the whole business is conducted with the greatest regularity.*

* Hides are sold in a distinct mart near the shambles.

THE MARKET-HOUSE.

HIS Grace Dr. William Stuart, the present primate, has adorned the city with a very elegant and convenient market-house, built with hewn limetone, in a simple and tasteful style of architecture. It is situated near the foot of Market-street, eastward of the cathedral, in a very central part of the town. The following inscription, on the front of the edifice, ascertains the date and object of the building :—"GULIELMUS ARCHIEP. ARMACH. UTILITATI CIVIUM DEDIT MDCCCXV."

This market-house, which cost, we believe, £3000, was skilfully planned and completely answers the object for which it was intended. Oatmeal, potatoes, butter, and many other articles of general use, are here exposed for sale on Tuesdays, and the grain markets, which are held on Saturdays, are frequented by multitudes of farmers, merchants, retailers, and others who traffic in corn and such commodities.

THE SUNDAY AND DAILY SCHOOL.

HIS Grace, attentive to the morals of the people, and anxious for the diffusion of Christian knowledge and the blessings of education, through the more indigent and neglected portion of the community, has lately established a week-day and Sunday school in the immediate vicinity of the new church. For this important purpose, he has erected two well-built and distinct houses, in one of which there is a roomy and convenient school for boys—in the other, a similar one for girls. The annual salary allotted to the master is £50—that of his wife, the school-mistress, £40. There are convenient apartments in the building for these teachers, who reside on the spot.

The schools were opened on the 1st of December, 1818, and on the 17th of March, 1819, one hundred and forty-three boys, and one hundred girls attended this seminary. Bell's system of teaching has been preferred, and the daily school is open for children of all sects.

Monitors have been established, and a regular and judicious system of rewards and punishments has been adopted. The children are taught reading, writing and arithmetic, on every day of the week. Repetitions are said on Saturdays, to enable the master, &c. to make a due estimate of the pupils' progressive improvement, and impress the lessons more strongly on the memory. Sunday is dedicated to the instruction of children of the established religion, in the church catechism, and in other branches of religious knowledge. These children also accompany the master and mistress to church, where they are habituated to make proper responses with the clerk. There is much regularity in the whole conduct of the institution, and its utility is self-evident.—His grace the lord primate is the patron*—the rector of the parish is the vice-patron of the establishment.

The visitors are John Winder, Esq. the Rev. A. H. Ryan, the Rev. William Ball, the Rev. Richard Allott, the Rev. Samuel Eccles, and the Rev. Patrick Byrne.

A few years ago, £300 were remitted from India, by Arthur Jacob Macan, Esq. formerly sovereign of the city, for the purpose of building a school-house for the education of the poor children of every religious denomination. He offered also an annual sum for its support; but as the primate had already intimated his intention of establishing such a seminary, the money was returned to the generous donor.

There was, till lately, another very useful Sunday-school in Armagh, in the management of which Lady Lifford took a very active part.†

* His grace is also, we believe, patron and president of the Armagh branch of the Hibernian Bible Society, and that for the sale of religious tracts.—There is a branch of the Missionary Society in Armagh.

† Several Sunday-schools, free to all sects, are established in different parts of the country. The principal are, the Temple meeting-house school, near

PUBLIC WALKS, ETC.

By the 13th and 14th George III. the ancient commons, situated to the north-west of Barrack-street, were vested in his grace the lord primate, for useful purposes specified in the act.* The lands, which amounted to nine acres, one rood and thirty-seven perches, were then a nuisance to the city and to the adjacent country. A part of the waste was swampy, and, of course, injurious to the health of the people; and multitudes of horses and of kine, which grazed, or rather seemed to graze, by day, on the scanty vegetables which it produced, were driven at night, by their needy and knavish owners, into the rich pasturage of the highly manured town parks. A race-course had formerly encircled the common, and the periodical sports of the peasantry, who assembled at the races, not unfrequently terminated in gambling, drunkenness, and riot. A part of the land had been leased to government by Primate Boulter, in the year 1736, and a barrack had been built on the spot, whose ruins still encumbered the ground, when Dr. Robinson was promoted to the primacy.†

On the 6th of August, 1797, a lease of a certain portion of the commons, extending from Barrack-street to College-street, was granted, by Primate Newcome, to the sovereign and burgesses of the city, for the purpose of making a public walk for its inhabitants.

A subscription was immediately entered into by the citizens—the walks were promptly ditched in, gravelled,

Keady—that established by the late Joseph Wilson and Thomas Prentice, Esqrs. at Balleer—those of Lisnadill, Drumsill and Grangemore; all populous districts. The first of these, the Temple school, has 400 scholars, who are gratuitously taught by thirteen teachers. A farmer named James Scott was the founder of this school, assisted only by a few of his neighbours, and by a donation of some books from the Sunday-school Society. He has adopted the class system of teaching, and his scholars have made a remarkable progress.

* It was intended that certain fairs and markets should be held in a part of the waste lands.

† See acts 13th and 14th Geo. III.

and encompassed with a plantation of elms, larches, &c. &c. which have prospered exceedingly. At the entrances in front of Barrack-street and College-street, there are neatly-constructed walls, adorned with iron gates of good workmanship and pleasing form. The public walk is elliptic; but there is a transverse promenade, which connects the opposite sides of the curve. The enclosed field or area contains, we believe, betwixt seven and eight English acres of highly-improved and productive land. On the south-eastern, north-western, and eastern points, &c. &c. the plantation seems half encircled by public buildings; such as the new church and eleemosynary school, the sessions-house, the observatory, the free school, the barracks, and the gaol. On the south-western side, &c. it is skirted with fruitful gardens, and the citizens' houses appear to ascend gradually one above the other, until the view is terminated by the cathedral.*

The walks in the primate's demesne are, by his grace's direction, open to the respectable inhabitants of the city at all seasonable hours; and certainly they are so infinitely preferable to the public mall, not only in variety, extent and beauty, but in the prospect which they command, that it seems wonderful the latter should be so much frequented.

Mr. Leonard Dobbin, who has been for some time past so actively engaged in beautifying the city of Armagh, has also kindly accommodated the inhabitants of his native place with some rural and pleasant walks, which extend for a considerable space along the banks of the river Ballinaowenmore,† near the mansion-house of the late Henry Cust, Esq.‡—Mr. Dobbin's plantations, which were skilfully designed, and perfected by

* A man is employed by the corporation jury, to preserve the walks in repair, &c. The enclosed land is well managed, and produces an annual fund towards the general expenses incurred in keeping the whole in good order.

† Within less than a quarter of a mile of Armagh.

‡ Now the residence of the Rev. William Lodge.

him at a considerable expense, are now in a very flourishing state, and some trees, which spring from the fissures of an almost perpendicular rock, produce an agreeable effect. To men of contemplative and tranquil minds, who love to listen to the clack of mills, alternately swelling and dying on the breeze, and who hear with delight the murmur of descending waters and the choral song of birds, this rural spot must justly appear a charming retreat.*

Messrs. William and Thomas M'Williams have lately made improvements of a similar nature to those of Mr. Dobbin, in some of the adjacent grounds, and their walks are also open to the public.

At the base of Rosemount hill,† the late Thomas Prentice, Esq. made some plantations and rustic walks, on the side of a steep bank, which rises abruptly from the margin of the river Ballinaowenmore. There, the surface was most agreeably diversified, and the varied outline of the walk seemed to have been traced by Nature itself.—This is now the property of Mr. Dobbin, and communicates with his own improved grounds. The summit of Rosemount hill commands an extensive prospect of the most highly cultivated and picturesque country in Ulster.

AGRICULTURE.

SOME of the citizens of Armagh cultivate farms in the neighbourhood of the town. Amongst the different

* Mr. Dobbin's walks are capable of considerable improvement; but we know not whether the alterations which Taste requires might not be injurious to a mill which he has erected near the margin of the river. If it were not for this consideration, we would recommend the removal of two formal perpendicular walls, by which the stream is pent up. A bank of varied form—sometimes shelving—sometimes perpendicular—and sometimes interrupted by rugged rocks—would be more beautiful, and more accordant with the simplicity of nature. River gods and their attendant Naiads abhor straight lines and disdain stone walls.

† So called by its late owner, Mr. Prentice,

systems of agriculture which they have adopted, that acted on by Messrs. William and Thomas M·Williams, who labour a very considerable tract of land, is decidedly the best. These gentlemen manure their ground for drill potatoes, which they cover and mould with the Scotch plough. The potatoes are followed, in due succession, by barley, clover, (which is carted and eaten in the farm-yard,) wheat, vetches and oats. The land is then manured again, and the system of crops is recommenced. Sometimes they sow flax-seed or turnip-seed, and sometimes plant cabbages on the manured ground; but they never permit two crops of grain to succeed each other, without the intervention of clover or vetches. They have irrigated their meadows, adjacent to the river of Ballinaowenmore, in a truly scientific manner, and with the very best effect. They plant florin grass on the system recommended by the indefatigable Dr. Richardson, who merits the gratitude of society, for his ceaseless labours in disseminating a knowledge of that highly useful plant. The farms belonging to Messrs. M·Williams lie in very distinct districts of the adjacent country, and these different tracts are by no means similar to one another in point of quality. Yet their mode of cropping has been every where successful. Other farmers adopt the following systems:—First year, ridge or drill potatoes—second, oats—third, clover—fourth, wheat—fifth, oats. Or, first, potatoes—second, wheat—third, oats—fourth, oats—fifth, oats. Or, first, potatoes—second, barley—third, clover—fourth, wheat—fifth, oats. In lighter lands—first, potatoes—second, flax—third, clover—fourth, clover—fifth, oats. And frequently, first, potatoes—second, oats—third, oats—fourth, oats.

Gardening is carried to considerable perfection in the neighbourhood of Armagh, particularly by Mr. William Penton, whose very extensive nurseries of young timber and fruit trees, have been found highly useful to the improving landholders of the province.

OF THE MILITARY AFFAIRS OF ARMAGH DURING THE
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

AFTER the battle of the Boyne and the flight of James II. from Ireland, few (if any) important military events took place in the city of Armagh, or its vicinity, till the formation of the volunteer army, about the year 1779,*

On the first of December, 1778, a number of the inhabitants of the city and neighbourhood of Armagh, apprehensive that the French might endeavour to excite intestine commotions in the nation, and even to invade the kingdom of Ireland, entered into a voluntary association for their own and their country's defence.†

These spirited men determined to arm, clothe and discipline themselves, at their own expense, and to aid the civil power in the preservation of good order and the public peace. They professed a steady adherence to the "illustrious house of Hanover," and a firm attachment to the British constitution, which they generously resolved to defend, without accepting any pay or remuneration from government for their patriotic efforts.‡ On the 3d of December, they appointed a secretary, and nominated a committee to regulate their affairs.

* It may, however, be remarked, *en passant*, that when Thurot attacked the castle of Carrickfergus, in 1760, several volunteer corps marched from the county of Armagh, to assist the inhabitants of Belfast, &c. to repel the enemy. A well-armed troop of horse, under the command of Thomas Macan, Esq. proceeded from the city of Armagh, and arrived at Belfast at ten o'clock, on the morning of the 24th of February§ Robert Gardner,|| a member of this corps, was, in the course of the ensuing evening, accidentally surprised and taken prisoner by the enemy, who hurried him on board their fleet, where they alarmed him with repeated menaces of conveying him a prisoner to France. Having amused themselves, for a considerable time, with his fears of expatriation, and robbed him of a new military hat, which he had purchased for the campaign, they permitted him to rejoin his corps in safety.

† At the head of the association stand the names of Thomas Prentice, George Murray and Samuel Maxwell, as appears by the records of the first company of Armagh volunteers, now in possession of Mr. L. Dobbin.

‡ Association and Records of Armagh first company, p. 1, 2.

§ History of Belfast, p. 108.

|| See p. 520 of this work.

On the 2d of January, 1779, they, in a manly, respectful and energetic address to the right honourable the Earl of Charlemont, distinctly explained to his lordship the object of their association, and earnestly solicited that distinguished nobleman to place himself at their head, as captain of the Armagh volunteer corps.*

In his reply of the 6th of January, 1779, his lordship expressed his general approbation of their plan, and his due sense of the honour they wished to confer upon him; but intimated that he entertained some doubts whether he could accept the captainship of the corps consistently with his duty as lieutenant of the county. Government, he thought, would find it necessary to array the militia, and it would then be incumbent on him to use every possible effort for perfecting that constitutional system of defence. His lordship also suggested some alterations, which he deemed important, in the form of the volunteer association.†

On the 13th of January, the assembled body agreed to renew their solicitations to the Earl of Charlemont, and adopted the alterations in their plan which he had proposed. His lordship, having perused their reply to his preceding communication, was convinced by the cogent arguments which it contained, and, on the 16th of January, accepted the command of the corps.‡ The noble earl subsequently acted as generalissimo of the volunteer army of Ireland—a circumstance which gave additional weight to his influence as a patriotic politician, and diffused great spirit and energy through the speeches and actions of his celebrated friend, Mr. Henry Grattan, whose sentiments on national affairs were perfectly coincident with those of his illustrious patron.— Lord Charlemont was already known to the world as a man of literature, and as an incorruptible patriot; but the Armagh volunteers had the honour of first intro-

* Association and Records of Armagh first Company, p. 5.

† Ibid, p. 7, 8.

‡ Ibid, p. 12.

ducing him to public notice, as the commander of an unbought, unpaid military corps; and of presenting him to his countrymen, as the most proper generalissimo of the great national, self-constituted, self-supported army. As long as the volunteer association endured, the first Armagh company continued to be the peculiar corps of the commander-in-chief—a distinction to which, indeed, it was justly entitled by its military discipline and merit.

At the suggestion of Lord Charlemont, the Armagh company adopted scarlet coats, with white facings, for their uniform; and on the plate of each bayonet-belt, the expressive motto, “*PRO PATRIA NON TIMIDUS MORI*,” was engraven.* Samuel Maxwell, Esq. was appointed first lieutenant,† Mr. Thomas Prentice, second lieutenant;‡ but he resigned in favour of Mr. Lee M’Kinstry, and accepted the third lieutenancy of the company. Mr. John Simpson was chosen ensign, and Mr. Andrew Boyd adjutant. On the 6th of January, 1780, Mr. M’Kinstry resigned his commission, and in April, 1781, Mr. John Brown was elected ensign to the corps, in lieu of John Simpson, who had determined to enter into his majesty’s service. Mr. William M’Williams was appointed adjutant, in place of Andrew Boyd, who had accepted a commission in the army of the East India Company.§

Meanwhile the corps had made astonishingly rapid progress in discipline, under the care of their active and able adjutant, Boyd. They derived, also, essential aid from the 36th Regiment of foot, which was a long time stationed in Armagh, and whose officers took peculiar pleasure in communicating military information to their new associates in arms.

On the 11th of December, 1781, an artillery corps was formed in union with the first Armagh company;

* Association and Records of Armagh first Company, p. 16.

† Ibid, p. 19.

‡ Ibid, p. 20.

§ The surviving officers of the first Armagh volunteer corps are William M’Williams, John Simpson, and the present Lord Charlemont, who was subsequently chosen captain-lieutenant.—George Murray was treasurer, and George Barns secretary.

and to its care a piece of ordnance was subsequently committed, which had been presented by Lord Charlemont to Colonel Dawson, for the use of the battalion which he commanded. Of this corps, Robert Jackson, Esq. was elected captain, and Mr. John Simpson, lieutenant.

On the death of Captain Samuel Maxwell, the Hon. Lord Caulfeild was appointed captain-lieutenant of the battalion corps, on the 22d of July, 1788.

Whilst the first associated Armagh volunteers were perfecting themselves in military discipline, a second company was embodied, under the command of Thomas Macan, Esq. sovereign of the city. This corps was divided into three distinct bodies, viz.—Grenadiers, light infantry, and battalion-men. Messrs Lee M'Kinstry and William Hutchinson, of Ballyrath, were appointed their lieutenants, and Mr. Francis Stringer their ensign. Their uniform was scarlet, faced with white, and a blue undress.—Motto, “PRO REGE ET HIBERNIA.”—An artillery company was afterwards raised, which acted in union with this corps, under the command of John Macan, Esq. Thomas Townly Macan and Joseph Foxhall, Esqrs. were chosen lieutenants.*

At the various reviews which took place in Belfast, Newry, Armagh, &c. &c. the two Armagh corps were eminently conspicuous for their truly martial air. In the performance of the manual exercise, and in the correct execution of military movements, the first company was on a par with the most experienced of his majesty's regiments. The second company, though not so expert as the former, was also remarkably steady in the field, and the grenadier division was certainly as fine a body of men as could have been found in the British dominions.

These two companies differed essentially in their political views. Various bickerings and private quarrels were

* After Mr. Foxhall left Armagh, Mr. Samuel Johnston was elected lieutenant, in his place.

the result of this discrepance of opinion. Sarcastic songs, written with much ability, were disseminated through the city, and the people took considerable interest in the war of words which ensued. The first company were Whigs in principle, and were strenuous advocates for the independence of the Irish legislature. Hence they joined with the other associated corps of the Armagh Regiment, in appointing deputies to the famous Dungannon meeting, held on the 15th February, 1782. On the other hand, the second company conceived that such proceedings had a tendency to subvert "the necessary freedom of parliament," and they, therefore, on the 11th of February, 1782, publicly disclaimed all participation in the business.*

This declaration produced some unpleasant dissensions in the corps. Lieutenant M'Kinstry resigned his commission, and Mr. George Campbell was elected in his place. At this period, the second company mustered, at the great general reviews, about one hundred and twenty men. The first company, which was fully equal to it in number, paraded, for the last time, on the 13th of June, 1792. On this occasion, they kept the lines during a review of a considerable body of his majesty's troops, and were themselves reviewed by General Crosbie.†

An excellent troop of volunteer cavalry was also raised in Armagh, on the 2d of April, 1782, and equipped at the expense of the members. The Earl of Charlemont was elected captain; James Johnston, of Knappa, Esq. first lieutenant; Thomas Clark, of Summerhill, Esq. second lieutenant; and Thomas Simpson, of Ballyards, Esq. cornet.—Roman Catholics were admitted into this corps—an instance of liberality which, at that period, was not very common.‡

* In a publication, on 4th of May, 1782, they declared that their disapprobation of the meeting had been directed against the mode of convening the assembly, and not against the measures which it had adopted.

† On that day, the officers of the volunteers dined with the officers of the 22d regiment.

‡ If we recollect aright, there were some Roman Catholics in the second company of Armagh volunteers.

In 1788, a part of the county of Armagh was exceedingly disturbed by conflicts of Peep-of-day men and Defenders; and a pitched battle was to have been fought at Lisnadill, betwixt two party champions. To prevent the continuance of such shameful outrages, and to preserve the public peace, a corps of volunteer infantry was embodied at Armagh, in July, 1788—Joshua M'Geough, Esq. captain, James Taylor and Thomas Greer, Esqrs. lieutenants, and Mr. Nehemiah Carson, sen. adjutant. Their uniform was green jackets, nankeen small clothes, white waist-coats, and round hats, with black plumes. They mustered about seventy rank and file, and, when joined by a division which Mr. Thomas Clogher had raised at Derrycaw, amounted to one hundred effective men. To this active corps, Lord Charlemont, on the 1st of August, addressed a letter, in which he exhorted them to adhere steadily to the great leading principles adopted by the volunteer army, which he had the honour to command. He reminded them, that “their association is founded on two principles, both of which they are bound equally to maintain—namely, the defence of their country against invaders, and the preservation of internal peace and good order.” “They are,” added his lordship, “in a peculiar manner, bound to a constant and strict obedience to the laws of the land, in all cases whatsoever; holding themselves on every occasion ready, without partiality of any sort, to assist the magistrate, as a *posse comitatus*, in enforcing their due execution, against delinquents of every denomination; and as there is reason to fear that the late unnatural and shameful disturbances, have, in some weak minds, excited a spirit of animosity betwixt Protestant and Catholic, I do solemnly exhort my friends and fellow-soldiers thoroughly to divest themselves of all such criminal prejudices, and to consider their fellow-subjects, of every denomination, as their countrymen and brethren; duly reflecting, that however reprehensible the conduct of the Catholics may, in many instances

have been, the Protestants also have been blameable.* Of the volunteer army, in general, his lordship writes thus—"Every object, every passion, has at all times been made subservient, by them, to the interest of their country. To procure its peace and prosperity was all their desire. Their love of the laws, and of good order, has prevailed over every other motive and consideration; nay, even over that attachment to their fellow-associates, which, in generous minds, is most difficult to conquer. They loved each other much; but they loved the law more. Men who could thus vanquish themselves, could never fail of vanquishing their enemies."

The influence which the original volunteer body exercised in society, was very considerable; for, 1st, They preserved social order through the community, and repressed the spirit of party, during a period of much agitation and peril.—2d, They aided the civil power in the due execution of the laws.†—3d, They set an example of that perfect equality which some theoretical writers maintain to be the natural state of man, but which has seldom existed in society. Tradesmen, shop-keepers, merchants, lawyers, physicians, esquires, baronets and noblemen were seen intermixed in the same corps. On field-days, and at the grand reviews, they were billeted together in the same houses—dined together at the same tables, and maintained a social intercourse which was rendered interesting by its novelty, and by the common cause in which they had all embarked.—4th, They in-

* See Lord Charlemont's Letter to Captain M'Geough, of the Armagh infantry, amongst the muniments of the corps, in possession of Mr. James Cuming, of Armagh.

† As an instance of this, we may mention the conduct of the Armagh second company, who prevented an expected tumultuous assemblage of the people, at the execution of two notorious assassins named Toullerton, who had inhumanly murdered a Mr. Maneilly, in his own house, situated near the *Blue stone*, betwixt Lurgan and Portadown. From this *Blue stone*, a body of occasional rioters, called the *Blue-stone-boys*, had derived their name; but the volunteers dug a deep pit, in which they buried the corse of the Toullertons and the stone itself. Since that period, the *Blue-stone-boys* have not assembled.—In the year 1788, eighteen members of the Armagh first company dispersed a body of *Peep-of-day-men* and *Defenders*, assembled at Lisnadill.—*Musgrave*, p. 56.

roduced a spirit of political discussion, which has not yet subsided.—5th, They deterred the common enemy from invading the country.—6th, They were greatly instrumental in rendering the parliament of Ireland independent of that of England—a measure which prepared the way for the Union.*

In the year 1796, government determined to embody various local corps of yeomanry, in some respects similar to those of the late volunteer army; but more under their own immediate control. The patriotic Earl of Charlemont, anxious to promote the plan, and to induce his former associates in arms to give it their full support, repaired expeditiously to Armagh, and, with the assistance of the sovereign, raised, in September, 1796, an effective corps of one hundred infantry and forty cavalry, of which he was himself appointed captain. Arthur Jacob Macan, Esq. was first lieutenant, Robert Macan, Esq. second lieutenant.† Shortly afterwards, the corps was augmented to about two hundred men, and the following appointment of officers, took place, viz. Robert Macan, Esq. second captain‡—William M'Williams, Esq. first lieutenant—Thomas Greer, Esq. second lieutenant. Thomas Campbell,§ Arthur Irwin Kelly, John Singleton, William Irwin,|| Hugh M'Masters, and David Walsh, Esqrs. were also lieutenants. This fine and active body of yeomanry was chiefly raised in the vicinity of the city.

* Before we dismiss this subject, it may be necessary to remark, that some time before their disbandment, the volunteer corps were unable to overawe the different parties by which the country was agitated. It is said, by Musgrave, (page 56,) that the Defenders had even challenged a volunteer corps, which had assembled at Grangemore, and defied them to battle. The Benburb company, under the command of Captain Young, were attacked, on a Sunday, on their march to Armagh church, by a body of men, who assailed them with stones. The volunteers borrowed arms in the city, and on their return by the same road, a conflict ensued, in which two of the country people were killed, and some individuals wounded on both sides.

† A. J. Macan went to India in the year 1797.

‡ Mr. Macan resigned about the year 1799, and was succeeded by George Perry, Esq. sovereign of the city.

§ Mr. Campbell died in 1802.

|| Mr. Singleton and Mr. Irwin resigned.

In the year 1799, the present Earl of Charlemont succeeded his father in the command of the corps, and about the year 1807, he obtained permission to augment and divide it into three companies of one hundred men each, who always acted together as a battalion.—The first company was commanded by Captain George Perry—the second by Captain William M^cWilliams—the third by Captain Thomas Greer—Lord Charlemont being captain commandant. The lieutenants were—Arthur Irwin Kelly, (who resigned,) Hugh M^cMasters, David Walsh, Francis Armstrong, Charles M^cMasters, James Trueman Bell, Andrew Dickson, John Barns, Robert Henry, (who resigned,) Leonard Dobbin, jun. and Robert Stephen—William Algeo, Esq. adjutant. On the formation of the battalion, the Earl of Charlemont presented the grenadiers with handsome caps, and expressed the highest satisfaction at their excellent discipline and martial appearance.

When the French fleet approached the Irish coast, the Armagh yeomanry corps attracted the attention of government by their zeal, spirit and activity. They were of considerable service to the country, in relieving the regular troops, and in taking the escorts to and from Charlemont. They sometimes did garrison duty in Armagh, and, on various occasions, acted with a promptitude which merited and received the thanks of the Lord Lieutenant.

About the year 1812, Lieutenant John Barns signed a petition to parliament, in favour of Catholic emancipation. This avowal of his sentiments, on that important question, was displeasing to the division of the yeomen to which he was attached. On the anniversary of the Prince Regent's birth-day, there was a grand military display, in honour of his royal highness. After the corps had returned from the field to their private parade, a number of the men refused to act under Lieutenant Barns. In vain did the commanding officers remonstrate with them, on the impropriety of

their conduct. They persevered in their disobedience, and all subordination was lost. At this instant, Lieutenant General Mackenzie passed by with his staff. To him the disorderly men appealed in justification of their proceedings, of which he instantly expressed the strongest and most marked disapprobation. Thus disappointed in their appeal, a number of them threw down their arms, declaring explicitly that they would no longer remain in the corps. Lieutenant-General Mackenzie sent a statement of the whole transaction to government, by which orders were issued that the men who had thus intemperately grounded their arms should be dismissed from the service. The corps was reassembled, and the officers used every argument which prudence and loyalty could have suggested, to bring the malecontents to a due sense of their misconduct. Every effort proved abortive. The greater part of the privates not only made common cause with the refractory division, but insisted that Lieutenant Barns should resign his commission. This new act of insubordination was reported to government, by Lieutenant-General Mackenzie, and the corps was, therefore, disbanded by order of the Lord Lieutenant. His excellency, however, notified his entire approbation of the conduct of the officers, and declared, that if government should again require the service of a yeomanry force in the city of Armagh, it should be placed under their command. He expressed, also, his regret at the occasion which had deprived the country of so fine and so well disciplined a body of men.

In the year 1803, a company of volunteer supplementary yeomen was enrolled, whose members acted without pay. They received arms from government, but were, in other respects, arrayed and equipped at their own expense. The officers were, Joshua M'Geough, Robert Livingston, and Thomas Prentice, Esqrs.—Roman Catholics were admitted into this association, and some of the original volunteers of the first and second companies were to be found in their ranks; but the

corps was not of long duration, and this effort to revive the spirit of 1779, proved unavailing.*

The American and French revolutions diffused a spirit of political inquiry, and a taste for military tactics, amongst the citizens of Armagh. But the astonishing scenes which rapidly succeeded one another, on the great theatre of war, strengthened their affection for the British constitution, and increased their reverence for the established laws of the land. They have, indeed, on all occasions, evinced themselves to be a good, loyal, well-informed, frugal, industrious, benevolent, and religious people, whose prime object is to live in concord with all mankind. The genuine and intrinsic worth of these respectable citizens justly merits this candid and approving testimony from the author of these Memoirs, independent of the fond and tender feelings with which every man recalls to memory his native place—the play-mates of his infancy—the companions of his youth—and the friends of his more matured years. These objects are inseparably and permanently associated in the mind of each individual. They live in his imagination, and are blended and identified with his very existence.†

*“Nescio quâ natale solum dulcedine cunctos
Ducit et immemores non sinit esse sua.”*

* Many of the privates and some of the officers of the county militia were natives of the city of Armagh. The services of this gallant, active and well-disciplined body of men, ought to be narrated in a history of the county, but cannot, with propriety, be detailed in this work.

† Much of the information contained in the above chapter, is derived from the remaining muniments of the borough of Armagh, which, to save multiplicity of references, we acknowledge here, once for all—Our account of the second company of Armagh volunteers is detailed from memory.

ADDENDA.

WE subjoin the following tables, to shew satisfactorily to our readers the modern state of the ecclesiastical province and diocess of Armagh.—The see, which extends into five counties, is fifty-nine miles from north to south, varying in breadth from ten to twenty-five.*

ARCHBISHOPRICK OF ARMAGH.

Counties.	Acres.	Parishes.	Benefices.	Churches.	Glebe Houses.	Glebes only.	Benefices without Glebe.	Rectories improp.	Wholly improp.
Armagh.....	170,850	17	17	23	23†	1	1	..	..
Londonderry .	25,000	5	5	6	4	1	..	..	..
Tyrone.....	162,500	20	19	20	13	6	..	..	..
Louth... ..	108,900	61	28	20	11	5	13	12	9
Meath.....	1,300	part of two.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total.....	468,550	103	69	69	51	13	14	12	9

“The crown has the presentation to thirteen parishes, the lord primate to sixty, the university to five, and the chapters of Christchurch and St. Patrick, Dublin, to three. The remainder have lay patrons.”‡

* In English measure, this diocess is 75 miles long, and from $12\frac{1}{2}$ to 32 broad.

† Four of these glebe-houses are on the perpetual cures into which the parish of Armagh is divided, and there are five more appropriated to the choir.

‡ The above table is taken from Dr. Beaufort's Memoir of a Map of Ireland, calculated for the year 1792.

PROVINCE OF ARMAGH.

ARCHBISHOP.

The Right Hon. and Most Rev. WILLIAM STUART, D. D. Lord Primate
and Metropolitan of all Ireland

SUFFRAGAN BISHOPS.

- 1 The Right Rev. John Porter, D. D. Lord Bishop of Clogher.
- 2 The Right Hon. and Right Rev. Thomas Lewis O'Beirne, D. D. Lord Bishop of Meath.*
- 3 The Right. Rev. Nathaniel Alexander, D. D. Lord Bishop of Down and Connor.
- 4 The Hon. and Right Rev. William Knox, D. D. Lord Bishop of Derry.
- 5 The Right Hon. and Right Rev. Lord J. G. de la Poer Beresford, D. D. Lord Bishop of Raphoe.
- 6 The Rt Rev. George de la Poer Beresford, D. D. Lord Bishop of Kilmore.
- 7 The Right Rev. John Leslie, D. D. Lord Bishop of Dromore.

DEANS.

- 1 The Rt. Hon. and Very Rev. the Vis. Lifford, LL.D. Dean of Armagh.
- 2 The Very Rev. Richard Bagwell, A. M. Dean of Clogher.
- 3 The Very Rev. Henry Roper, D. D. Dean of Clonmacnois.
- 4 The Hon. and Very Rev. Edmond Knox, A. M. Dean of Down.
- 5 The Very Rev. Theophilus Blakeley, A. M. Dean of Connor.
- 6 The Very Rev. James Saurin, D. D. Dean of Derry.
- 7 The Very Rev. Richard Allott, D. D. Dean of Raphoe.
- 8 The Very Rev. William Magennis, A. M. Dean of Kilmore.
- 9 The Very Rev. James Mahon, A. M. Dean of Dromore.

ARCHDEACONS.

- 1 The Hon. and Venerable Charles Knox, LL.D. Archdeacon of Armagh.
- 2 The Venerable John Brinkley, D. D. Archdeacon of Clogher.
- 3 The Venerable Thomas de Lacy, A. M. Archdeacon of Meath.†
- 4 The Venerable Robert Alexander, D. D. Archdeacon of Down.
- 5 The Venerable Anthony Trail, A. M. Archdeacon of Connor.
- 6 The Venerable Thomas T. Aveling, A. M. Archdeacon of Derry.
- 7 The Venerable John Usher, D. D. Archdeacon of Raphoe.
- 8 Vacant. Archdeaconry of Kilmore.
- 9 The Hon. and Venerable Pierce Meade, A. M. Archdeacon of Dromore.

* The Lord Bishop of Meath takes precedence of all other bishops, and next to him the Lord Bishop of Kildare, who is suffragan to the Archbishop of Dublin. The remaining bishops take precedence according to the dates of their consecrations.

ARMAGH DIOCESS.

ARCHBISHOP AND PRIMATE OF ALL IRELAND.

The Right Honourable and Most Reverend WILLIAM STUART, D. D.

DEAN.

The Right Hon. and Very Rev. the Viscount Lifford, LL. D

CHAPTER.

<i>Precentor</i>	Rev. John Cleland.
<i>Chancellor</i>	Rev. William Bissett.
<i>Treasurer</i>	Rev. Charles Atkinson.
<i>Archdeacon</i>	Hon. and Rev. Charles Knox.

PREBENDS.

PREBENDARIES.

<i>Mullaghbrack</i>	Rev. John Jephson.
<i>Ballymore</i>	Rev. Thomas Carter.
<i>Loughgall</i>	Rev. Silver Oliver.
<i>Tynan</i>	Rev. Samuel Blacker.

RURAL DEANS.

<i>Creggan</i>	Rev. Henry Stewart,
<i>Aghaloe</i>	Hon. and Rev. Charles Knox.
<i>Dungannon</i>	Rev. William Ball.
<i>Tullyhog</i>	Rev. John Buck.

VICARS CHORAL.

Rev. Alexander Hayes Ryan.	Mr. George Scott.
Rev. Richard Allott.	Mr. John Garbett.
Mr. David Hamilton.	Orgt. Mr. F. Wm. Horncastle.
Mr. Robert Rice.	

CHORISTERS.

John Winder,	John Kinner,	John King,
James Reilly,	Robert S. Jones,	Robert Murray.
John Eason,	Thomas Jones,	

METROPOLITAN AND CONSISTORIAL COURT.

<i>Vicar General</i>	John Radcliffe, Esq. LL.D.
<i>Surrogate</i>	Rev. William Ball, LL.B.
<i>Registrar</i>	John Patrickson, Esq.
<i>Dep. Regist</i>	Robert M'Kew, Esq.
<i>Commissary</i>	Rev. William Lodge, A.M.
<i>Proctor of Office</i>	Mr. Charles M'Master.
<i>Proctors</i>	Messrs. Hugh M'Master and Geo. Scott.

Benefices.	Denom. of Parish.	Incumbents.	Year of Adm.	County.
<i>Corps of the Deanery.</i>				
1. Armagh, ..	R.	Rt. Hn. & Rv. Vis. Lifford.	1796	Armagh.
<i>Corps of the Precentorship.</i>				
1. Killeavy, ...	R.	Rev. John Cleland.	1802	do.
<i>Corps of the Chancellorship.</i>				
1. Kilmore, ..	R.	Rev. William Bisset.	1817	do.
<i>Corps of the Treasurership.</i>				
1. Creggan, ...	R. & V.	Rev. Charles Atkinson.	1817	Louth.
<i>Corps of the Archdeaconry.</i>				
1. Aghaloe and Carenteel, R. & V.		Hon & Rev. Chas. Knox.	1814	Tyrone.
<i>Corps of Mullaghbrack Preb.</i>				
1. Mullaghbrack, ...	R.	Rev. John Jephson.	1816	Armagh.
<i>Corps of Ballymore Preb.</i>				
1. Ballymore alias Tan- dragee, ...	R.	Rev. Thomas Carter.	1803	do.
<i>Corps of Loughgall Preb.</i>				
1. Loughgall alias Lavil- lybeglish, ...	R.	Rev. Silver Oliver.	1807	do.
<i>Corps of Tynan Preb.</i>				
1. Tynan, ...	R.	Rev. Samuel Blacker.	1817	do.
1. Ballymakenny, ...	P. C.	Rev. A. Ellis,	1809	Louth.
1. Termonfeckan, ...	R. & V.			
2. Kilclogher, ...	R.	Rev. Wm. J. Armstrong.	1805	do.
3. Main, ...	R.			
1. Heynstown, ...	R.	Rev. John Torrens.	1812	do.
1. Collon, ...	R.			
2. Dromyn, ...	R. & V.	Rev. Dan. Aug. Beaufort.	1789	do.
3. Mosstowne, ...	V.			
1. Louth, ...	R. & V.	Rev. Samuel Little.	1789	do.
1. Dunlier, ...	R.			
2. Moylary, ...	V.			
3. Dysart, ...	V.			
4. Kippock, ...	V.	Rev. George B. Little.	1809	do.
5. Monasterboice, ...	C.			
6. Drumcar, ...	R. & V.			
1. Clonkeen, ...	R. & V.	Rev. George Lambert.	1804	do.
1. Dunany, ...	V.			
2. Parsonstown, ...	V.	Rev. Val. Griffith.	1795	do.
3. Marlinstown, ...	V.			
1. St. Peter's, Drogheda, ...	V.	Rev. Wardlow Ball.	1804	do.
1. Rathdrummin, ...	R.			
2. Port, ...	V.	Rev. Alexander Lindsay.	1793	do.
3. Carrick, ...	R.			
1. Clonmore, ...	R.	Rev. Samuel Gerrard.	1807	do.
1. Strabannon, ...	V.			
2. Richardstown, ...	V.	Rev. Thomas Parkinson.	1807	do.
1. Beaulieu, ...	R.	Rev. Jerome Alley.	1783	do.
1. Ardee, ...	V.			
2. Shenlish, ...	V.			
3. Smermore, ...	V.			
4. Stackallen, ...	V.	Rev. George Lambart.	1806	do.
5. Kildermock, ...	R. & V.			
1. Kilsaran, ...	R.			
2. Gernotstown, ...	R.	Rev. William Woolseley,	1810	do.
1. Tartaraghan, ...	R.	Rev. Francis Gervais.	1816	Armagh.

Benefices.	Denom. of Parish.	Incumbents.	Year of Adm.	County.
1. Charlestown,	} V.	Rev. Townly Filgate.	1816	Louth.
2. Tallanstown,				
3. Mapastown,				
4. Philipstown,				
1. Mansfieldstown,	... R. & V.	Rev. George Vesey:	1815	do.
1. Killincoole,	... R.	Rev. Joseph Wright.	1815	do.
1. Dundalk,	... V.	Rev. Elias Thacker.	1803	do.
1. Dromiskin,	} R. & V.	Rev. Joseph Pratt.		do.
2. Derver,				
1. Drumcree,	... R.	Rev. Stewart Blacker.	1804	Armagh.
1. Parsonstown,	} R.	Rev. Sir T. Forster, Bt		Louth.
2. Kaine,				
3. Philipstown Nugent,				
4. Roche,				
1. Foghard,	... R.	Rev. Gervais Tinley.	1808	do.
1. Carlingford,	... V.	Rev. Henry Elrington.	1817	do.
1. Eglis,	... P. C.	Rev. James Tisdal.	1808	Armagh.
1. Grange,	... P. C.	Rev. Jas. Edw. Jackson.	1816	do.
1. Lisnadill,	... P. C.	Rev. Richard Olpherts.	1817	do.
1. Ballymoyer,	... P. C.	Hn. & Rv. J. P. Hewitt.	1818	do.
1. Camlogh,	... P. C.	Rev. Henry Boyd.	1818	do.
1. Mullaghvilly,	... P. C.	Rev. John Lake.	1807	do.
1. Caledon,	... P. C.	Rev. James Alexander.	1817	Tyrone.
1. Kilcluny,	... P. C.	Rev. James Clarke.	1806	Armagh.
1. Acton,	... P. C.	Rev. Henry Ashe.	1799	do.
1. Middleton,	... P. C.	Rev. John Mee.	1801	do.
1. Ballymascanlon,	... P. C.	Rev. Arthur Ormsby.	1817	Louth.
1. Newtownhamilton,	... R. & V.	Rev. William Barker.	1811	Armagh.
1. Derrinoose	... R.	Rev. Nathaniel Smith.	1812	do.
1. Keady,	... R.	Rev. Henry Stewart.	1819	do.
1. Jonesborough,	... R.	Rev. Archibald Kidd.	1812	do.
1. Loughgilly,	... R.	Rev. Henry Stewart.	1812	do.
1. Forkil,	... R. & V.	Rev. James Campbell.	1817	do.
1. Clonfele,	... R. & V.	Rev. Wm. Richardson.	1783	Tyrone.
1. Killyman,	... R.	Rev. Thos. Carpendale.	1817	do.
1. Clogherney,	... R.	Rev. James Lowry.	1794	do.
1. Termonmaguirk,	... R.	Rev. Chas. C. Beresford.	1809	do.
1. Killeshill,	... R.	Rev. John Young.	1817	do.
1. Erriglekerogue,	... R.	Rev. James Graham.	1802	do.
1. Donoughmore,	... R.	Rev. Alexander Staples.	1812	do.
1. Pomeroy,	... R.	Rev. James Graham.	1795	do.
1. Drumglass,	... R.	Rev. William Ball.	1814	do.
1. Tullaniskin,	... R.	Rev. Alex. G. Stewart.	1807	do.
1. Clonoe,	... R.	Rev. Nathaniel Smith.	1803	do.
1. Dysertcrieght,	... R.	Rev. John Buck.	1787	do.
1. Donogherry,	... R.	Rev. Francis L. Gore.	1817	do.
1. Ballyclogg,	... R.	Rev. William Smith.	1817	do.
1. Kildress,	... R.	Rev. Richard Stewart.	1813	do.
1. Derryloran,	... R. ent.	Rev. Wm. Mauleverer.	1816	do.
1. Artrea,	... R.	Vacant.		do.
1. Arboe,	... R.	Rev. Francis Hall.	1804	do.
1. Lissan,	... R.	Rev. John M. Staples.	1804	Derry.
1. Dysertlyn,	... R.	Rev. Theodosius Martin.	1758	do.
1. Ballynderry.	... R.	Rev. Thomas Paul.	1817	do.
1. Tamlaght,	... R.	Rev. Isaac Ashe.	1790	do.
1. Magherafelt.	... R.	Rev. Thomas A. Vesey.	1807	do.

NOTE.—In the above table, the letter R. denotes a rectory; R. ent. a rectory entire; V. a Vicarage; C. a curacy; P. C. a perpetual curacy.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX, No. I.

Of the ancient Division and present Population of the County of Armagh, and some Particulars relating to its Metropolis.

ARMAGH is styled, by some writers, the *metropolis* of Ireland. St. Fiech, who wrote in the sixth century, calls it *Sedes Regni*, the seat of empire. We find in *Offic. Sancti Pat. App. 1.* these words—" *In civitate Ardmachana totius insulæ sedem primam et METROPOLIM constituit.*"—"In Armagh he established the chief see, and the *metropolis* of the whole island." Giraldus Cambrensis, in *Topog. Hib. dist. 3, c. xvi.* denominates Armagh " *Quasi metropolim totius Hiberniæ.*"—So also, in *Vita Sanct. Cathroe, c. xi.* we find these words—" *Adolescens Hiberniæ metropolim apud Ardmacham se reclusit.*"—"When a youth, he secluded himself at Armagh, the *metropolis* of Ireland."—So late as the year 1580, Cluverius styles Armagh " *Regni Caput*"—"the head of the kingdom" and adds, " *secunda ab hac Dublin*"—"After it Dublin was second." Many other similar passages might be produced.

In page 464 of this work, we estimated the acreable contents of the county of Armagh at 181,450 Irish acres. In this estimate we relied on Dr. Beaufort's work—the only publication of acknowledged merit and authority, to which we could have referred. We, however, at present, entertain strong doubts of the accuracy of his statement, in this instance. In the years 1776, 1777, and 1778, Messrs. William and Cunningham M'Crea, (men of considerable ability,) made a correct survey of the county of Armagh, and, by their map, it appears, that its greatest length, from Lough Neagh, southward, is 25 miles—the greatest breadth, from Colonel Leslie's demesne, at Glasslough, in an eastern direction, to that of John L. Reilly, Esq. at Scarva bridge, 16 miles—the mean length, $19\frac{1}{2}$ miles—the mean breadth, $12\frac{1}{2}$ miles, measured in a direct line across the face of the country, as represented on the map. By multiplying the mean length and breadth into each other, we find the square miles, each of which contains 640 acres, thus— $19.5 \times 12.5 = 243.75$ $\square$ miles, $\times$ by 640 = 156,000 Irish acres. Now, the population of the county amounts to 176,213 persons.† There are, therefore, but three roods, twenty perches, and a small fraction of a perch, to each individual—a rural population which cannot be equalled in any

° Cluverius, edit, London, 1711,

† See page 466 of this work.

other district in Great Britain or Ireland. The county of Armagh was originally a part of a territory styled Orgiel, or Uriel,* which was governed by its proper provincial kings. This territory comprehended the present counties of Louth, Monaghan and Armagh, with some smaller districts. Armagh was again subdivided into more minute tracts, such as Clanbressail, the county of the Mac Canes, or Mac Cahans, situated on the south of Lough Neagh, in the barony of O'Neiland—Hy-Meith-Tir, or Oirthir, (now Orier,) the country of the O'Hanlons, standard bearers of Ulster—Hy-Niellain, the patrimony of the O'Neills, (near Armagh,) the descendants of Colla Da Crioich—Fews, the residence of the Mac Henrys, &c. &c.—Louth, though now a part of the province of Leinster, was formerly classed, by some topographers, as a portion of Ulster. Camden plainly enumerates it, amongst the counties of Ulster,† and places it, at the very head of the list. Moryson‡ says the three counties of Ulster which are next the English pale, are, “Louth, Down and Antrim.”§ Monaghan, the third part of Orgiel, was the property of the ancient family of Fitz-Ursi, Matthæi, or Mac Mahons.

The following gentlemen were returned members of parliament, for the county of Armagh, since the year 1612:—

1612, Tobias Caulfeild John Bouchier	1757, William Brownlow Hon. F. Caulfeild
1613, Tobias Caulfeild Sir F. Annesley	1761, Sir A. Acheson, Bart. William Brownlow
1639, Faithful Fortescue William Brownlow	1767, Sir A. Acheson, Bart. Rt Hon. W. Brownlow
1661, Hans Hamilton Edward Richardson	1771, Rt. Hon. W. Brownlow Rt. Hn. Sir A. Acheson, Bt.
1689, Arthur Brownlow Walter Hovendon	1776, Rt. Hon. W. Brownlow Thomas Dawson
1692, Arthur Brownlow William Richardson	1783, Rt. Hon. W. Brownlow William Richardson
1695, Sir N. Acheson, Bart. Arthur Brownlow	1786, Rt. Hon. W. Brownlow William Richardson
1703, Sir H. Hamilton, Bart. Arthur Brownlow	1795, William Richardson William Brownlow
1711, Sir H. Hamilton, Bart. William Brownlow	1797, Hon. A. Acheson Viscount Caulfeild
1713, William Brownlow Robert Cope	1799, Hon. A. Acheson R. C. Cope
1715, William Brownlow William Richardson	1802, Hon. A. Acheson Hon. Henry Caulfeild
1727, William Brownlow Robert Cope	1807, William Richardson William Brownlow
1739, Robert Cope William Richardson	1815, William Richardson Hon. Henry Caulfeild
1753, William Richardson William Brownlow	1818, Charles Brownlow William Richardson.

* O'Flaherty.—Ware.

† Holland's Camden, p. 104, 105, article Ireland.

‡ Vol. ii. p. 364.

§ In deference to this authority, we classed Conal Muirtheme, (p. 77,) which comprised the county of Louth, as a part of Ulster.

|| These gentlemen were returned to King James's parliament; but its acts were burned in the year 1695.

The following is the series of high sheriffs for the county, since the year 1714:—

1714, Edward Bond	1767, John Moore
1715, John Richardson	1768, Thomas Obre
1716, James Maison	1769, Henry Cust
1717, Oliver St. John	1770, Thomas Dawson
1718, John Maxwell	1771, Richard Johnston
1719, John Bolton	1772, Thomas Clarke
1720, Henry Richardson	1773, Edward Tipping
1721, Sir William Johnston	1774, Arthur Graham
1722, Joshua Johnston	1775, Thomas Seaver
1723, Thomas Tipping	1776, Samuel M'Geough
1724, Thomas Clarke	1777, William Richardson
1725, Anthony Madden	1778, Arthur Noble
1726, Francis Obre,	1779, Thomas M. Jones
1727, William Jones	1780, Maxwell Close
1728, Sir Arthur Acheson	1781, James Alexander
1729, Meredith Workman	1782, Henry Harden
1730, John Ball	1783, Sir Walter Synnot, Knt.
1731, Thomas D. Clarke	1784, Thomas Verner
1732, Chapel Dawson	1785, John Maxwell
1733, Richard Johnston	1786, John Reilly
1734, William Blacker	1787, William Brownlow
1735, Randal Donaldson	1788, Alexander Thomas Stewart
1736, Robert Cope	1789, James Verner
1737, William Richardson	1790, James Johnston
1738, William Graham	1791, Nicholas Archdall Cope
1739, Roger Hall	1792, James Harden
1740, Francis Hall	1793, John Pringle
1741, Edward Obre	1794, John Ogle, Forkil
1742, Richard Chapel Whaley	1795, Savage Hall
1743, Richard Graham	1796, John Ogle, Fathom
1744, Sir Capel Molyneux	1797, Robert B. Sparrow
1745, Henry Bond	1798, Kenrick Cope
1746, Thomas Tipping	1799, Robert Camden Cope*
1747, Middleton Bond	1800, Thomas Verner
1748, Jonathan Seaver	1801, Hon. Dupre Alexander
1749, Thomas Bond	1802, John Henry Burges
1750, William Brownlow	1803, John Moore
1751, Sir Archibald Acheson	1804, John O'Donnell
1752, Alexander Stewart	1805, Sir Capel Molyneux
1753, Meredith Workman	1806, George Ensor
1754, Thomas T. Dawson	1807, Jonathan Seaver
1755, Huntly Hutcheson	1808, John Reade
1756, Hon. William Moore	1809, Robert Harden
1757, John Bond	1810, Hon. Jerome De Salis
1758, Richard Johnston	1811, William Blacker
1759, Arthur Irwin	1812, Nicholas George Johnston
1760, Richard Jackson	1813, Charles Eastwood
1761, Daniel Kelly	1814, Robert Macan
1762, Richard Magennis	1815, Roger Hall
1763, Thomas Rowe	1816, Joseph Atkinson
1764, Michael Obins	1817, William Irwin
1765, Thomas Clarke	1818, Maxwell Close
1766, Arthur Cope	1819, Walter M'Geough.

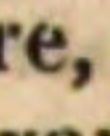
* In 1799, Colonel Cope being a candidate for the county, the office was transferred, in the autumn of that year, to Archibald E. Obins, Esq.

APPENDIX, No. II.

Of the Site, Building and Destruction of the Palace of Eamhain or Eamania.

THE kings of Ulster, of the line of Ir, originally held their regal courts in the palace of Eamhain, or Evan Macha,* situated about two miles westward of Druimsailech-hill, on which the city of Armagh stands. St. Fiech, who wrote in the sixth century, makes express mention of this palace,† which some of the Irish historians say was erected A. M. 3603, by Cimbaoth, king of Ireland; others, in 3560, by Macha, his wife.‡

The ruins of Evan Macha were visible in O'Flaherty's day, and are spoken of by Colgan,§ and by Camden, who corrupts the name into Owen Maugh. The palace was sometimes denominated *Teagh na Heamhna*—the house of Eamhain. Adjoining to it was another, named *Teagh na Craobh Ruadh*, or the house of the red branch. Here the knights or champions of the red branch, (*Curaidhe na Craobh Ruadh*,) who were celebrated for military prowess, deposited their arms, standards and trophies of victory. A kind of hospital styled *Bron-Bhearg*, or “the soldier's sorrow,” was annexed to the building, where sick or wounded knights were attended until they became convalescent.

The site of these ancient edifices can be nearly ascertained at this present hour. There is a townland, near the Navan-hill, westward of Armagh, which is yet denominated *Creeve Roe*—a name which, in English letters, expresses the very sound designated in the Irish characters, by the word *Craobh Ruadh*,|| “the red branch.” The uniform tradition of the country assigns this district of Creeve Roe as the place where the regal palace stood. There is, in an adjoining townland called Trea, a mound which, in form, resembles this figure, , and is universally denominated *the king's stables*. Navan-hill overlooks the lands of Craobh Ruadh. Around this hill, betwixt the base and the summit, there is an elliptical fosse and moat, including eleven acres, three roods and thirty-six perches, by which

* *Tria Thaum.* p. 289. — Keating, vol. i. p. 235, 276. † O'Flaherty, part iii. c. 36. Camden. ‡ Hymn, St. Fiech, v. 22. § G. Coeman's Poems of the Kings of Ireland, citante O'Flaherty, p. 132, part iii. Ogyg, p. 133, 399—English translation. Maccurtin, p. 73. Keating. § *Tria Thaum.* p. 6.

|| Bh, in the Irish language, is pronounced v, and ao, ee. Ruadh (red) is uniformly written Roe, by English writers.

two smaller circular mounds or forts (one on the top and the other on the side of the hill) are environed. These had probably been formed to protect the royal residence.*

As the palace of Craobh Ruadh (Creeve Roe) was situated in the vicinity of Armagh, we subjoin the following account of its destruction, compiled from the works of various writers on Irish historic affairs.—

In the year of Christ 315, Colla Uais, the grandson of Cairbre Liffeachair, was proclaimed monarch of Ireland. This prince, aided by his two brothers, Colla Mean and Colla Da Crioch,† had rebelled against his uncle, King Fiachadh Streabhtuine, and, having overthrown and slain him in battle, had usurped his crown. In the year 319, Muireadhach Tireach, the son of the deceased sovereign, collected a considerable force, with which he assailed Colla Uais, whom he totally routed and drove from the kingdom.‡

The fugitive prince, and his two brothers, fled to Scotland, by whose monarch they were hospitably received. Here they continued, in total inaction, for the space of three years, with three hundred soldiers—the remnant of their ruined army.

The Collas were princes of a most daring and enterprising spirit—of boundless ambition, and altogether fearless of death. They were anxious to transmit the crown of Erin to their posterity, and placed the most implicit reliance on a prophecy then current, which predicted, that if they should be slain by the king of Ireland, the throne would be transferred to their lineal descendants, and remain in their possession for ever.

Tired of inaction, which ill suited their restless disposition, and unable to raise troops for the invasion of Ireland, these adventurous chiefs determined to surrender themselves to their lawful sovereign, Muireadhach, under an impression that he would avenge the murder of his father, by putting them to instantaneous death, and that the crown of Ireland, would, therefore, in fulfilment of the prediction, be transferred to their children, and vested in their family from generation to generation.

They found the king at Tara, to whom they surrendered themselves, stating that struck with remorse and horror, at the atrocious acts of treason, rebellion and murder, which they had perpetrated, they had come to receive the punishment due to their crimes.

The king, who was as well aware of the prediction as the Collas, and who deemed the welfare and honour of his children

* Speed, who wrote about the year 1614, places Owen Maugh, Evan Macha, or Eamania, to the westward of Armagh; but perhaps at too great a distance from the city.

† O'Flaherty, p. 272. ‡ Vide Keating, vol. i, p. 440, A. D. 319. O'Halloran. Mac Geoghegan. Psalt, of Cashell, apud Keating, p. 456; O'Flaherty, c. lxxv.

and his posterity, to be more exalted and noble objects of ambition, than the gratification of personal revenge, not only pardoned the offences of his rebellious kinsmen, but settled a princely revenue upon them, and gave them a command in his armies—"Clemency," said he, is the brightest jewel in the crown of princes. I forgive your crimes, leaving revenge to the immortal Gods, and to the emotions of remorse which agitate your souls."

The Collas, after this event, conducted themselves with zeal and fidelity, in the posts of honour which the king had assigned them. But Muireadhach, in order to give employment to their active spirits, and to avenge the wrongs of their common relation, Cormac, son of Art, whom the king of Eamhain, had insulted by burning his beard, determined to send them at the head of an army to ravage and conquer Ulster.—"The lands," said he, "of that kingdom will form a territory and a dependence for you and your posterity."

Fired with ambition, and stimulated to the enterprise by the king of Ireland, the Collas entered Ulster at the head of a formidable army. They were joined by some of the nobility of the invaded country, and 7000 troops, who were disaffected to the reigning monarch, Feargus Fodha,

This valiant prince, notwithstanding the defection of his nobility, determined to give battle to the Collas. He had collected an army at Carn Eochaidh Leathdhearg, in Fearnmuighe, a part of the present county of Monaghan. To this point, the three brothers, at the head of the auxiliary troops and their own army, immediately marched, and in a desperate and sanguinary action, defeated the king of Ulster.

Feargus, undaunted by defeat, rallied his broken forces, and returned seven times to the conflict, in as many successive days. In the last battle, his army was finally and completely routed, and the king himself slain.

The conquerors now marched against the regal palace of Eamhain, which they pillaged and set on fire. The ruined fabric was not totally consumed, but it never again regained its former magnificence, and was no longer the residence of the kings of Ulster.

After this decisive victory, the Collas seized upon a tract of territory, which they denominated Orgial, or Orgiella.* Daire, a Hy Niellian prince, who granted the district of Na Fearta, and Druimsailech-hill, to St. Patrick, was a lineal descendant of Colla Da Crioch. Irish genealogists state, that the Earl of Antrim, and, indeed, all the Mac Donels of Ireland and Scotland, are sprung from Colla Huais.—From Colla Da Crioch are descended the Mac Mahons, of Ulster—the Macguires, of Fermanagh—the O'Hanlons, or O'Hanluans, of Oirther, &c.†

* Ogyg. p. 3, Cap. 76.

† For more particular information on this subject, the reader may consult Mac Geoghegan, Keating, O'Flaherty, O'Halloran, &c.

Some moderns speak contemptuously of the genealogies deduced by Irish authors, from the remnant of ancient historie materials, which has escaped the ravages of war and of time. Yet in former periods, the claim of the Hibernian nobility to great antiquity, seems to have been generally admitted. James Stuart, the first of England and sixth of Scotland, asserts a peculiar right to the crown of Ireland, on account of his having been the lineal descendant of her ancient monarchs. In a speech which he delivered in council, at Whitehall, on the 24th of April, 1613, he says, "There is a double cause why I should be careful of the welfare of that people, (the Irish,) first as king of England, by reason of the long possession the crown of England hath had of that land, and also as king of Scotland, *for the ancient kings of Scotland are descended of the kings of Ireland,*" &c.* In accordance with this declaration of the British monarch, the Irish genealogists admit him to have been a descendant of Conary, by origin an Irishman, as well as of Kineth, the leader of the kindred of Fergus. Slatyr, an Englishman, who, in the reign of James I. wrote a poem called *Palai Albion*, derives the pedigree of this monarch from Ireland—a proof that such a pedigree was then deemed honourable. He writes thus—

"At quondam Arctoo Scotico rex noster ab orbe
Nec minus occiduis perhibent Scotis ortus Hibernis
Qui Britonum parent sceptris."——

The present royal family of England may be traced through James I. to Kineth or Kenneth Mac Alpine, as by the following pedigree is manifest.

Kineth II. began to reign A. D. 843—Constantine II. in 868†—Donald VI. in 904—Malcom I. in 955—Kineth III. in 982—Malcom II. in 1006—Beatrix†—Donchad or Duncan,§ in 1034—Malcom III. in 1057—David I. in 1124—Henry,† Earl of Huntingdon, Prince of Scotland, and son to David—David,† Earl of Huntingdon, Henry's son—Robert de Bruce,† Earl of Carrick and Lord of Annandale, David's Grandson—Robert Bruce I. in 1306—Margery Bruce,† Robert's daughter—Robert Stuart II. Margery's son, in 1370—Robert Stuart III. in 1390—James Stuart I. in 1423||—James Stuart II. in 1437—James Stuart III. in 1460—James Stuart IV. in 1489—James Stuart V. in 1514—Mary Stuart, in 1544—James Stuart VI. of Scotland and first of England, in 1567—Elizabeth,† James's daughter—Sophia,† his granddaughter—George Guelph I. his great grandson, in 1714—George Guelph II. 1724—Frederick Guelph†—George Guelph III. in 1760.

* Cox, James I. p. 29. † Geneal. of the kings of Scotland, annexed to Buchanan's Hist.—Bond's translation.

‡ These marked thus ‡ did not reign in Scotland or England

§ He was treacherously slain by Macbeth.—*Buch. Lib. vii.*

|| He began actually to reign in this year, having been detained a captive in England eighteen years. Scotland was governed during his absence by Robert, Earl of Fife, and Murdock Stuart.

To the same source not only the kings of Sardinia, France, Spain, &c. but almost every other royal family in Europe, may be traced through their intermarriages with those of England and Scotland. Kineth himself, as explicitly stated by the famous Scottish historian, Buchannan, was a lineal descendant of Fergus, an Irish prince, whom he styles the first King of Scotland.* Kineth was also a descendant of Conary, an Irish prince of the Hi-Nial blood, and the chief of that clan, whose predecessors had made a descent into North Britain, under the sons of Erc. Giraldus Cambrensis intimates that the Scots, who came from Ireland, ruled North Britain for a period of 315 years.†

That the Irish Scots carried their arms into various parts of Great Britain, is beyond all question. They even made head, in that country, against the Roman legions, and soon after followed them into the continent. The venerable Bede‡ says, "Britain received, after the Picts and the Britons, *a third nation*, that of *the Scots*, into the country of the Picts. These Scots came from Ireland, under their leader, Reuda, and either amicably or forcibly appropriated to themselves those territories which they possess; from hence, it appears they are called Dalreudini: for *Dal* signifies *a part*," &c. And again, "This (Ireland) is properly the country of the Scots, who, migrating from thence, added a third nation to the Britons and Picts, in Britain." The Scottish writer, Johannes Major, speaks thus—"It is rendered indubitable by manifold proof, that we derive our origin from the Irish."§ Eumenes, the rhetorician, who flourished in the third century, speaks of the Britons as a "rude nation, accustomed to contend with the Picts and the Hibernians.|| Nennius says that "the Scots came from Spain to Ireland." He adds, "These Scots from the west, and Picts from the north, fought with unanimity together against the Britons."¶ The learned Scottish historian, Buchannan, candidly states, that "all the inhabitants of Ireland were first called Scots, as Orosius shews; and our annals relate that the Scots passed more than once from Ireland into Albion—first under Fergusius, the son of Ferchard, their commander," &c. &c. "Afterwards, in the reign of Fergusius II. great aids of Irish Scots were sent hither, and quartered in Galloway," &c. Hence, he adds, sprang the distinction of "Irish Scots and Albanian Scots."** Again, he affirms,†† that when the Scots of Britain chose to call themselves Albani, their neighbours denominated them Scoti, by which name their original is declared to be from the Hibernians.

* Buchannan, Lib. iv. † See also, on this subject, Ranulph Polychron, Lib. i. c. 37, 38, and Usser Primord. p. 706. ‡ Bed. Eccl. Hist. Lib. i. c. 1, 12, et Lib. v. c. 6. § De Gestis Scottorum, Lib. i. c. 9. || Pan ad Const Cæsar, citante Usser. ¶ Nen. Hist. Brit. ** Buchan. rer. Scot. Lib. ii. p. 54, 55, Edit. Francofurt, A. D. 1624. †† Ibid, p. 64.

APPENDIX, No. III.

Of the Materials of which Armagh and other ancient Irish Cities were built, and of the Danish Cast—an Intrenchment which passes through various Districts of the Counties of Down, Armagh, &c.

THE more ancient denomination, "Druimsailech"—"the sal-low-hill," given to the rising ground on which Armagh stands, requires no explanatory comment. It is highly probable that those sallows or willows which were found growing on the spot, were used in the formation of dwelling-houses for the original settlers. Long subsequent to that period, many of the Irish habitations were constructed of such materials. Henry II. received the Irish chieftains in a house formed of bundles of hurdles,* in the south eastern suburbs of Dublin. And Camden says, that in his time, little remained of the ancient city of Armagh, except a few wattled cottages, with the ruinous walls of a monastery, priory and the primate's palace.

After the arrival of the English in this country, the arches in their Gothic buildings seem to have been turned on a kind of convex surface of interwoven sallows, or willow wattles. Some of these yet standing in the fine ruins at Carlingford, bear, at this hour, strong marks of such arched and intertwined sallows.

It is difficult to ascertain the era when edifices of stone and lime were first erected in this country. Those authors, however, err egregiously, who infer, from a certain passage in St. Bernard, that the first building of this kind was begun at Bangor, in the year 1145, by the famous prelate Malachy Morgair. St. Bernard was not a native of Ireland, and, on subjects of this nature, had to rely on information received from others; and that information seems to have been sometimes incorrect, sometimes false, and sometimes totally misunderstood, by him. Thus when he asserts that matrimonial contracts were either unknown or unattended to in Ireland, the evidence of Lanfranc, to the contrary, proves him to have been in error.† But the passage respecting Malachy's building is capable of a construction different from that which it usually receives. When it is stated that this prelate had intended to construct, in Bangor, a stone oratory, like those he had seen in *aliis regionibus*, other regions—the word regions may mean other parts of Ireland, which was divided into various kingdoms and principalities, that might well have been deemed separate regions. An oratory, of the

* "De virgis levigatis ad modum patriæ illius constructum," says Hoveden.

† Vet. Epist. Hib. Syll. p. 70, 72.

kind he was going to construct, may have been a novelty in Bangor and its vicinity, though not in other districts of the isle. Besides, all the objections of Malachy's inveterate enemy to his plan, seem to have been drawn from the greatness of the undertaking, and its consequent expense. He makes no mention of the stones—a circumstance which would not have escaped him, if the objections against the building had been derived from the singularity of the materials of which it was to have been formed.

Neither is it correct to infer from the prevalence of wattled houses in any country, that its inhabitants had no public edifices or other buildings of stone and lime. In the discourse prefixed to Holinshed's History, the writer says that "*three things are altered for the worse in England—the multitude of chimnies lately erected, the great increase of lodgings, and the exchange of treene platters into pewter, and wooden spoons into silver and tin. Nothing but oak for building houses is now regarded. When our houses were built of willow, then we had oaken men; but now our houses are come to be built of oak, our men are not only become willow, but a great many altogether of straw.*" Now, if, from this curious passage, we were to infer that stone and lime buildings had not been used in England, long before the days of this writer, we would be most egregiously mistaken.

Giraldus Cambrensis, who arrived in Ireland about thirty-nine years after the founding of Malachy's oratory, speaks of the round stone and lime towers of this kingdom, as built *more patriæ* after the manner of the country. He seems to have considered them as very ancient, even in his day; for, alluding to an overflow of Lough Neagh, which had taken place at a remote period, and whose effects continued till his time, he says that fishermen frequently shewed to strangers, in passing over the lake, the tops of round towers,* which were visible beneath its waters on clear and serene days.† It is remarked by Harris, that from the records of Christ-church, it appears certain that that edifice was erected about one hundred years prior to the period in question, by Sitricus, the petty king of Dublin. He adds, that "probably St Michael's church, in Sheep street, with one of these round towers adjoining to it, was built about the same time."‡ Harris and Ware speak, also, of St. Kienan's stone and lime church, built in the fifth century.—Kienan was educated under St. Martin, of Tours, where he, perhaps, saw the model of his church. If this account can be relied upon, the Irish took the lead of the Anglo-Saxons, who, according to Bede and Malmesbury, began to build with stone and lime about the year 675.§

* He adds, "*Quæ more patriæ. arctæ sunt et altæ necnon et rotundæ.*"

† Gerald. Camb. Topog. Hib. Dist. xii. c. 9. ‡ See Ware's Ant. p. 134, and Cambrensis' Eversus, p. 117. § Ware's Ant. p. 134. Hist. Abbot Werem. Malm. de Gest. Reg. Ang. lib. i. c. 3.

Cormac's stone-roofed chapel, at Cashel, was probably built by himself. He was a king, bishop and warrior, who flourished in the ninth century, and died about the year 908.

Dr. Ledwich (no favourer of Irish claims to antiquity) asserts that Ireland was castellated, throughout the whole country, with stone and lime buildings, by the Ostmen, in the ninth century.* This assertion is totally inconsistent with his previous assumption,† that no lime-kiln had been built in Ireland prior to that erected by Gelasius, in the year 1145.

In the *Polychron. Ranulph Higdeni monachi Chestrensis*,‡ the reader may find a curious passage, of which the following is a literal translation:—"After the coming of St. Patrick, till the reign of King Feidlim, thirty-three kings ruled in Ireland, during a period of four hundred years. In his reign, came the Norwegians, under their commander Turgesius, and occupied the land. This they intersected through various places with deep trenches, and they erected many castles, some simply, others doubly or triply walled round, which are yet entire, but unoccupied, for the Irish are careless about castles, using woods for camps and lakes for fosses."

There can be little doubt that this passage is founded in truth. Some of the great fosses or intrenchments, to which it alludes, remain in good preservation till this day. Of these, we shall instance a very curious example in the *Danes' Cast*—a fosse and rampart of great extent, which has hitherto, we believe, escaped the notice of every British and Irish historian.

The *Danes' Cast*§ which commences in the townland of Scarva, in the county of Down, consists of a fosse and rampart, and strongly resembles the wall of Antoninus Pius in Great Britain. The traditional stories related by the people of Ireland and Scotland, respecting these great barriers, are, in many respects, remarkably similar, and equally imbued with superstition and extravagance. Antoninus's wall, at the western end of the Numerills, is called "The Swine's Dike," and, in passing to Langton, gives the name of Swine's Dike to a village which lies between these two places. In like manner, the *Dane's Cast* is called by the aboriginal Irish, "*Gleann na Muice duibhe*"||—"The glen of the black pig," which some deem the work of a demon, others of the O'Hanlons, and others again of Mabhe Cruachan, an enchantress. The *Anglo-Irish* style it the *Danes' Cast*, and assert that it was formed by that warlike people.

From the highest part of the rampart, to the top of the opposite bank, this great intrenchment measures, in many places, sixty, in some seventy, and in others eighty feet in width.

* Introduction to Military Antiquities in Grose's Antiquities of Ireland, p. xxv. † Ledwich's Ant. p. 191, first edit. ‡ Apud Gale, p. 181.

§ At the request of the author of this work, Mr. John Bell, landscape-painter, traced the course of this extraordinary intrenchment, on foot, and to this gentleman we are indebted for the account of it which we now submit to the public.

|| *Muice* is pronounced *muck*.

In the lands of Scarva, it runs in a south-west direction, from a circular fortification of three moats, called Lisnagade. It crosses the road leading from Loughbrickland to Scarva; and Scarva-house, the seat of John Lushington Reilly, Esq. is built on its track. It ascends to Loughshark, which is a considerable lake, and the head level of the Newry canal. On the opposite side of the lake, it passes over the townland of Lissenabreag, the property of William Fivey, Esq. not far from Union-Lodge. Here the ditch is faced with stone work. It then crosses the road from Loughbrickland to Pointzpass, and becomes obliterated ere it reaches the old channel of Loughadian. In the bed of Loughadian, which was drained upwards of seventy years ago, by the late William Fivey, Esq. a variety of implements of war, such as celts, spear heads, brazen swords, basaltic hatchets, and missile weapons of flint, have, from time to time, been found in cutting turf; and a curious boat was dug up there, in the year 1796. It was canoe-like in shape, skilfully excavated, and formed out of an immense trunk of solid oak.—Whether the warlike instruments might or might not have been coeval with the great rampart of which we speak, we shall leave the reader to judge.

The fosse and rampart re-appear again in the townland of Loughadian, and crossing a bridle road, become imperceptible at the peat moss of Cornacaple. Afterwards they run on, in fine preservation, through the townland of Killysavan, and cross the direct road from Rathfriland to Pointzpass. At the place where they might be expected to enter the townland of Auchantaraghan, in the county of Armagh, the property of Maxwell Close, Esq. they open into a spacious circular moat, but do not run through this townland.

The rectilinear direction which the intrenchment should hold, to where it re-appears on the townland of Drumantine, is low and marshy; but on the Drumantine-hill, the fortification assumes its original greatness. It pursues this course, with several deflections again to the valley, where it is lost, or rather is abruptly bisected by a road from Glen house, the seat of Arthur Innis, Esq. In the marshy grounds that intervene betwixt this and the hill of Knockanarney, there is not any mark of it whatever; but on Knockanarney, it is in most excellent preservation, and shews its warlike ditch and mound in both the rear and declivity of the hill. It then passes through the townlands of Carrickrovady and Lurganare; but when it descends to the level of the meadow, it disappears here, as it does in all grounds on the same level. From this we are inclined to imagine that at the time the rampart was formed, these low lands had been entirely covered with water, which had either spread out in one continued lough, partially encircling the hills in its serpentine curves, or formed a variety of large and small lakes.

The last townland through which it runs, before leaving the county of Down, is Drumiller. It cuts along the foot of

Drumiller-hill, but disappears in the flat grounds. Here it crosses the county drain, and enters the county of Armagh. It crosses the straight road from Newry to Pointzpass, and then runs through the townland of Gourach,* the property of Roger Hall, of Narrow-water, Esq.—becomes faintly marked—grows stronger—becomes again scarcely perceptible, in the townland of Lett; and, in the same imperfect state, it crosses the road from Mullaghglass church to Newry, and the road from Newry to Armagh, in the townland of Glassdrumond.

The line which it now takes is towards Camlough, and the first townland on which it is seen, after crossing that beautiful and romantic lake, is Townavaun. It then runs over the townland of Ballyliss, and crosses the principal road from Newry to Carrickmacross, near the chapel of Killeavy, at the distance of three miles from Newry.

It is now found on the townland of Seafin, and appears like a large wall, as it stretches along the heathy plain. From thence it crosses the townland of Aughayallog, and bisects the road from Newry to Forkil, about three miles from the former place. In some parts, the wall is here built with rude blocks of granite. No further trace of it has been found, than in the adjoining townland of Ballure, where it crosses the road from Newry to Jonesborough, at the distance of two miles from Newry.†

The *Danes' Cast*, and various other intrenchments, which still remain in Ireland, afford a strong proof that the passage quoted above, from the works of the Chester monk, is correct, and that, of course, stone and lime fabrics were to be found in this country long before the days of Malachy Morgair.

From the great facility with which Armagh appears to have been frequently rebuilt, after having been at various times destroyed, we may rationally infer that the materials of which it had been constructed were light, portable and easily obtained. Some of the houses were, perhaps, made of wattles, coated or plastered over with loam or clay—others of smoothed timber, which was early applied to such uses in Ireland. Thus we are told by Bede, that Finan's church, built about the year 635, was constructed with split oak, after the manner of the Scots, (that is, the Irish,) and covered with reeds. Concubrant‡ says that the chapel of Monena, at Killeslieve, in the county of Armagh, was built of timber, A. D. 630, after the manner of the Irish. It is probable, however, that the cathedral and the other churches

* Industrious farmers have, from time to time, levelled large portions of this remarkable rampart and fosse.—Not many years ago, Mr. James Hamilton, of Greenfield, removed the dike in that part of the Cast which ran through his lands; but its track is still visible.

† In the course of his perambulation, Mr. Bell found many flint arrow points, some of which had been evidently ground—a thing rather unusual, and not mentioned by previous writers. The course of the Danes' Cast was unknown till traced by this gentleman.

‡ Citante Usser. Prim. p. 737.

in the city of Armagh, were, at a very early period, built with stone. Gelasius, in the year 1145, made an immense kiln or furnace, for coking lime, to *repair* these edifices—a proof that lime had previously been used in the construction of the walls.* The roofs of these buildings were tiled. Thus we find, that in the year 1125, Celsus tiled the roof of the church, which had been, in part, uncovered for the space of 130 years.†

A district of the city of Armagh was fortified, as its very name, Rath Ardmach, indicates.‡ The remains of this fortification seem to have been visible in the days of Colgan, who says that the body of Lupita was found about fourteen years prior to the writing of his book, “*in quodam sarcophago extra civitatis muros.*”§ If we may credit the account given by O'Halloran, of the siege of Armagh, which he extracts from the book of “The Wars of Ceallachan Caisil,” the city was strongly fortified in the tenth century.||

On the subject of these supposed fortifications, we subjoin a very ingenious conjecture, with which we are favoured by an esteemed friend, who is well acquainted with Armagh.

“We are informed by historians, that this place has been frequently taken and destroyed. May we not, therefore, naturally conclude, that it was fortified, according to the system of that period, to guard it against similar disasters? What I allude to may have been lines of circumvallation, with their fosses, which, in consequence of the various changes which the surface has since undergone, by the erection of houses, the cultivation of gardens, the alteration of roads, &c. now only produce here and there, a more sudden descent, on the sides of the hill, in its line of inclination towards the surrounding valley.

“Taking the middle part of the cathedral as a centre, the distance from this point seems to vary, being apparently higher on the western face of the hill, than any where else. On the northern, it appears to be at the greatest distance, which may be attributed to the following cause:—The ascent of the hill being here less rapid, the place on this side was more assailable, and an additional work may have been formed, at some distance from the principal, to increase its security.

“If we commence our inspection of the upper line of circumvallation, on the western side, we may perceive a sudden descent in the inclination of the hill, immediately under the gardens belonging to the widows' and vicars' houses. This descent has been visibly increased by the formation of the present road, made for the purpose of avoiding the ascent over the hill. From this western point, the line of circumvallation continues northerly, in a circular direction, passing between the infirmary and library; then crossing Abbey-street, it traverses the gardens and enters Market-street, beneath the house and premises

* Tria. Thaum, p. 305.—Ware's Bishops. † Tria. Thaum. p. 300.

‡ See page 143 of this work, § Tria. Thaum. p. 226, || O'Halloran, vol. ii. p. 216, 217.

lately occupied by Mr. Charles Whittington. Crossing this street, in an ascending direction, it runs beneath the rears of the houses of Castle-street, crossing the upper part of Chapel-lane; and from thence to its beginning is lost by the improvement of Castle-street, and that part of Irish-street over which it once passed.

“That which I consider as an additional line of defence, is indicated at present by a second descent in the inclination of the hill. Its distance from the upper, seldom exceeds from sixty to seventy feet, except on the northern side. It commences by extending from the upper one, on the north-western side, and passes below the infirmary, continuing its course through the gardens behind the houses in Abbey-street. Crossing this street, it runs through the ground on which Wesley's chapel is now erected. Crossing Abbey-lane, it passes behind the Presbyterian meeting-house, and through the gardens, until it enters Market-street, about fifty or sixty feet below the upper line. Crossing this street, in a direction through the present Market-house, it passes the opposite side of the street, beneath the house lately occupied by Dr. Carson. From thence traversing the gardens, in a circular direction, and nearly parallel to the upper line, it crosses Chapel-lane and Irish-street, terminating its circular course somewhere between that street and Callan-street; from whence it may have ascended the hill to join the upper line. The face of the hill being, on this side, more steep and difficult of ascent, presented a natural, strong barrier, that did not require a double line of defence.”

APPENDIX, No. IV.

On the Birth-place of St. Patrick.

WE agree with those writers who assign Gaul as the birth-place of St. Patrick, for the following reasons.—

1st, Because Fiech, whose account of him is decidedly the most ancient now extant, says explicitly that he was born at Nem Tur, (Holy Tours.) It is well remarked by the writer of a Life of St. Patrick, printed in Dublin, in the year 1810, that the Latin translator of this hymn mistook the word *Naemh* or *Naobh*, (saintly, heavenly) and *Tur*, (the city of Tours) for one word, and metamorphosed them into the non-descript town of Nemptur, which Jocelin, by a slight change, converted into Empthur.*

2d, The same author (Fiech) makes Patrick reside, for some time, at Lethu or Letha, a name given to a part of Armoriac

* Hym. St. Fiech, v. 1. Tria. Thaum. p. 1.

Gaul by writers of the middle ages. The Scholiast on St. Fiech, No. 5, says, that Patrick, with his relations, were in Letha, a region of Armoric Gaul, which he sometimes styles *Armoricam Lethanam sive Britanniam Letheacensem*. So, also, Langhorne states, that Armorica was called Letha and Letavia. To the same effect, the authority of Camden may be adduced, who says that "before the coming of the Britons, this country was first styled Armorica, (*i. e.* situated near the sea,) then, in the British dialect, Llydaw, (*i. e.* on the coast,) in Latin, Letavia, amongst our writers of the middle ages."—"Lastly, Britannia Minor," &c.*

3d, The author of the Fourth Life of St. Patrick—(a very ancient work, attributed to St. Eleran,) says explicitly, that the Hibernian apostle was born in Armoric Gaul, at Nemthur, which he translates "Turris Cœlestis"—"The holy tower."†

4th, The adoption of this account of the birth-place of St. Patrick is perfectly consistent with his whole biography. At Tours, his mother, Conchessa, and his uncle, St. Martin, resided, and it is stated by our historic writers, that he himself was made a prisoner in Gaul, and borne a captive to Ireland, by a victorious prince of the Hy-Nial race.

It is beyond all question, that St Patrick was of British origin; but this is by no means inconsistent with the account which we have given of his nativity. Colonies of Britons were probably settled in Armoric Gaul, long before the arrival of the Saxons in England. In the fourth century, the Briton, Conan, is said, in the Polychronicon of Ranulph Higden, to have even conquered that country;‡ and Stillingfleet (no mean inquirer into ancient history) affirms, after a minute investigation of that subject, that colonies of Britons "had settled themselves on the sea coasts near Britain, where they might be ready to receive or go over to their countrymen, as the condition of affairs should happen." In this inference, he does not rely altogether on the authority of Nennius, Geffrey, William of Malmesbury, or Radulphus Niger, but on just deductions from the writings of Sidonius Apollinaris, Jornandes, Sigebert, Sirmondus, and others§. In the reign of Clodian, about the year 441, multitudes of Britons passed over into Armoric Gaul, as we learn from Mezeray;|| but it seems certain that numbers of their countrymen had previously settled in that province.

5th, St. Patrick is stated, by some of his earlier biographers, to have been born at the village of Banave, in a district sometimes called Tabernia, and sometimes Tabern and Tiburnia, and said to be near the western sea, which is again denominated the Thyrenian sea. On this subject, we copy the following

* Camden, Brit. p. 66. † Tria. Thaum. p. 35. ‡ Polychron, Ranulph, apud Gale, p. 219. § See Stillingfleet's Antiquities of the British Churches, c. 5, p. 350, 351, et sequent. || Abrege Chronologique, tom. i, p. 18, edit. Amsterdam, 1688.

remarks from the Life of St. Patrick, edited in Dublin by Fitzpatrick, in the year 1810, to which we have already alluded.

“The word *Taberna* denotes, in its original signification, a temporary shed, formed of boards or wooden materials. Its derivation, Donatus, Ulpian, Littleton and other philologists, deduce from *Trabes*, a beam, *quasi trabena*, or from *tabula*, a board, *quasi taberna tabella*, &c. The sheds, shops and houses of entertainment, set up for the accommodation of the Roman armies, whether of the temporary or stationary kind, were called *Tabernæ*; from these sorts of hotels, many places derived their names. Thus from the *Three Taverns*, a town twenty-one miles from Rome, the people went out to meet St. Paul. *Tabernæ Rigua*, is a place mentioned by Ausonius, in Belgic Gaul, near Nimeguen. The town of Elsas-zabern, also in Lorraine, is the *Tres Tabernæ* of Ammian, and the *Tabernæ Tribocorum* of Antonine. In Belgic Gaul, too, we find the *Tabernæ Rhenanæ* of Antonine still existing as a town, called Rhein Zabern, at the confluence of the Erlbach with the Rhine in Lorraine.

“There have been more *Tabernæ* in various parts of Gaul which owe their origin and appellation to those Roman encampments since Cæsar’s invasion of that country, about fifty years before Christ, till their total expulsion at the commencement of the sixth century. But in no itinerary or author do we meet with any town of the name of *Tabernia* near Dunbarton, the place where St. Patrick’s Parents are, by our system-mongers, made to reside.”

The same writer remarks that by the Tyrrhenian or Turonian sea, St. Fiech and the other authors of the middle ages designated that part of the Armoric Sea, which was contiguous to the mouth of the Loire, and opposite the Turanes, or people of Turane.

Our opinion on the subject of St. Patrick’s nativity is certainly contrary to that of the accurate and learned Ussher; and on a subject so much contested, and of so difficult a nature, we do not presume to speak with certainty. No inference, however, can be drawn against his existence, from our ignorance of the place of his birth, any more than against that of George Psalmanazar, whose native country is also, we believe, unknown.

APPENDIX, No. V.

On the ancient School or College of Armagh, and the state of ancient Irish Literature.

THE school of Armagh was founded by St. Patrick himself,^{*} and continued for a long time one of the most celebrated seminaries of literature in Europe. From time to time, it received the patronage of the kings of Ireland, and even Roderick O'Connor, the last of its native monarchs, made a new grant to the professors of this college, in the year 1169.† From this school, many learned men, not only of the Irish nation, but students from every part of Christendom, issued forth to instruct their respective countrymen, and to diffuse knowledge throughout Europe. Some of these scholars became martyrs for the truths of Christianity. Swithbert,‡ the apostle of Westphalia, and Willibrord, archbishop of Utrecht, two learned Anglo Saxons, were educated at Armagh. We learn from Alcuin, the preceptor of Charlemagne,§ that Willibrord studied “twelve years in Ireland, under masters of high reputation, being intended for a missionary preacher to many people.” He styles him—

“Vir virtute potens divino plenus amore
Ore sagax, et mente vigil, et fervidus actu.”

This learned missionary founded the monastery of Epternach, where he died, A. D. 739.||

Gildas Albanus, the most ancient of the British historians, who was, according to Bayle,¶ a disciple of St. Patrick, presided over the Armagh college, from whence he returned to Britain, when he heard of the death of his brother, who was slain by King Arthur, as we learn from his biographer, Caradocus Lhancarvanensis.** He died on the 29th of January, 512.—St. Catroe was also an alumnus of Armagh college.††

The annals of Ulster state, that in the year 1162,‡‡ an ecclesiastical synod, assembled by Gelasius at Cleonad, decreed that no persons should be permitted to teach or publicly lecture on the science of theology, except those who had studied at the Armagh academy. Hence an assertion made by Florence MacCarthy,§§ that 7000 pupils were, at one period, to be found in that college is by no means incredible. From this synodical decree, we may fairly infer, that the school had retained its

* Vita Trip. † Lucius, p. 89, 90. ‡ Jus. Prim. Armac. cap. 378.
§ Vita Willib. lib. i. et ii, || Gaspar Bruschius. ¶ See also Harpsfeld
and Pitceus, who agree with Bayle on this point. ** Caradoc. in vita Gildæ,
cap. 9, 12. †† Jus. Prim. cap. 379. ‡‡ According to our calculation, 1163.
§§ Citantibus Usser et Ware.

high character from age to age, and was at all periods the chief seminary of literature in this kingdom. Hence it is probable that the Irish philosopher and mathematician Feargall, known on the continent by the names of Virgil and Solivagus,* was educated here. So early as the year 748, this eminent man maintained the sphericity of the earth, the existence of the antipodes, and the plurality of worlds, as is manifest from a letter written by Pope Zacharias to Bishop Boniface, on that subject.† Here, also, it is probable that Erigena derived those liberal sentiments in religion and philosophy, which rendered him illustrious on the continent, in the ninth century. The same, also may be rationally conjectured of Albin, (the friend of Charles the Great,) who afterwards presided over the university of Ticinum, and of Clement,‡ (provost of the university of Paris,) and of other learned Hibernian Scots. Be this as it may, the names of many professors in the Armagh college are yet on record; and amongst these, that of Imar O'Hædagain, the rebuilder of St. Paul and St. Peter's church, and the preceptor of Malachy Morgair.§

Foreign students were gratuitously furnished, in the Irish colleges, with lodging, diet, clothes and books, and we have the authority of Bede|| and Alcuin,¶ as well as of Erric, of Auxerre,** and of the writer of the Life of Sulgenus, that numbers of Saxons, Gauls, &c. flocked to Ireland for instruction. This account is corroborated by Camden, Spencer, Lluid and Roland. It is certain, that whoever wished to perfect himself in Theology, and in the other sciences, deemed it necessary to reside in some of the literary seminaries of this country. Hence Camden quotes the following passage from the Life of Sulgen:—

“ Exemplo patrum commotus amore legendi
Ivit ad Hibernos, Sophia mirabile claros.”

He alleges, also, that the ancient English even learned the form of their letters from the Irish.†† Indeed the Irish language seems to have been formerly held in considerable repute, even by British monarchs; for when Aidan preached in that tongue to the Northumbrians, King Oswin himself interpreted his discourse to the people.‡‡ When any learned man on the continent had disappeared, it was generally said of him—“ *Amandatus est ad disciplinam in Hibernia.*” Aldelm, an author of the seventh century, the very first of the English nation who wrote Latin poetry, was a pupil of the Hibernian Scot, Maidulph, as

* Stannihurst, Descript. Hib. c. 7. † Vet. Epist. Hib. Syl. p. 49, 50.

‡ A writer of the fourteenth century affirms, “ that by the works of Clement, an Irishman, the French might be compared to the Athenians and Romans.”—*Vide Bebenburgius de Zelo Veter. Princip. German, citante O' Halloran.*

§ Tria Thaum. Sept. Append. ad acta S. Pat. || Hist. Eccl. Brit. lib. iii. c. 7, 27—lib. 4, c. 26. ¶ Vita S. Willibrord. lib. ii. c. 4. ** De Mirac. S. Germani, lib. i, c. ult. †† Camden's Ireland, p. 68.—Holland's trans. ‡‡ Bede, Hist. Eccl. Brit, lib. ii. c. 3.

Camden testifies.* Aigilbert, the first bishop of the Western Saxons, and afterwards bishop of Paris, and Alfred, king of Northumberland, were educated in Ireland.†

The sciences and liberal arts, taught in the Irish colleges, were Theology, Grammar, Rhetoric, Logic, Arithmetic, Music, Geometry and Astronomy. Of these, the last seven were methodically comprised and digested in a disquisition, which had been written by Martianus Capella, in the fifth century‡ On this author, Johannes Scotus Erigena wrote comments, and Duncant, an Irish bishop, delivered lectures in St. Remigius's monastery, in Down; and these works are still extant.§ From such materials, we may learn the nature of the studies to which the Irish literati dedicated their time. The works of Cumian, abbot of Hi, are honourable to the Irish seminary in which he studied. In some of these, there is a considerable display of erudition, talent and research. References are made by Cumian to Hieronymus,|| St. Augustine, Origen, Cyprian, Cyril and Gregory. In treating of cycles, he refers to the authority of Patrick, discusses those of Anatolius, Theophilus, Dionysius, Cyril and Victorius,¶ &c. &c. Indeed Cumian's erudite letter to Segien furnishes an example of Hibernian literature, and, of course, of the nature of the collegiate studies successfully cultivated in Ireland, during the seventh century.

Erigena was admirably well versed in the Greek and Latin languages. From the Greek, he translated the books of Dionysius, the Areopagite,** in such a manner as to astonish the royal Charles. He translated also Aristotelis Moralia de secretis secretorum into Chaldaic, Arabic and Latin.†† He is deemed to have been the author of the Excerpta in Macrobius, concerning the affinities and discrepancies of the Greek and Latin Syntaxes,‡‡ as well of a treatise *περί φυσικῶν*. He was an adept in theology and the other sciences, and from his works we may appreciate the classic taste of the Irish literati in the ninth century. The enlightened system of astronomy adopted before that period, in the Hibernian schools, may be inferred from what we have already said concerning Virgil.

The study of their vernacular tongue was not neglected by Irish scholars. A glossary of that language was written by Cormack Mac Cuillionain, king of Munster and bishop of Cashel, who was slain at the battle of Bealach Muchna, A. D. 908.§§ A very ancient copy of this work, on vellum, is deposited in

*] Camden, Wiltshire, p. 242—Holland's trans. † Bedæ, lib. iii. c. 7—27. Id. in Carm. de vita S. Cuthbert, c. 21. ‡ Fabric. Biblioth. lat. p. 658. Barth. Advers. lib. viii. Ledw. Ant. p. 351, 352. § Fabric. Bib. lat. p. 640. Warton's Hist of English Poetry, vol. ii. p. 75, 76. Ledwich. Ant. p. 352. || Vet. Epist. Syl. 25, 26—31. ¶ Ibid. p. 32. ** Guliel. Malm. lib. ii. de gest. reg. Ang. c. 4. Trithem de Script. Eccles. Gul. Eysengren Catal test verit. Polychron. Ran. Higden. †† Bayle, centur 2, Script. Brit. cap. 24. ‡‡ MSS. in Trin. Col. Cantab—citante Usser. in Epist. Recen. p. 135. §§ Act. Sanct. p. 5. Ogyg. p. 208.

the library of Sir William Betham, and another in the collection of the learned Irish lexicographer, Edward Reilly.*—There is some probability that the ancient Danes, as well as the Saxons, acquired their knowledge of letters from Ireland; and Wormius admits that his countrymen have an old alphabet called *Ira Letur*, or *Irlandorum Literæ*.†

To Hibernian Scots, the literati of Europe owe the introduction of scholastic divinity, and the application of philosophic reasoning to illustrate the doctrines of theology, as we learn from the works of Benedict, abbot of Aniam, in Languedoc, a writer of the eighth century.‡

Giraldus Cambrensis (no favourer of the Irish) seems to have been quite enraptured with their music, which was taught scientifically in their colleges. Their skill, he says, was “incomparably superior to that of any other nation. For their modulations are not slow and morose, as in the instruments of Britain, to which we are habituated; but the sounds are rapid and precipitate, yet sweet and pleasing. It is wonderful that the musical proportion is preserved amidst such precipitate velocity of the fingers, and that the melody is rendered full and perfect, by an undeviating art, amidst such trembling modulations—such organic tones, so infinitely intricate—possessed of such pleasing swiftness—such unequal parity—such discordant concord. Whether the chords of the diatesseron or diapente be struck together, they begin and terminate in dulce, that all may be perfectly completed in delightful, sonorous melody. They commence and close their modulations with so much subtilty, and the tinklings of the slender strings sport so freely with the deep tones of the bass chords—so delicately pleasing—so softly soothing—that the perfection of their art lies in concealing art.” &c. &c.

To the same effect testify Ranulph Higden,§ and Polydore Virgil, who styles the Irish *musica peritissimi*. Vincentio Galilei, a Florentine and father of the great Galileo, quotes the poet Dante, who lived about the year 1300, to prove that the harp or altered cithera had, in its improved form, been introduced by the Irish into Italy.|| Fuller, in his account of the Holy War,¶ says, “Yea, we might well think that all the concert of Christendom, in this war, would have made no music, if the Irish harp had been wanting.” In modern times, Geminiani was delighted and astonished by the harmony of some of our ancient airs; and Handel** declared that he would rather have been the author of *Eallen a Roon*, than of the most exquisite of his own musical compositions. Perhaps this simple original air contains more melody, in fewer notes, than any other in existence.

* See Preface to his excellent Dictionary of the Irish Language. † Worm. Lit. Run. cap. 1, and see also the Preface to the Irish Historic Library of Bishop Nicholson, p. xiii. ‡ Baluz. Miscell. citante Mosheim, vol. ii. p. 256. § Apud Gale, p. 122. || Vide Critical Dissert. prefixed to Bunting's Collection, p. 25, 1. ¶ B. v. c, 23, citante Walker. ** O'Connor's Dissert. p. 58.

Since such has uniformly been the power of Irish music, we need not wonder that Gertrude, the daughter of the illustrious Pepin, maire of the palace to Dagobert and Sigebert, in the seventh century, sent to Ireland, not only for learned men to instruct the religeuse of the abbey of Neville, *but for musicians and chanters to teach them church harmony, or psalm-singing.**

With music, poetry was intimately connected. That classic poetry was cultivated in Ireland, at a very early period, the writings of Sedulius, (who styles himself "a Scot of Hibernia," in his Comment on St. Paul's Epistles,) demonstrate. Maidulph, the preceptor of Aldelm, (the first Englishman who wrote Latin verses,) was himself an Irishman and a poet, and flourished A. D. 676.† The classic Alcuin,‡ who also wrote Latin verses, styles the Irish prelector, Colcus, his master.§ Spencer, the English poet, says that even in his day, the verses of the Irish bards "savoured of sweet wit and good invention.||" And Mr. Warton proves that the Welsh bards derived their knowledge of music from instructions which they received in Ireland.¶

The Irish literati of the middle ages did not confine their useful labours to their own colleges, but formed various literary, hospitable and religious establishments, in foreign countries. In the council of Meaux, A. D. 845, it was decreed that complaints should be made to the king of the ruin of hospitable houses, *particularly of those of the Irish nation, founded by benevolent natives of that country.*** In the seventh century, Columban, an Irishman, founded the abbey of Luxevil, in Burgundy—a second at Fontanelle††—and a third at Bobio, near Naples. Gall, another Hibernian, founded the abbey of Stinace, or Stinaha, near the lake Constance.‡‡ In the sixth century, Columba, the Irish Culdee, founded the famous monastery of Hi, or Iona,§§ and converted the Picts.—Arbogast, an Hibernian Scot, about the year 646, founded an oratory in Alsace, where Hagenau was afterwards built.||| Maidulph erected the monastery of Ingleborne, where, about the year 676, he instructed the English youth in classic literature.¶¶ Furseay founded a monastery at Cnobersburgh, now Burgh castle, in Suffolk, about the year 637, and shortly afterwards, the abbey of Laigni, in the diocese of

* Fleury, Hist. Ecclesiast. tom. viii. p. 421. † Camden, Brit. v. 1, p. 104. Vide Holland's trans. p. 242. Malm. de Gest. Reg. Ang. lib. i. c. 2. Ware's Writers, p. 42.

‡ It may be worth noting that this Alcuin, after having stated that Willibrord was educated in Ireland, informs us again, c. 33, Vit. Willi. that he had studied in the country of the Scots.

§ Vet. Epist. Hib. Syll. p. 31. || p. 112, 113. ¶ Hist. of English Poetry, dissert. i. ** Fleury, Hist. Eccl. tom. x. p. 382. †† Jonas, Vita Columb. c. 7, 8, 9. Marian Scotus ‡‡ Wal. Strab. in vita S. Galli. apud Surium, tom. v. ad 16 Oct. et Messing. Florileg. p. 255, et sequent. §§ Cumian vita Columb. Tria Thaum. p. 325, et sequent. Adam Vit. Col. Tria Thaum. p. 336, et sequent. Bede, Eccl. Hist. Gent. Angl. lib. iii. cap. 4. ||| Gaspar Brusch, de Episc. Germ. p. 55 ¶¶ Holland's Camden, p. 242.

Paris.* He died on the 16th of January, 648.†—It is unnecessary to pursue this subject further. We may, however, remind our readers that Charlemagne, of France, placed the university of Paris and that of Ticinum, (*i. e.* Pavia,) the two first formed establishments of the kind on the continent of Europe, under the care of two Irishmen, Albin and Clements, as best qualified to preside over institutions, at once so novel and so useful.‡

Since Bede informs us§ that in the days of the bishops Finan and Colman, multitudes of the nobility and of the middle ranks of the English nation studied in Ireland, and were there supplied with books and food without charge, it may be presumed that the abbots and head professors were in possession of considerable funds to bear the expenses of such very liberal establishments. To prove the truth of this supposition, we now subjoin an account of some of the possessions belonging to the abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul, to which the school of Armagh was annexed. The revenue resulting from this and similar property was quite independent of all occasional regal donations.—

The abbey and twelve gardens in the city—the townlands of Ballyleanmore, Clawdoughe, Killemeky, Ballyleanbegge, Dromvolly, Ballyneydarragh, Drountee, Lourgowergh, Ballyvically, Downlyr, Cavanaghan, Prosnawhyge, Crecanmore, Fallee, Correcleagh, Aghagoran, Tassaagh, Tearrarlee,|| Crewroe—the third part of Annagh—third of Dromcote—sixth of Tyarnunagell—fourth of Tullaloyst—fourth of Enagh-buidhe—third of Achanoyce—third of Tullachelmayne—sixth of Downalloghe—a tract of land called Knock Ederyn, near the abbey—the lands of Cloghan, Corraghe, Cloghum, Tullongh O'Sarran, Aughan O'Cloyghy, Crossereen, Moulegournagh, near Armagh, and all tithes of said districts—the two townlands of Corheenan, and the townland of Clonarbe, in the parish of Tynan—the advowson of Tynan church, and the townland of Maugergrene, appurtenant thereto.¶

In 1557, James Donelley, the prior, was found seized of the abbey, &c. in the city of Armagh; and of a parcel of land called Garry, Templemurray, and Garrynemanus; and a considerable tract in the following districts, viz. Knockadrain, Dromcoote, Lurgaboyourah, Aghamoote, the Grange of Lurgaboy—Townland of Dromnemuicke, Tallynemallorogh, Mullinesillagh—Grange of Ballymacally, Broaghueclogh, Leatery, Inclonconoghy, Lurgalachtnemingle, Tullochbofin—Grange of Sessiagh-neogrechanphy, Carnevanaghra—Townland of Rieskyroddeh,

* Miræus de Colleg. Canon, p. 41. Desm. vita Furs. c. 13, 14, 15, 16.

†† Bed. Martyr. ‡ See Introduction to this work, p. xlv. See also Notker Balbulus, apud Canisium. Antiquæ Lut. tom. i. p. 360, et Vinc Spec. Hist. lib. xxiii. cap. 173, et Anton. Chron. tit. 14, c. 4, sec. 12. § Lib. iii. c. 27.

|| *i. e.* Tiriarle, the Western Land, because it lay west of the royal residence at Creeve Roe, (Craobh Ruadh.)

¶ The above account is extracted from an inquisition taken A. D. 1559, when Patrick Hagan was abbot,

Foallee, Fullynoroy, Tyranegargill, Aghanore, Knockenbog, Lurgaboyligragh, Seskinultagh, Agheter Toyl, *alias* Knock Toyl, Cornegillagh, Broaghcullen, Dromenecheghy, Shancarragh, Lismore, Dromentee, Cavenaghgroah, Tulloghboreagh, Drumlirk, Carnafinagher, Knockedderdshrogh da Foalle, Knocknessegh, Tulloghlosky, Tullyelinane, Aghagonnell, Knockatree-ly, Carrigennare, Aghavallagh, Coolaghill, Aghacarragh—Grange of Tubbersuawght, Doonlish, Mallaghdromerbeh—Grange of Odenegreanan, Rieskenefedoge, Annaghboy, Dunollagh, Tyregarve, Lurgaboy, and one hundred and twenty-one other denominations of land, which the reader may find fully recited in Archdall's *Monasticon Hibernicum*, pages 26, 27, 28, 29.*

The abbot† was also seized of the tithes of all those lands, and Sessiogh, Lurgaboy, Ballyvanran, and Knoctanty in Clanchoncy, as well as of the lands of Dromarge (*alais* Dooghmuinterdogan,) Coolcummery, Jengooda, Tinenesken, Balliboe, Cavan, Tullyasnech, Tiretragh, Tirenasagart and Downe.‡

APPENDICES, Nos. VI. & VII.

Of the ancient district Na Fearta; and of the present Demesne of his Grace the Lord Primate.

WE have already stated, (page 74,) that we are unable to ascertain the situation of the district Na Fearta, in which St. Patrick lived, whilst he was occupied in building the city of Armagh. If, as we had conjectured, it was connected with the lands which now surround the old abbey, in the primate's demesne, a more eligible spot could scarcely have been chosen for the residence of the Irish apostle.§

We are sorry that the capabilities which this district and the adjacent lands present to the eye of Taste, were not used to advantage by Primate Robinson, in forming his demesne.

In the flat meadow grounds that lie at a short distance from the rear of his grace's palace, was formerly an extensive sheet

* The abbey and property appurtenant was granted to Sir Toby Caulfeild, in May 1612, at £5 rent.—*Lodge*, vol. iii. p. 86.

† We had intended to annex to this Appendix, an account of the modern colleges of Ireland, and a list of the works published by the alumni of Trinity College, Dublin. We find, however, that the writers of that university are so numerous, that we should not have space to treat the subject as it merits in this work. We shall, however, at the end of the Appendices, give a catalogue of the works of Primate James Ussher.

‡ King. p. 252, citante Archdall.

§ This old abbey was used as a cemetery by the inhabitants of a large tract of country, till the days of Primate Robinson.

of water called Parkmore or Parkimore Lough. The lake was fed by small streams from Ballyharradan, Kearney-hill, and other high grounds to the southward, and was considerably extended by an embarkment with a sluice, made by Mr. Thomas Ogle, across the small current that issued from it, in order to turn the water into a deep mill-race, cut straight from the lake to his marble-mill, where the gardener's house now stands. This race ran under the site of the columns that now form the beautiful front of the chapel. At the time Primate Robinson came first to Armagh, Parkimore Lake, skirted Knox's or the Obelisk Hill, and extended a considerable way up the valley, towards the south, forming a fine irregular sheet of water, supposed to have been a mile in circumference, and frequented by water fowl of many kinds, particularly in the winter season: but when his grace had fixed on the site of the palace, he was advised to remove Mr. Ogle's embarkment and drain the lake, lest its exhalations should prove injurious to the air of his demesne.* By this Vandalic advice, which unfortunately was implicitly followed, one of the most striking beauties of the place was totally destroyed and turned into dank, splashy bog meadows, infinitely more injurious to the salubrity of the atmosphere, than a limpid lake, constantly kept in motion by numerous springs and streamlets running into it, could possibly have been.—When Mr. Ogle's hedge rows, ditches and buildings were cleared off and levelled, the capability of a tasteful improvement in these grounds must have appeared obvious and striking, to every person who could at all appreciate the beauties of a picturesque home landscape, immediately fronting the palace. A level and winding valley, here narrowed by approaching swells, and there spreading to a considerable breadth, with a perpetual stream running through its centre, at once pointed out the facility with which it might have been formed into a beautiful winding sheet of water, terminated by an embarkment near and parallel to the boundary plantation of the demesne, next Scotch-street gardens and Mr. Sloan's field, now Dobbin-street gardens. This embarkment would have answered two purposes.—It

* It may be worth remarking, that Mr. Ogle had a hop-yard in ground adjacent to the abbey lands, near the present entrance into the demesne by the Thomas-street gate. The hops flourished exceedingly, and twenty years after the poles, &c. were removed, grew wild on the premises, and were found intertwined through the hedge rows, and gathered by people who used their tender tops as asparagus. Formerly, however, the climate of Ireland would have been much better adapted to the growth of hops and such plants, if we credit what Bede says of the mildness of its atmosphere. That eminent writer asserts (*Eccl. Hist. lib. i. c. 1.*) “that in salubrity and serenity of air, Ireland far surpasses Britain. It abounds in milk and honey, nor is it destitute of vines, fish and fowl, and is remarkable for deer.” And Orosius says (*Lib. xiv. c. 6.*) that “this island, which is near Britain, is indeed of less magnitude, but more excellent in soil and temperature of climate.” An Irish canon decrees that if fowl destroy a crop, a vineyard, or a garden, the owner shall make restitution. Moreover, we have Irish compound terms for every thing relating to the grape. Thus *fion-dloss*, a wine press; *fineamhuin*, a vineyard; *fion-chaor*, a grape, &c. &c.

would have raised the level of the stream; and, if a part of its front had been formed of stone, it might have been painted so as to resemble a bridge, like the mock arches formerly visible at Mr. Brownlow's lake in Lurgan demesne. This would have given the sheet of water the appearance of a spacious winding river. On a gentle rise, near this sheet of water, might have appeared, to great advantage, the old abbey—a highly interesting object—with all its ivied emblems of antiquity, ornamented by the few old trees which then grew around it, and undefiled by the sacrilegious touch of modern improvement. As a contrast to this object, a small white fishery hut, with some tasteful planting, on the opposite side of the water, and the mock bridge appearing beyond them, overshadowed by the plantation next to Scotch-street gardens; with groups of sheep and cows grazing around, might have formed a charming home view from the front of the palace. In the rear, Parkmore Lake, extending far up the valley and terminated by another mock bridge, with a white cottage and some judicious planting on the side opposite to the Obelisk Hill, might have appeared still more extensively beautiful, as being more distant and on a much larger scale. Still, however, these sheets of water might have been made to appear both from the front and rear of the palace, as a large natural river flowing into the grounds, through the mock bridge near Ballyharradan, and flowing out of them, through the mock bridge next to the town. These ideal improvements were all perfectly practicable, and would certainly have made the primate's demesne highly picturesque and beautiful. It was humourously observed, at that time, that the gentleman who had been employed to lay out his grace's lands, had been bit by some mad mason, and seized at once, not only with a building-mania, but with an inveterate Hydrophobia, the symptoms of which appeared in his invincible antipathy to water. Hence in the rear of the palace, he drained Parkmore Lake, and for that pleasing object, substituted a reedy meadow; and directly in front of his lordship's windows, he almost surrounded the old abbey, a most venerable ruin, with sheds, farm-houses, and a garden wall. Primate Robinson's successors have endeavoured to hide from view this singular and uncouth mixture of heterogeneous matters, this grotesque checker-work of antique and modern objects, by a screen of forest trees, and have, in some measure, succeeded in concealing or at least in softening down its deformity.

APPENDIX, No. VIII.

Of the Eclipse mentioned in page 93 of this work.

THE author of the Annals of Ulster expresses himself thus, concerning the eclipse in question :—" *Tenebræ in Kalendis Maii in nona hora ; et in eadem æstate cælum ardere visum est. Mortalitas in Hiberniam pervenit in Kalendis Augusti.*" Bede writes to the same effect, respecting the pestilence ; but says that the sun's eclipse took place on the 3d of May, "*Anno Dominicæ incarnationis DCLXIV. facta est Eclipsis Solis die tertio mensis Maii hora circiter decima die ;*" and after stating the ravages of the pestilence in England, he adds, "*Hæc autem plaga Hiberniam quoque pari clade premebat.*"*

Thus it appears that the Irishman assigns the ninth hour of the 1st of May, 664, as the time when the eclipse was visible, whilst the venerable Bede refers it to the tenth hour of the 3d of May—a palpable error.

Primate Ussher has very ingeniously assigned the causes of Bede's mistake.† He alleges that many of this author's friends and contemporaries must have recollected the eclipse, and that from some of these he had learned that it had taken place in the beginning of May, 664. Now the English philosopher knew that the eclipse must have happened on the day of the new moon, and had, therefore, recourse to Dionysius's cycle ; and having found the golden number XIX. he perceived that it indicated the 3d of May, as the day required. Ussher shews that this was a very fallacious mode of ascertaining the point, and he quotes Marianus Scotus, who, speaking of the year 1082, whose golden number was also XIX writes thus—" *Prima Paschalis Luna IV. Non. Aprilis, toti orbi apparuit : quum II. Aprilis esse deberet.*"‡

Let us now consider how far the Irish annalist's account of the eclipse corresponds with the exact time in which it happened.—Astronomical tables shew that there was a new moon on the 1st of May, A. D. 664, and by applying the proper equations, it comes out the 1st of May, forty minutes and seventeen seconds

* Bedæ. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 27. † Usser. Brit. Eccles. Ant. p. 491.

‡ It is a curious fact that Gerard Mercator imagined that this eclipse had been seen by Bede on the 3d of May, and makes this assumption the foundation of a new system of Astronomy—" *Necesse esse (ait) latitudinis medium motum ab A. D. CXXXV. vel CCCXLVIII. ad hunc DCLXIV. gradibus plus minus 50° tardiolem fuisse quam calculus Ptolemæi habet, et mediæ distantie motum 9 circiter diebus celeriolem.*"—Of such consequence were the very errors of Bede.

after three P. M. Hence, by a just deduction and use of the necessary elements, it appears that on 1st of May, A. D. 664, the beginning of the eclipse at London was at twenty minutes after two o'clock, P. M. and the end thirty-six minutes after four, P. M.

Now it is clear that the Irish annalist, in assigning the period of the eclipse, referred to ordinary Roman time; for he does not, like Bede, specify the day of the month by its *numerical denomination*; but styles it the *Kalends of May*. By ancient Roman time, therefore, his account of the matter must be estimated.

The Romans, in assigning the time of contingent events, generally used the natural day, that is, the period which elapsed from sunrise till sunset.* This day was divided into twelve hours, whose lengths varied exactly as the period betwixt sunrise and sunset increased or diminished. Of course, at the equinoxes, the first hour corresponded with our six o'clock; and at all times it commenced with sunrise. To the hours of the natural day, Martial alludes in his seventh Epig. lib. iv.—

“ Prima salutantes, atque altera continet hora;
 Exercet raucos tertia causicos.
 In quintam varios extendit Roma labores;
 Sexta quies lassis; septima finis erit.
 Sufficit in nonam nitidis octava palæstris;
 Imperat extractos frangere† nona toros.
 Hora libellorum‡ decima est, Eupheme, meorum
 Temperat ambrosias cum tua cura dapes;
 Et bonus æthereo laxatur nectare Cæsar,
 Ingentique tenet pocula parca manu.
 Tunc admitte jocos; gressu timet ire licenti
 Ad matutinium nostra Thalia Jovem.”

Of this mode of reckoning the hours, Pliny the younger makes use in his letter to Calvisius respecting Spurina's manner of spending the day. And Cicero§ writes thus—“*Accubueram hora nona cum ad te horum exemplum in codiculis exaravi*”—and Horace, in his journey to Brundisium, uses this calculation of time—

“ Quarta vix denum exponimur hora.”|| —Sat. v.

* Sometimes, however, they used the civil day. The distinction is thus ascertained by Censorinus:—“*Naturalis dies est tempus ab exoriente sole ad solis occasum. Nox ab occasu solis ad ortum. Civilis autem dies vocatur tempus quod fit uno cælo circuitu quo verus dies et nox continentur.*” This civil time was chiefly used by augurs, priests, &c.¶ but the natural day was frequently referred to by poets, historians and orators.

† *Frangere*—Disturbare iis insidendo. *i. e.* cænare.

‡ *Hora libellorum*, &c.—Saturis inter pocula lectitare moris erat.

§ *Ad Pætum*, lib. ix.

|| At present the citizens of Rome regulate their time by the setting of the sun, and English tourists feel some surprise when they hear of seventeen, eighteen, and nineteen o'clock.

¶ Pliny, Nat. Hist. ii. c. 67. Varo Noct. Ath. lib. iii. citante Agellio,

Now if the reader will take the trouble of dividing the period of time which elapsed betwixt sunrise and sunset, on the 1st of May, 664, into twelve parts, he will have the length of each Roman hour on that day; and he will find that the eclipse would have been perceptible, as the Irish annalist intimates, in *nona hora*. We have been induced to discuss this subject, merely because some modern authors affect to consider our national annalists as illiterate men, who wrote at random, without any regard to truth. The writer who collected and compiled the annals of Ulster, was a canon of Armagh, and a native of Fermanagh.

APPENDIX, No. IX.

On the Form of Armagh Cathedral.

IT is not probable that Armagh cathedral, or *Summum Templum*, mentioned in pages 95, 96, 518, &c. was originally cruciform.—We learn from Spelman's Councils, page 636, that this form was not used in England, till the building of St. Peter's in Westminster, about the year 1120, six hundred and seventy years after St. Patrick founded Armagh. When we stated in page 96, on Ware's authority, that the rector of Armagh has been always inducted, since the destruction of the parish church, at a fragment of the sidewall of that edifice still remaining, we had not adverted to an act of parliament, 15th and 16th Geo. III. by which the cathedral is made the mother church of Armagh.*

APPENDIX, No. X.

On the Danish Nose-Tax; and on the former Wealth of Ireland.

IT is difficult to conceive how the people of Ulster could have obtained gold sufficient to pay the tax of the *uinge* (or rather *unga*) or, mentioned in page 102 of this work. Yet it is certain that there were formerly considerable quantities of the precious metals in Ireland. Cambrensis, who visited this country long after the Danes had robbed its inhabitants of their treasures, asserts that even in his day it abounded with gold.† Hadrianus Junius says that pure veins of silver were found in Ireland.—

“*Stannique Fodinas
Et puri argenti venas, quas terra refossis
Visceribus manes imos visura recludit.*”

“And mines of tin, and veins of silver ore,
Which Mother Earth, unlocking all her store,
From her deep bosom yields, as if to shew
A nearer passage to the shades below.”

* See p. 518 of this work.

† Expug. Hib. lib. ii. c. 75;

Helmets and different kinds of armour, ornamented with gold, have been frequently dug up in various parts of the kingdom. A corslet, cased with pure ductile gold, was found by a farmer at Tulla, near Clare, who sold it about the year 1772, to a silversmith in Limerick. O'Halloran, who had seen many similar ones, informs us that it weighed nine ounces.* Bits of bridles, of solid gold, have been often found in Ireland. One of these, which weighed ten ounces, was presented by Lord Strafford to Charles I.† Golden gorgets, or neck collars, called, by Irish antiquaries, Iodhain Morain, and worn by the ancient law judges, have been dug up in many districts of this country. A very beautiful one of these curious gorgets is now in the possession of the Rev. Francis Gervais, rector of Tartarraghan. This remnant of antiquity, which is elegantly adorned with a kind of chase-work engraving, was found, about three years ago, in the townland of Tullynafoile, barony of Clogher, and county of Tyrone. Another lately-discovered golden Iodhain Morain, is now deposited in the cabinet of Mr. Thomas Lindley, Armagh. Golden cups, connected by a curvilinear bar of the same metal, have been dug up, from time to time, in various parts of every province in the kingdom.

Dr. Ledwich, in the first edition of his *Antiquities*, page 114, says, "that Ireland possesses mines of lead, iron and copper, is incontestably true; and *it is equally certain she has none of gold or silver, but so far as the latter is united with lead.*" Of the learned doctor's *certainties*, we may form a due estimate from the following passage in the second edition of his *Antiquities*, p. 213, in which he says "that Ireland possesses mines of iron and copper is incontestably true, and it is *probable* she has some of *gold or silver.*" He was then aware, it may be presumed, that gold had been discovered in considerable quantities in the Wicklow mountains, and that measures had been taken, under the sanction of the state, for working the mines of that district, near the close of the last century. But long prior to the first publication of his work, Harris had stated, in the year 1746, that gold had been found in the copper mines of Wicklow.‡

It is recorded by some Norwegian writers, that the Ostmans got considerable treasure in Dublin, in the ninth century.§ Indeed Saxo Grammaticus says that so "great was the quantity found by the victors, that little care was taken in its division."

Our annalists relate that Cormac M-Cuillionain presented to the abbey of Armagh twenty four ounces of gold and twenty-four of silver, and that King Brian Boruhme gave twenty ounces of gold to the cathedral. Gelasius granted sixty ounces of gold to the abbatial church of Mellifont, in the year 1158. Donat O'Carrol, king of Ergal, and Dervogilla, wife of Tiernan O'Rourke, gave each the same quantity. In 1152, Tirloch O'Connor received sixty ounces of gold, a golden cup, and sixty golden

* O'Halloran, vol. i. p. 121.

† Harris's Ware's Ant. p. 203.

‡ Warner's Introduction to Irish History.

§ Gram. Hist. Dap, vi. Barthol. p. 15.

bracelets, as a ransom for the chieftain of Munster, then his prisoner.* In 1162, the people of Ossory, collected four hundred and twenty ounces of silver for the use of a prelate named O'Brolcan.†

In the year 1692, a golden crown was dug up on the summit of a hill called Barnanely, or the *Devil's Bit*, in the county of Tipperary, adorned with chase-work, and resembling the crowns worn in the Eastern empire, which were composed of a helmet and diadem.‡ Part of a golden tiara was found about sixteen years ago, in the drained bed of Loughadian, near Pointzpass, and is yet in possession of William Fivey, Esq.

But the wealth of ancient Scotia or Ireland was derived from various other sources besides gold, silver, tin, lead and copper mines. We have already shewn, from the Roman historian, Tacitus, that her ports were better known to commercial men than those of Great Britain. The following lines written by Donat, who was bishop of Fesulæ, near Florence, in Italy, about the year 802, shew that her lands produced in abundance various articles essentially necessary to the well being of society.

"Finibus occiduis describitur optima Tellus
 Nomine et antiquis Scotia scripta libris
 Insula dives opum, gemmarum, vestis, et auri,
 Commoda corporibus, aere, sole, solo.
 Melle fluit pulchris et lacteis Scotia campis
 Vestibus atque armis, frugibus, arte, viris.
 Ursorum rabies nulla est ibi; scæva leouum.
 Semina nec unquam Scotica terra tulit.
 Nulla venena nocent, nec serpens serpit in herba,
 Nec conquesta canit garrula rana lacu.
 In qua Scotorum gentes habitare merentur.
 Inclyta gens hominum, milite, pace, fide."

"Far westward lies an *isle*, of ancient fame—
 The best of countries—*Scotia* is her name—
 A land enriched with an exhaustless store
 Of gems, of garments, and of golden ore.
 Her soil prolific teems with native wealth,
 Her air breathes mildness and the gales of health.
 Her verdant land with milk and honey flows,
 And Ceres here her choicest gifts bestows;
 Her cultured fields are crowned with waving corn,
 And arts and arms her envied sons adorn.
 No savage bear with lawless fury roves,
 Nor ray'nous lion through her peaceful groves.
 No poison there infects—no scaly snake
 Twines through the grass, nor frog annoys the lake:
 An island worthy of the Scottish race,
 In war triumphant, and unmatched in peace.

We have here a description of Ireland, such as it was before the Danes had desolated the country. From these lines we learn

* Annals of Ulster. † Ware's Ant. p. 204. ‡ Ibid. p. 65. Selden, Tit. Hon. part i. c. 8, p. 166. Keat. Pref.

that it abounded in cattle—was rich in pasturage—afforded materials for clothing—and yielded corn in abundance. For to such articles, the terms *fruges, vestes, mel, lac, &c.* refer.—We have already shewn, that at a very early period linen and woollen clothes were exported from this country, to Italy, &c. &c.* even after the Danes had ravaged its lands and ruined its commerce. We have also spoken above of its golden mines.—We shall now examine some other less important matters, mentioned in Donat's lines, which will be found strictly accordant with fact. And first, as to the frogs.—In addition to what we have already said on that subject, we find that Cambrensis† says that there were no frogs in Ireland; and it was formerly remarked that, "*Ranæ in Gallia et Italia clamoræ et garulæ, in Britannia mutæ, in Hibernia nulla;*" and other authors say, "In Ireland is neither serpent nor frog."‡

Next, as to the gems.—We are informed by Ranulph Higden§ and various other authors, that there was in Ireland a kind of precious stone called Lapis Iris, which, when held opposite to the sun, formed a luminous arch in the air.|| He adds, that the Lapis Gagates and Margarita Candida were also found here. The Lapis Iris appears to be a kind of quartz, or crystal of quartz, which, when broken, refracts the rays of light and displays the most vivid colours of the rainbow, in great perfection. A very large and elegantly-brilliant stone of this species was found in Dungiven river, in the county of Derry, and is now, we believe, in the possession of Miss Ogilvie, of that country. It had formed a stepping-stone at a ford in the river, and would probably weigh about fifty-six pounds. This sort of stone is, as we conjecture, now called Irish diamond.

With respect to honey, &c. it may be remarked, that if the rule attributed to St. Ailbe be genuine, there were bees in this country at an early part of the fifth century, as well as apples and barley. "When the monks," says Ailbe, "shall sit down to table, let there be laid before them herbs or roots washed with water, in clean dishes, also *apples, ale, and the breadth of an inch of honey-comb from the hive.*" Therefore, those writers seem to be in error who attribute the introduction of bees into Ireland to Mældominick, of Ossory, in the sixth century.¶ Bede says that Ireland abounded with milk and honey; and Adamnan, in his Life of Columba,** written about the year 679, makes express mention of an apple tree which was blessed by the saint. From the same author,†† we learn that the Irish missionary presented, in the sixth century, a quantity of barley to a farmer in the Isle of Hi.‡‡

* See p. 145, 146, of this work. † Topog. Hib. distinct. c. 23, 24. ‡ Barthol. Anglic. lib. xv. c. 8—26. Maff. in serm. de Sanct. Cath. § Polychron. apud Gale, p. 179. || On this subject, the reader may also see Barthol. Anglic. lib. xv. c. 18. Maffreth et supra. ¶ Act. Sanct. p. 326. Cambr. Topog. Hib. dist. i. c. v. P. Lomb. Comm. c. 4. Cal. Cassel ad 15 Feb. ** Tria Thaum. p. 350. †† Ibid. p. 351.

‡‡ We learn, also, from Adamnan, p. 362, that curricles or chariots were in use in Ireland, in the days of Columba.

It is difficult for writers on ancient Irish affairs to discuss subjects connected with the commerce and agriculture of the country, with much precision. First, Because the rapacious Danes, during their residence here, destroyed many of our most important literary records.* Secondly, Because after the English invasion, the monasteries and churches were converted into places of defence, or used as store-houses, by the contending parties.† Their ruin, and the destruction of the libraries which they contained, were, in many instances, the necessary consequences of their appropriation to temporal purposes. We may, however, form some idea of the agricultural industry of the people, before the Ostmans had desolated the kingdom, when we reflect that traces of the ploughshare have been found in heathy mountains, which, at this hour, could not be rendered arable, without great labour and vast expense.

APPENDIX, No. XI.

Of the Site of Nial Caille's Tumulus; and of some antique Trumpets found near the place where he routed the Danes,† &c. &c.

THE river Callan has diverged somewhat from its ancient course, since the days of Nial Caille; but its former channel is still distinctly perceptible, and almost on its very margin are the yet visible traces of the king's tumulus. Close to this, is a monument erected to the memory of the late benevolent John Pooler, Esq. who is buried here, in his own farm, pursuant to his last solemn request. The tradition of the country, that Nial Caille was inhumed here, is strong and uncontradicted. Yet it is not improbable that the mound was raised merely to mark the place where he expired; for after the introduction of Christianity, the Irish were usually buried in appointed cemeteries.

In the ninth century, and indeed until lately, the lands adjacent to the Callan must have been subject to very sudden and extremely rapid floods. The river is fed by three capacious lakes, situated

* It ought, however, to be remembered, that notwithstanding the destruction of our records, we have yet some Irish works, written at a period when the Anglo-Saxons had no alphabet. Dr. Johnston remarks "that the Saxons entered England about the year 450, and seem to have been a people without letters, and very probably without an *alphabet*."---(*History of the English Language*.) Rowland remarks, that in no part of Germany is such a character as the Saxon to be found, and Camden says, that the British Saxons borrowed their characters from the Irish, and in this assertion he is corroborated by the testimony of the Scoto-Hibernian historians.

† See page 161 of this work.

‡ See page 105, 106, of this work.

in the neighbourhood of Keady, and is augmented by various streams, in the course of its descent from the mountains. At present, two of the principal lakes are secured by strong ramparts of eighteen or twenty feet in perpendicular height, with pipes and sluices in front; and the water may (generally speaking) be let down at pleasure from these feeders.

In the year 1798, four brazen trumpets were found in boggy land, on the borders of Loughnashade, near Armagh, in the property of Robert Pooler, of Tyross, Esq. At this place, it is generally believed, a portion of the Danish army was cut down by a division of King Nial's troops. The trumpets, which are very curious remnants of antiquity, are of a golden colour, and nearly similar in size, form and structure. One of these now in the possession of Mr. Pooler himself, consists of two joints—the length of the whole sweep, which is nearly semicircular, is six feet. The diameter of the tube at the small end is one inch—at the larger end, three inches and three-fourths. No solder had been used in the construction of these trumpets. Yet they were perfectly air-tight; for the edges of the plate of which each is formed had been very neatly and very ingeniously rivetted to a thin strip of brass, placed directly under the joint and extending the whole length of the instrument.* One of these curious trumpets was presented by Mr. Pooler to Lieutenant-General Alexander Campbell, and by him removed to Scotland. The second was given to Colonel Hall, of Armagh. The third was purloined; the fourth and most imperfect of the whole, is the one now in possession of Mr. Pooler.

Near the trumpets, were found human skulls and other bones, which, by the antiseptic quality of the bog, had been preserved uninjured, though their colour had been changed to a dusky brown. We have seen one of these skulls in the possession of John Simpson, Esq. M. D. The teeth and other parts were in high preservation, but much of the skull is separable into distinct laminas, exceedingly thin, remarkably smooth, and retaining, like parchment, the impression of ink made with a pen.

* A much finer instrument of this kind was found in a peat moss, in the townland of Arbrin, county of Down, about nine years ago, by Mr. Joseph Martin. In this trumpet there are two joints, which, when placed together, form an almost semicircular curve, eight feet four inches in sweep. The diameter of its smaller tube is uniformly the same from beginning to end, viz. three-fourths of an inch, and must have been connected with the larger one by an intermediate joint. The greater tube is in diameter three-fourths of an inch, at the smaller end, at the larger extremity three inches and five-eighths. Some of the rivets are finished with exquisite neatness, and, in various parts, the line in which the edges of the brass are brought together, cannot be discovered on the most minute inspection. The trumpet is so perfectly air-tight, that when the person who found it applied the larger tube to his mouth, and blew strongly into it, the gong-like noise which it produced attracted the attention of many people, who resided in the adjacent townlands.

† See plate in page 512 of this work.

Some of the townlands in the vicinity of Loughnashade are said to have derived their names from this great battle fought with the Danes. Thus we have Ballyrea, *i. e.* Baile-rae, "Battlestown;" and on the east of Loughnashade, Drumcoote or Druimcode, "the Ridge of Victory." The whole of that district seems to have been a continued chain of fortifications. Thus Ballyrath, Bailerath, is "Fortstown;" and the adjacent hill is Tullalost or Tulloch-loister, "the Tented Hill:" but far preeminent stood Dun-nathan, (now called Navan) "the Noble Fortress," which overlooked the regal residence of Eamhain Macha, or Eamania, in Creeverow.

The tumulus of Nial Caille was the most remarkable sepulchral monument in the neighbourhood of Armagh, if we except the "Vicar's Cairn." This sepulchral monument and the townland on which it stands are called in Irish Carn-na-vanachan,* "The Monks' Cairn, probably because its site, &c. belonged to the friary. Immense quantities of stones had, from time to time, been removed from this mass, for building materials, before the year 1799, yet, at that period, it still retained its circular form, and was even then forty-four yards in diameter † It is situated on the summit of a very high hill, which lies four miles south-east of Armagh, and commands a noble prospect of seven different counties, viz. Armagh, Tyrone, Antrim, Down, Louth and Derry, with various beautiful sheets of water interspersed through a highly-cultivated country. In the summer of the year 1815, Mr. John Bell, landscape painter, and Mr. Henderson, a respectable farmer, collected a multitude of peasants, who, with infinite labour removed an enormous mass of stones from Carn-na-Vanachan, and opened a wide passage directly through its centre. They, however, found nothing worthy of notice, except a sewer which had been formed along the bottom of the tumulus.‡ Mr. Bell had previously opened upwards of sixty different cairns, and in each of these had found that curious combination of stones called "Druids' Altars;" and on inquiry, he obtained authentic information, that many of those altars, which are now detached and distinct objects, § had, in the memory of man, been also completely enclosed in cairns, but had been left standing, as too ponderous for carriage, when the smaller stones which surrounded them had been removed for building and fencing materials.— Under many of these "Druids' Altars" he had found urns of

* Vanachan, in Irish, is written Mhanaghan, which is the genitive case of Manach, a monk; for *mh* at the beginning and end of words is pronounced *v*.

† Transac. Royal Irish Acad. vol. viii. Antiq. p. 7.

‡ Mr. Bell and his friend exhibited to the country people some ancient silver coins, which they slyly hinted had been found at the cairn. Hence many of them were induced to work with eagerness, in hopes of finding treasure. Others, however, who entertained a high veneration for this ancient monument, replaced at night the stones which the stronger party had removed in the course of the day, and thus, for a long time, retarded the work.

§ Such, for instance, as Cairuban and Clochenrammur, near Newry, &c. &c.

baked clay, burned bones, charred wood, and adepous or fatty matter; and in some cairns, glass bottles of a round form, contained in these stone buildings or chests, called "*kisde vans*,"* which seem worthy of the name conferred by the ancient Egyptians on their enormous cemeteries—"Eternal Houses." Hence we must necessarily infer, either that the art of making glass was a matter of great antiquity in Ireland, or that some of our stone tumuli are more modern than is generally supposed.

In some of these stony masses, were found Tamlachtas or sepulchral monuments, similar to that represented in the annexed plate. This tumulus which is situated in the townland of Auchnacloghmullan, parish of Killeavey, is of elliptic form—in length forty-four yards, and if measured over the summit, twenty-four yards in breadth. Two rows of large stones, about nine feet in length and seven in height, extend nineteen yards into the interior, and support incumbent slabs of enormous magnitude. Within are four apartments, of which the reader will find an accurate ground plan in the plate. In one of these lay a broken urn. Similar Tamlachtas have been discovered by Mr. Bell in different districts. One of these was opened in the townland of Ballymacdermot, in the county of Louth, by Jonathan Seaver, Esq. and Mr. Bell. It contained three chambers; and here, also, an urn had been deposited in the interior, enclosing a pulverized substance resembling turf-mould, but which probably was animal matter.

In the plate inserted page 512, the reader will find a representation of two ancient brazen weapons, the property of the Hon. Colonel Blacker, which were found in a bog in the neighbourhood of Carrick, the seat of Dean Blacker, in the county of Armagh. Here a battle was fought with the Danes, in which Murchard, prince of Ailech, of the Hi-Nial race, was slain, in the year 941, as narrated in page 115 of this work. One of the weapons is a very elegantly formed spear-head—the other, a doubled-edged sword. Armagh was sacked on the day after the battle, and the tradition of the country corresponds correctly with the written history of the event, as the reader may learn from a perusal of Colonel Blacker's excellent account of the parish of Segoe, published in Shaw Mason's admirable statistical collection.

* In Irish, *cisde bhana*, that is, "Death's coffer."



J. Bell, Delin.

View of an ancient Spultbrat Leacht, in the Parish of Mullacary, County of Sligo.

Brown, Sculp.

APPENDIX, No. XII.

Containing the Substance of the Passage in Herodotus, to which we have referred in page 111.*

WHEN Darius, the Persian, had compelled the Macedonians to present to his ambassadors "earth and water," the usual tokens of submission, Amyntas, king of the country, found it necessary to invite the Persian officers to a banquet. After supper the Asiatics, whilst engaged with their wine, informed their host that it was the custom in their country for the wives, concubines, &c. of the entertainer and his friends to be introduced to the banquet, and to partake, with the other sex, of festive pleasures. Amyntas was necessitated to comply with the hint, and the females of the court made their appearance, and sat modestly retired at a distance from the Persians. The strangers, however, insisted that they should intermix with them, according to the eastern manner, and, having gained this point, began to take indecent freedoms with their persons. Prince Alexander, the son of Amyntas, viewed this offensive scene with indignation, which, however, he concealed, and privately advised his father to withdraw from the banquetting room. The king, conjecturing his design, entreated him to act with caution, lest his rashness might produce their total ruin. After his departure, Alexander jovially addressed his guests, and told them that they might, of course, take what liberties they pleased with the women, and each might select his partner for the night; but that it was proper the ladies should first retire and bathe for the occasion. The Persians approved of the proposal—the females withdrew—and after a short interval had elapsed, a number of beardless youths, in womens' attire and with concealed daggers, were introduced, and took their places beside the Persian officers. They were scarcely seated, when their guests, heated with wine, began to treat them with licentious freedom. The spirited youths, thus insulted, brandished their weapons, and despatched the offenders on the spot.

The reader will find in Warner's *Albion's England*, b. v. c. 25, a very old, quaint and curious poem, on the stratagem by which Turgesius was taken and his followers slain. As a specimen of this singular poem, written in the fourteen syllable heroic measure of that age, we subjoin the following lines:—

"The Irish princess, and with her a fifteen chosen moe,
With hanging glibbes, that hid their necks, like tinsel shadowing snow,
Whose faces, very Stoics might, Narcissus-like, admire,
Such Semeles as might consume Jove's self with glorious fire,
And from the Smithe of heaven's wife allure the am'rous haunt,
And re-entice the club-god, Dis, and all his devils daunt," &c. &c.

* Vide Herod, *Terps.* lib. v. p. 295, edit. Francofurt, 1608.

APPENDIX, No. XIII.

On the State of the ancient Irish Church.

WE have stated, in pages 138, 139, that Cardinal Paparo, legate to Pope Eugene III. presided in a synod held at Kells, in the year 1152, where he presented palls to four Scoto-Hibernian prelates, viz. the archbishops of Armagh, Dublin, Tuam and Cashel. We shall now take an abstract review of the state of the church before the arrival of that divine.

Mr. O'Halloran, and after him Dr. Ledwich, maintain, *totis viribus*, that the Irish originally derived their knowledge of Christianity from some of the Asiatic churches, with which they assert the Scoto-Hibernians agreed in opinion, as to the proper time of celebrating Easter. But it is clear that the practice of the Irish and Asiatic churches, with respect to the paschal festival, was not perfectly coincident, and the Scots cannot be deemed *quarto-decimans*. In ancient Scotia, Easter was celebrated on the 14th day, when it happened to be Sunday; but in such cases, the continental churches waited till the following Sunday. The venerable Bede, in discussing this subject, writes thus:—"Paschæ enim diem non semper in *Luna quartadecima* cum Judæis, ut quidem rebantur, sed in die Dominica, aliâ tamen quàm decebat hebdomada, celebrabant. Sciebant enim, ut Christiani, resurrectionem Dominicam, quæ primâ Sabbati facta est prima Sabbati semper esse celebrandam: sed ut barbari et rustici, quando eadem prima sabbati, (quæ nunc Dominica dies cognominatur) veniret minime didicerant.*" And again, in speaking of Aidan, an Irishman, he says "Unde et hanc (Pascham) non, ut quidam *falso opinantur* quartadecima Lunâ, in qualibet feriâ cum Judæis, sed die Dominica semper agebat à Lunâ quartadecimâ usque ad vicesimam; propter fidem videlicet Dominicæ resurrectionis, quàm unâ Sabbati factum, propter spem nostræ resurrectionis, quam eadem unâ Sabbati (quæ nunc Dominica dies dicitur) veraciter futuram cum sanctâ Ecclesia credebat."†

It is probable, that in the very days of the apostles themselves, Christianity had extended to some parts of this island, and had continued here till the time of Chrysostom, who, in demonstrating that Christ is God, says "The British isles, situated beyond this sea, and which are in the very ocean, have perceived the power of the word; for even there, churches are founded and altars erected."‡ Eusebius (Pamphili) says, in lib. iii. that "some of the apostles had passed into the isles which we name Britannic;" and hence Nicephorus alleges that some of the apostles had

* Bed. lib. iii c. 4.
Græc. Savil. p. 635.

† Id. ibid. c. 17.

‡ Chrys. Op. tom. vi. edit.

selected Egypt and Syria—others the extreme regions of Ocean and the Britannic isles, for their pious missions.*

It is shewn by Ussher, that Mansu or Mansuetus, a Scot of Ireland, was converted and ordained by St. Peter, the apostle, and in the year 66, made bishop of Toul, now Lorraine, where he died, on the 3d of September, 105.† Here he built and dedicated a church to St. Stephen.—Adso, his biographer, writes thus of him:—

*"Inclyta, Mansueti claris natalibus orti
Progenies titulis fulget in orbe suis
Insula Christicolæ gestabat Hibernia gentes
Unde genus traxit et satus inde fuit."*

It is not necessary to inquire minutely into the exact time when Christianity was first preached in Ireland. Suffice it, that it reached this country at a very early period. We find that in the year 350, Elephius, son of a Scoto-Hibernian king, suffered martyrdom, having been decapitated by order of the emperor Julian, who was enraged at this pious man for having baptized a number of his subjects. Rupert mentions that the apostate himself was present at his execution.‡

In the fourth century, it appears that Christian missionaries had here founded some churches and schools, and thus prepared the way for the more effectual preaching of St. Patrick. Celestius, an Irishman, who studied under the learned heresiarch, Pelagius, wrote three letters, from the monastery in which he resided, to his parents in Ireland, and exhorted them to the exercise of piety and virtue, in terms which sufficiently shew that they were Christians.§

Ailbe, Declan, Ibar and Kiaran, all natives of this country, were the immediate precursors of Palladius, who had preceded St. Patrick in his mission to Ireland.|| These pious men are said, in the Lives of Declan and Ailbe, to have been consecrated bishops at Rome, and to have established churches in Ireland, in the beginning of the fifth century.¶ Declan was baptized by Colman, an Irish presbyter; and Ailbe, by another Christian priest. Cairbre, the preceptor of the former was also a Christian. Hence we may infer that the religion of Jesus was systematically taught in this country, in the fourth century.**

Be this as it may—St. Patrick was not sent to convert a nation altogether heathen. The venerable Bede says, that in the eighth year of the emperor Theodosius, Palladius was sent by Celestine,

* Niceph. Hist. lib. iii. c. i. † Irenic German. Exeg. lib. iii. c. 49.—
Demochar. de Missa. lib. ii. c. 33. Eysengrein, centen. 1, part 1, distinct 3.
citante Usser. Brit. Ecc. Ant. p. 390. ‡ Rupert in Vit. Elephii. cap. 12,
apud Surium, tom. v. Oct. 16. § Gennad. Massil. Eccl. Scrip. Cat. cap.
xliv. citante Usser. Brit. Ecc. Ant. p. 411. || Vita Dec. Vita Kiaran.
Vita Alb. &c. citante Usser. Brit. Eccl. Ant. p. 409. ¶ Usser. Brit. Eccl.
Ant. p. 412. ** Ibid.

bishop of the Roman church, to the *Scots believing in Christ*;^{*} and Prosper, in his Chronicle ad Ann. page 431, testifies to the same effect. Now, we have already shewn that Ireland was anciently denominated *Scotia*, and her people *Scots*, and that Palladius had actually visited this kingdom to fulfil his mission. As a further corroboration of our argument, we may add that Ireland is called *Scotia* by Issidor, Jonas, Eginhard, secretary to Charles the Great, as well as by Nennius, Gretser, Canisius, Marianus Scotus, Archbishop Raban, Wandelbert and Ceolfrid.† The latter author, who wrote in the beginning of the eighth century, calls Ireland the proper country of the Scots.‡ Giraldu Cambrensis,§ Henry of Huntingdon,|| John of Tinmouth,¶ and John Major make similar assertions.

To the same effect wrote Orosius, in the fifth century; and a letter which is yet extant, was addressed, in the seventh century, by the English prelates, Laurentius, Mellitus and Justus, to the Scots who inhabit Ireland, and another was written by the Roman clergy, in 639, to Tomian, bishop of Armagh, and other Irish prelates and presbyters, who are styled, in the epistle, *Scots*.^{**}

The distinction betwixt *Scotia Major* (Ireland) and *Scotia Minor* (Albanian Scotland) is well known. Thus, in an ancient hymn in the Ratisbon Breviary, we have these lines—

“ Verus hic Israelita
Quem fraus omnis fugit
Hunc exortum pusionem
Major Scotia nutriit.”††

And in an ancient breviary of Aberdeen, it is said St. Winnius, born in a province of *Scotia*, was, by a prosperous gale, wafted to *Scotia Minor*.

Thus it appears manifest, that what Bede and Prosper have said with respect to Palladius's mission to the Scots, must have had a direct reference to the Christians of Ireland.

But although the pure religion of Jesus had made some progress in this country, before the arrival of St. Patrick, it does not appear to have been universally or even generally received. The mighty work of national conversion remained for him to effect, and he is, therefore, justly entitled to the name and character of “The Apostle of Ireland.” We may, therefore, conclude that the ancient church of Ireland, viewed as a religious system acknowledged and adopted by the people, was founded by him after the building of the city of Armagh, near the middle of the fifth century.

^{*} Bed. Hist. Eccl. lib. i. c. 13. † Ceolfrid in Epist. ad Naitanum Regem, apud Bedam, lib. v. Hist. c. 22. ‡ Ibid. c. 16. lib. i. c. 1. lib. iii. c. 27, et Martyr. ejusd. viii. Id. Julii. § Distinct. iii. c. 7. ¶ Fol. 170. ¶ Vit. Col. c. 2—7. ^{**} Bed. Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 4—19. Usser. Vet. Epist. Hib. Syll. 22, 23, 18. †† Citante Usser. Brit. Ecc. Ant. p. 379.

St. Patrick seems to have exercised a kind of patriarchal power in this infant church. He is stated to have ordained 365 bishops and 3000 presbyters, and to have founded 365 churches.* It is manifest that such a multitude of prelates could not have been of the nature of diocesan bishops, and it is probable that one of these dignified ecclesiastics was allotted by him to each church. It is, indeed, by no means unlikely, that they officiated in their respective churches, at stated times, and occasionally acted as itinerant preachers, diffusing the light of the Gospel, from district to district, like their great preceptor, Patrick. A populous nation, from which heathenism was not yet effectually banished, required active and intelligent missionaries of this nature. The system of appointing numerous bishops, which was the offspring of convenience, seems to have been perpetuated by custom, as we learn from the following remarkable passage in St. Bernard's Life of Malachy.—“The bishops,” said he, “are changed and multiplied at the will of the metropolitan, so that one bishopric was not limited to (or content with) one bishop, but almost every church had its own particular bishop.”†

Besides these, the church of Ireland seems to have acknowledged a species of auxiliary bishop, denominated Comorban, Comharbo, or Corbhanus. Some Etymologists assert, that this name was synonymous with “partner,” or “joint-tenant,” and that he who possessed the office acted during the life of the principal ecclesiastic, to whom he was attached as his suffragan and assistant bishop. The bishops of Armagh had various Comorbans, many of whose names are recorded in Ware's and in Colgan's elaborate works.‡ It is probable that many of the 365 bishops ordained originally by St. Patrick, were of the order of Comorbans, &c.—at once coadjutors, suffragans, and successors elect to their principals.

In the same sense of the word, there were Comorban abbots and friars. There was also an order of Comorbans to whom certain free lands, named Termon lands, were allotted by the delivery of a ring from the metropolitan of the see. This kind of comorbanship, though collative, was always made to one of the same sept. Thus, in the year 1406, Hugh Mac Theig was collated to the comorbanship of Re, in the diocese of Derry, by Nicholas Fleming, archbishop of Armagh, after it had been held by John Mac Theig, and prior to him, by Augustine Mac Theig, (John's father,) who had been appointed by Milo, archbishop of Armagh, in 1367.§

The episcopal Comorbans were not only coadjutors to their principals whilst living, but were frequently held in high respect, as their appointed successors; and, in this sense of the word, we

* Nennius, Hist. Brit. c. 59. † Vita Malach. apud Messingh. c. 7.—
‡ Vide Tria Thaum. p. 293, et sequent. Ware, Ant. p. 232. § Reg. Milo.
f. 40, a 42, b. Harris's Ware's Ant. p. 233.

read of the Comorbans of St. Patrick, Albe, Columba, Fechin, and others.*

The ancient clergy of Ireland were, in a great measure, supported by donations of cattle, &c from the people,† but they also possessed some other essential sources of emolument.

In former times the founder of a church was obliged to endow it with certain properties, prior to its consecration by the bishop,‡ to whom the disposal of the endowment then belonged. Thus each church had a certain proportion of land, free from temporal impositions,§ and a number of servants appurtenant to the premises.|| To these lands, which were denominated Erenach and Termon lands, were annexed various important privileges. The Termon grounds became sanctuaries, and were strictly “*territorium ecclesiasticum*.” Thus an ancient synod of Ireland, a remnant of which is in the Cottonian library, says,¶ “*Terminus sancti loci habeat signa circa se.*” and the old Bavarian Law, lib. iv. sec. 1, “*Si quis servum ecclesiæ vel ancillam ad fugiendum suaserit et eos foras Terminum duxerit et exinde probatus fuerit revocet eum celeriter.*”** These lands were, however, tributary to the church, and not of the nature of some monastic possessions, which were freed from both secular and ecclesiastic claims, and said to have been “*non in fisco non in terra ecclesiastica*”††

Tenants of Erenach and Termon lands were, *servi ecclesiastici*, managing the grounds for the benefit of the church, as well as of themselves and their families. In ancient times, the founders of abbeys and churches stocked the endowed lands with *septs and races of people*, bound to perform certain services for those to whom they were assigned; and in old grants, *men* are classed amongst other property given in Frank Almoigne. Thus Henry II. in a charter ratifying a donation of Earl Strongbow, enumerates *men*, rents, oblations and tithes amongst the matters granted—“*et omnes res, (says the deed,) et possessiones, et homines et redditus in ecclesiis, et oblationibus et decimis, &c.*”—Ecclesiastic servants were of two kinds. The first were *servi ecclesiastici cum onere*—in the nature of villeins; and the second were *liberi* or *colonii ecclesiastici*, who had some disposable property in the premises. To vassals of this kind, John Walton, archbishop of Dublin, alludes in a sequestration of the corbeship of Glendaloch, which he issued in the year 1437, and addressed “*clericis, vassalis, adscriptitiis et aliis habitatoribus domini nostri de Glendelache, &c.*”‡‡ That human beings were transferable and saleable articles, appears manifest from two ancient books of canons, written about nine hundred years ago. One of these is in Bennet-college—the other in the Cottonian library; and from these works we learn, that in

* Tria. Thaum. p. 295, et sequent. † Ibid. p. 299. ‡ Concil Bracaraens, c. 5. § Concil Cas. || Capitular ab Ansegiso Collect. lib. i. c. 9, citante Usser. MSS. de orig. Corb. Eren. et Term. ¶ Citante Usser. ** Usser. MSS. †† Centur. chartarum a Goldasto edit. tom. ii. Al. Antiq. charta 96—citante Usser. ‡‡ Ex regist. Arch. Dublin, citante Usser.

an ancient synod of Ireland, a bishop's legacy, out of the church, is proportioned by the *price* of a wife, or a maid servant.*

The *Corbes* and *Erenachs* were a species of head lords over the *homines ecclesiastici*; for it had been found expedient that each church should have an *economist* to regulate its affairs.† The archidiaconi or archpresbyteri originally possessed this office. Hence, in the Irish language, the archdiaconus and Erenach bore the same title—Eireinach or Oirchindeach. The Corbes and Erenachs collected the bishops' rents, maintained hospitality, relieved the poor, and entertained travellers and strangers. A fine called *Luach impige* was due to the prelate by the Erenach, on the marriage of any of his daughters.‡

It appears that the Erenach belonged to that ancient order of Archidiaconi, who were a degree inferior to the Presbyteri: and not to that higher rank whose members exercised jurisdiction under the bishop. They were admissible, *ad primam tonsuram et diaconatum*, but not promoted, *ad presbyterium*.§ The Corbe was of a higher grade, and stationed in *ecclesiæ matrice*, and in many places had one (or more) Erenach under him. In Latin he was styled *Plebanus*, which seems to have been synonymous with archpresbyter, *choripiscopus*, or rural dean.|| The Corbes and Erenachs were well educated men, capable of conversing in Latin, and subject to the visitation of the bishop, to whom, on his entrance, they gave a subsidy. They were chargeable, also, with proxies and refectations. The Erenachs held their lands by virtue of grants from the bishop, dean and chapter, renewable on the consecration of every new bishop, and first entry of every Erenach. They were bound to manure, cultivate and reside on the Termon lands, which they were prohibited from alienating to a stranger. Their profits were applicable to the maintenance of hospitality, the repair of their respective churches, and to the payment of rent reserved to the see. Some free land called *Honor villæ* remained to themselves. In Ireland, the tithes, and the profits of temporal lands due to the church, seem, as in other parts of Christendom, to have been divisible into four equal portions—one for the bishop—the second for his clergy—the third for repair of sacred edifices—and the fourth for the relief of the poor and of strangers.¶

Dr. Ledwich conceives that the term *Corbe* was an opprobrious name given by the Romans, about the twelfth century, to the married clergy of the Irish church, as if they indulged in incest and lewdness. But the word was used by the Irish themselves in an honourable sense. In the Annals of Ulster, the name is written Comhurba or Comorba; and it is recorded that in the year of Christ 858, Imfeathlna, Patrick's Corbe, and Imsuarlech Finno, his

* These books of canons are quoted by Ussher.

† Concil Chalcedon, Can. 26. Concil Nicen. 2 Can. ii. ‡ Usser. de orig. Corb. &c. § Idem. || Isodori. Mozonii. lib. i. de majestate militantis ecclesiæ, p. 1. c. xiii. citante Usser. ¶ See Sir John Davis's Letter to the Earl of Salisbury, &c. Usser. de orig Corb. &c.

Corbe, interfered betwixt O'Carrol, king of Ossory, and the king of Taraughe, who were about to enter into hostilities against each other; and O'Carrol was persuaded to yield to St. Patrick's Corbe. So, also, in the year 920, Comghall, the Corbe of Moenrach, is styled "the chief head of all the learning or antiquities of Ireland.*"

In fact the word Comorban is a mere variation of Comharbha, a coadjutor, copartner and successor. Corba, is evidently an abbreviation of *Cobh-orba* tribute land; and the Corbe was the manager of such property.† The term Erenach is derived from *Er*, noble, and *einach*, generosity; for it was a part of the Erenach's duty to relieve the poor and entertain strangers. Hence, also, it was synonymous with *archeannach*, an archdeacon. Termon is clearly the same as the Irish word Tearmon or Tarmon, a limit sanctuary or resource; and *Luach impighe*, or more property *impidhe*, is "the price of the petition."‡

St. Patrick seems to have been vested by Pope Celestine with an ample discretionary authority to regulate the ecclesiastical affairs of Ireland, *pro re nata*. Yet, in the establishment of 365 bishops, in the course of his long and laborious mission, which lasted above sixty-one years, he acted in perfect accordance with the practice of the church. In the fourth and fifth centuries, Christian prelates were more numerous than in subsequent periods. Thus we find that the council of Sardis, in the year 374, determined "that no bishop shall be consecrated for a village where a presbyter shall suffice; but a bishop may be appointed over a city, or to superintend presbyters.

The church of Ireland was perfectly distinct from that established in Great Britain. It is indeed certain, that after the settlement of the Danes in this country, the Ostman bishops of Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick, were consecrated at Canterbury, and acknowledged the primatial right of that see; and the practice was continued till the twelfth century.§ This example, however, was not imitated by the other prelates of Ireland, but rejected as derogatory to the honour and independence of the national religion. We find that when the archbishop of Canterbury wished to usurp a more extended authority in the Irish church, he was openly resisted by the see of Armagh, and its suffragan prelates. Thus a letter addressed to him in the year 1122, by the clergy and burgesses of Dublin, contains the following remarkable expressions:—" *Sciatis vos revera, quod Episcopi Hiberniæ maximum zelum erga nos habent et maxime Ille Epis-*

* Annals of Ulster. Usser. de orig. Corb.

† Comborban is compounded of *Comh* a wrad, protector, or preserver, and *orban*, a patrimony. Hence Comborban signified a successor, that is, the ward of a certain patrimony.—*Collect. de rebus Hib num.* ii. p. 127.

‡ This petition was, we presume, presented to the bishop on the marriage of the Erenach's daughter. The fine was paid so late as the seventeenth century, when it was received by the bishop of Kilmore, as we are informed by Ussher.

§ Ware's Bishop's, p. 312.

copus qui habitat Ardimachæ quia nolumus obedire eorum ordinationi, sed semper sub vestro dominio esse volumus"—"Truly you ought to know, that the bishops of Ireland, and particularly the prelate who resides at Armagh, are exceedingly angry with us, because we are unwilling to submit to their ordination, but still wish to be under your authority."* Thus it is manifest that the Irish hierarchy, under its chief prelate, Celsus of Armagh, felt indignant at the interference of a foreign bishop in their ecclesiastical concerns.—Let us now endeavour to ascertain in whom the primatial right was really vested.

Fiech, the contemporary of St. Patrick, styles Armagh "*Filrighi*,"—"the seat or see of rule."† The author of the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, (a very ancient work,) asserts that Armagh was dignified with peculiar honours. In it was "fixed the metropolis of the kingdom and the supreme administration of the Hibernian church."‡ Probus also, in speaking of Armagh, says "*Ubi sedes episcopatus et regiminis est Hiberniæ*"§ In the twelfth century, St. Bernard styles it "the first see;"|| and in speaking of Malachy's entrance into the city, he writes thus—"Malachias intravit Armachiam pontifex et metropolitanus totius Hiberniæ;"¶ and again—"Erat et altera metropolitana sedes, quam de novo constituerat Celsus, primæ tamen sedi, et illius archiepiscopo subdita tanquam Primati."** Jocelyn, who had collated above sixty of the original biographical accounts of Patrick, and amongst those the works of the saint's contemporaries, Benignus, Patrick, Mel, &c. denominates Armagh, "*Sedes illa totius Hiberniæ primaria metropolis*."††—Baronius names it "*Primariam ecclesiam et totius insulæ metropolim*."‡‡ To the same effect wrote Giraldus Cambrensis,§§ Barbosa,||| Spondanus, Gratianus Lucius, and many others, whom it would be tedious to enumerate.

It is stated in the Life of St. Patrick, that Munster had submitted to his jurisdiction, after he had experienced some opposition from his precursor, Ibar. Connaught was regularly visited by Cormac, his third successor in the see of Armagh,¶¶ and Munster by Artrige, in virtue of his primatial right. A similar privilege was claimed and exercised by Dermot, Mæliissa, Donald, Celsus, and Gelasius who held many important visitations and synods in every province of the kingdom.*** After the introduction of the pall into Ireland by Cardinal Paparo, in the year 1152, the archbishops of Dublin, Cashel and Tuam seem to have imagined that this grant from the pope had placed them on an equality with the primate of Armagh. Yet, subsequent to that period, Gelasius held a synod in the province of Dublin, in which

* Vet. Epist. Hib. Syl. p. 100. † Sanct. Fiech. Hym. v. 22. ‡ Vita Trip. p. 3. c. ci. § Quint. vita S. Pat. lib. ii. c. 7. Tria Thaum. p. 52. || Vita Mal caput. 7. ¶ Ibid. c. 9. ** Ibid. c. 11. †† Joc. vita Pat. c. 165. ‡‡ Ad an. 1124. §§ Top. Dist. iii. c. 16. ¶¶ De Patriarchia ac Prim. p. 94. ¶¶ Tria Thaum, p. 131, 132. *** See their lives in this work, and see Jus. Prim, c. xiv.

act of ecclesiastic authority he was supported by immemorial usage. However, in the year 1182, Pope Lucius issued a bull in favour of John Comyn, the first English archbishop of Dublin, which decreed "that no archbishop or bishop should, without the assent of the archbishop of Dublin, if residing in his see, hold any synod in any diocese within his province, or handle there any ecclesiastical causes appertaining to that diocese, unless ordered so to do by the pope or his legate."* In 1216, this bull was twice renewed in favour of Archbishop Loundres, though opposed by Primate Eugene, of Armagh, who died whilst the contest was undecided.—The archbishop of Cashel combined with the see of Dublin, in impugning the primate, who strenuously resisted their efforts to encroach on his rights, pleading the sanction of immemorial custom and the authority of bulls, which had been issued by Pope Celestine III. and ratified by Pope Innocent. In 1250, Primate Reiner, and Luke, archbishop of Dublin, continued the controversy, which was warmly maintained amongst their successors, till Pope Urban IV. in 1261, decided the question in favour of Primate O'Scanlain, of Armagh, who, in presence of the lord justice, published his primatial privileges in a provincial synod at Drogheda, on the 18th of January, 1262.† The contest was renewed again in 1311, by John Lech, archbishop of Dublin, and primate Walter Jorse, whose brother and successor, Rowland Jorse, was also resisted by Bicknor, bishop of Dublin, and violently driven from Leinster, in the year 1313.‡ Again, in 1337, primate David O'Hiraghty was prevented from attending parliament by Bicknor and his clergy, who would not permit him to have his crosier borne before him in their diocese, although the king, by his official writ, had expressly prohibited them from giving him any disturbance.§ In 1349, Bicknor once more contested the point with Fitz Ralph, then archbishop of Armagh; but Edward III. confirmed the primate's right, by empowering him to erect his crosier in any part of Ireland. Notwithstanding this regal mandate, the lord justice and the prior of Kilmaicham, having been bribed by Bicknor, combined with that refractory prelate in opposing the claims of the primate, who, therefore, excommunicated the conspirators. Shortly after this event, both Bicknor and the prior died. The latter was seized on his death-bed with the horrors of remorse, and, by a special messenger, earnestly solicited forgiveness from Fitz Ralph. After his decease, he was refused Christian burial, till the primate absolved him on account of his great penitence.

In 1350, the king, partial to John de St. Paul, then archbishop of Dublin, revoked his letter to Fitz Ralph, and on the 11th of May, 1352, prohibited the exercise of his power in the province of Dublin. In 1353, Pope Innocent VI. decided that both Armagh and Dublin should be primatial sees—that the archbishop

* Jus. Prim. Armac. c. 23.
 § Pryn. Animad. p. 271, 410.

† Ibid. c. 20, 21.

‡ Camden's Annals.

of Armagh should be styled primate of all Ireland—the archbishop of Dublin, primate of Ireland. In 1365, primate Milo Sweetman and Thomas Minot were involved in the same strife-producing argument on primatial rights. After this period, the controversy seems to have lain dormant till the days of Richard Talbot, archbishop of Dublin, by whom Primate Swain was prevented from attending his duty in five several parliaments, held in Leinster, during the years 1429, 1435, 1436, 1437, and 1438.* Primates Mey and Prene experienced similar opposition from the same quarter; but after the decease of Talbot, in 1449, the Armagh prelates enjoyed the primacy undisturbed, till the year 1533, when John Allen, archbishop of Dublin, revived the controversy with primate Cromer, who seems to have been the victor in the contest.

On the 20th of October, 1551, Edward VI. divested Archbishop Dowdall, of Armagh, of the primacy, which he conferred on George Brown, of Dublin, because he was a strenuous supporter of the reformation. But on the 12th of October, 1553, Queen Mary restored the primatial rights to Dowdall, because he was a powerful advocate for the church of Rome. In 1623, Launcelot Bulkely revived the controversy with primate Hampton, and continued it against his successor, the illustrious USSHER. In June, 1634, Strafford, the lord deputy of Ireland, summoned the contending prelates before the council board, where, having heard the allegations and arguments of both parties, he decided the question finally in favour of the see of Armagh.

Since that period, the controversy was carried on betwixt Oliver Plunket, Roman Catholic primate of Armagh, and Peter Talbot, Roman Catholic archbishop of Dublin. Plunket wrote an able dissertation on the subject, styled "*Jus Primatiale*," to which Talbot replied. But the most full view of the whole argument, is contained in a book written by the learned Dr. Hugh Mac Mahon, Roman Catholic primate of all Ireland, entitled "*Jus Primatiale Armacanum*," in which it is clearly demonstrated that the right of primatial jurisdiction vested in the archbishop of Armagh.

Thus this curious question has been finally determined on true and equitable principles. In fact, before the days of the English prelate Comyn, the preeminence of the see of Armagh in the church of Ireland was never denied, except in the Ostman churches of Dublin, Waterford and Limerick. The Danes had not been converted to Christianity by the Irish, whom they utterly abhorred, but by their countrymen, who had settled in England in the ninth and tenth centuries, and had there adopted the religion of the Anglo Saxons. Hence they acknowledged the primatial rights of the archbishop of Canterbury, who in vain attempted, through their medium, to extend his ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the whole kingdom.

* Regist. Swaine, v. 1, p. 292, 298, 629, 643, 651.

As St. Patrick had derived his missionary power from Pope Celestine, it cannot be doubted that he must have been desirous to render the church of Ireland conformable in doctrinal matters to that of Rome. It is, however, certain that in some points of discipline, the Scoto-Hibernian divines did not long follow the example of the Roman see. So early as the year 592, we find Pope Gregory I. earnestly endeavouring to reunite them to their mother church. In a letter, addressed *universis Episcopis per Hiberniam*, he entreats them, that "*mentis tumore deposito, tanto citius ad matrem vestram, quæ filios suos expectat, Ecclesiam redeatis quanto vos ab ea quotidie expectari cognoscitis.*"*

After the decease of the Irish apostle, ecclesiastical dignities were soon monopolized by certain princely families, and transmitted in the same septs from generation to generation. Even in Armagh, the primatial right seems to have been converted into a kind of property, by a particular branch of the Hi Nial race, which was probably sprung from Daire, the donor of Druimsaillech, to the founder of the see. St. Bernard reprobates this practice in very vehement terms. He styles it "an execrable succession," and affirms that prior to the primacy of Celsus, the see had been thus held by fifteen successive generations.—"*Verum,*" says he, "*mos pessimus inoleverat quorundam diabolica ambitione potentum sedem sanctam obtentum iri hereditaria successione. Nec enim patiebantur Episcopari, nisi qui essent de tribu et familia sua. Nec parum processerat EXECRANDA SUCCESSIO decursis jam hac malitia quasi generationibus quindecim et eo usque firmaverat sibi jus pravam imo omni morte puniendam injuriam generatio mala et adultera, ut etsi interdum defecissent clerici de sanguine illo, sed Episcopi nunquam.*"†

We have already seen that some other dignities, offices and employments, in the Irish church, were limited to certain septs. Thus in the election of an Erenach, the bishop and his clergy were limited in their choice to the members of a particular clan, until it became extinct, when they were at liberty to nominate another in its place.

Another characteristic of the Irish church, as it existed for a long period of time, prior to the days of Malachy Morgair, is to be found in the marriage of its clergy, a circumstance which is mentioned by St. Bernard in terms of the strongest reprobation. He calls the married hereditary archbishops of Armagh, a wicked and adulterous race, and bitterly complains that before Celsus, "eight of them had been married men and unordained, though literate."‡ In forming matrimonial connexions, which was a manifest departure from the regulations and established customs of the Roman see, the whole clergy of Ireland seem to have imitated the example of their bishops. In a very ancient Irish canon, it is decreed, "that the wife of any clergyman who does

* Vet. Hib. Syll. p. 5. † Sanct. Bern. Vita Mal. apud Mess. c. vii. p. 358. ‡ Vita Mal. ut supra. p. 359.

not wear a veil when she goes abroad, shall be separated from the church.* In the twelfth century, Pope Innocent III. directed John Salernitan, his legate in Ireland, to have the practice abolished by which sons and grandsons were accustomed to succeed their fathers and grandfathers in ecclesiastic benefices.†

Many of the Irish clergy had adopted a singular species of tonsure. The hair was shaved off from ear to ear, in a semiglobular form, on the upper part of the head—from the remainder it descended at full length. This tonsure is said to have been received by the Irish from a swine-herd of King Leogaire O'Nial,‡ and they persisted in its use, though in direct opposition to the fortieth canon of the council of Toledo, held in the year 633. Marianus Scotus and Florence, of Worcester, mention a tonsure introduced by a learned clerk named Aid, who cherished a vast length of beard, and was, therefore, denominated “the bearded clerk.” This singular man kept an academy, in which he taught both male and female scholars; and here he shaved the maidens after the manner of the clerks. For this irreverent imitation of a rite deemed sacred, he was banished from Ireland.

We have already stated that the Irish clergy differed from those of Rome, as to the proper time of celebrating Easter, and we have shewn, from the venerable Bede, that they were not quarta-decimans, but had adopted a practice which seems to have been peculiar to themselves, and to the ancient British church, prior to the Saxon invasion. O'Halloran roundly asserts,§ “*that before, during and for two centuries after the death of St. Patrick, the Irish church adhered most strictly to the Asiatic churches, in these modes of discipline,*” i. e. in the time of celebrating Easter, and in the manner of tonsure. This is not a self evident proposition, and would require some stronger proof than mere assertion.

Be this as it may, we find that Pope Honorius and Pope John wrote to the Irish bishops and presbyters, respecting Easter, and it is evident that their letters had produced some effect in the Hibernian church; for Bede says that “the Scots who dwelled in the southern parts of Ireland, had already, at the admonition of the apostolic see, learned to observe Easter according to canonic rites.||

In the twelfth century, if St. Bernard may be credited, the Irish laity gave no first fruits nor tenths to the clergy; neither did they confess, nor do penance, nor receive confirmation, nor enter into legitimate wedlock.¶ But, from another passage in the same writer, it is manifest that auricular confession and confirmation had, at a former period, been in use.—“Malachy” says he, anew instituted the most salutary use of confession, the sacrament of confirmation, and the matrimonial contract, which they were

* This is quoted by Ussher and Ware, from a manuscript book of canons in Bennet's college, Cambridge.

† Alph. Ciac. Vit. Pont.

‡ Usser. Prim. p. 924.

§ Vol. ii. p. 15.

|| Bede, lib iii. c. 3.

¶ Vita Malac. apud Messing. c. vi. p. 357.

either ignorant of, or neglected."* Indeed the statement made by Bernard seems to have been greatly exaggerated; for in the year 1074, Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, in his letter to Gothric, king of Dublin, speaks explicitly of Irish wives and husbands, "*legitimé copulati*," legitimately joined in wedlock.†

Lanfranc, in an epistle written about the year 1074, to Terdelvach, king of Ireland, complains that in the Hibernian church, as constituted at that period, bishops were often consecrated by a single bishop—that Irish children were baptized without the chrism—and that holy orders were granted by the prelates for money.‡

There were various orders of monks in the Irish church. Amongst these flourished one of a very peculiar nature, whose professors were styled *Culdees*, and sometimes *Kyllidei*, *Colidei* and *Kelidei*. Many derivations have been assigned to this word, but the most rational is that suggested by Goodall, O'Brien, and the lexicographer, Reilly—"Ceile-de"—"a servant of God."

Columba, a famous Irish divine, is generally deemed the founder of the Culdee system—a species of Monachism *sui generis*. This remarkable man was born in the year 521, and was a lineal descendant, in the sixth generation, from King Nial, of the nine hostages.§ About the twenty-eighth year of his age, he founded the monastery of Dairmagh,|| where he resided a short time. Zealous for the diffusion of Christianity, he passed over to Albanian Scotia, with twelve companions of his mission, to convert the Picts. In the year 563, he landed in the isle of Iona or Hii, which, if the Annals of Ulster and of Tighernach be correct, was given to him by Connal, the son of Comghal, king of the Dalriadan Scots. This beautiful island was originally denominated I, Hi, Eo, or Aoi, and afterwards Latinized into Iona ¶—

Here Columba established a Culdean monastery famous in the annals of the British isles, and here his zeal and conduct were so conspicuous, that when he afterwards appeared in a great synod, held at Drumceat in Ireland, as representative of the clergy of Albanian Scotia, he was received with the greatest attention and respect.** In Ireland he is believed to have founded three hundred monasteries and churches.†† The memory of this saint is still held in veneration in the Highlands of Scotland, many of whose inhabitants, when they undertake a journey of importance,

* Vita Malac. apud Messing. c. ii. p. 354. † Hib. Epist. Syll. p. 69, 70
‡ Nazaren. Litt. ii. p. 22. Vet. Epist. Syll. p. 72. § Adam. vita Col.
Tria. Thaum. p. 477. || Adam. lib. i. c. 3. Bed. lib. iii. c. 4.

¶ The Macbeth of Shakespeare calls it I. Columbkill.—In the Irish language, the letter *I*, pronounced *ee*, signifies an island; and this name was given to Iona, by way of preeminence.—See *Statistical Account of the Island*, iv. and *Jamieson's Culdees*, p. 24.

** Connal, from whom Tirconnel took its name, was his paternal grandfather, and his mother was Aethne, the daughter of Nave, or Macanane. His rank, therefore, entitled him to respect.—*Adam. ut supra*.

†† Smith's Life of Col. p. 149.

utter the following wish in their native language:—"May the servant of Columba of the cell protect and bring me safe home!" Nay, a kind of pebble brought from the shore of Iona is termed "Claich Ichalmkilli"—"the stone of Icolmkil," and worn as an amulet.* The monks of Hi became famous for their erudition. They possessed a classic library, which, as Gibbon remarks, afforded some hopes of an entire Livy.† Sixty kings, of whom eighteen were Albanian Scots, four Hibernian Scots, and eight Norwegians, were entombed in their cemeteries. On the right are interred the Irish monarchs—on the left, the Norwegians—in the centre, the Albanian Scots.‡

The progress of Culdeism was not confined to Scotia Major and Scotia Minor. The ministers of St. Peter's cathedral at York were denominated Colidei, in the reign of King Athelstan;§ and the hospital of St. Peter, in the same city, was founded by the Colidei of that church, in the reign of William I.||

In process of time, the Culdees became possessed of considerable influence in Ireland. Ussher, in speaking of these monks, says¶ "In the greater churches of Ulster, as in the metropolitan one of ARMAGH, and in that of Cluaninnis, there were even in our memory presbyters called Colidei, who celebrated divine service in the choir, and we know that their president was called prior of the Colidei." From the register of primate John Mey, it appears, that even after the establishment of the English in this country, the Culdee prior acted as precentor, and that the first place was allotted to him at table, and in the performance of sacred offices.** King Charles I. granted to the vicars choral of Armagh cathedral, the lands and tenements belonging to the Culdean priory, in the charter by which he constituted them a body corporate.—We shall annex a short account of these possessions to this Appendix.

The Culdees of Ireland were originally similar in discipline to those of Iona; and it is asserted by some authors, that they were subject to Columba's successors, who resided in that island. Be that as it may, the general rules of the order differed in many respects from those of other monastic institutions. The Colidei of Mugeo or Mayo, in Ireland, lived, says Bede, "*proprio labore manuum*"††—"by the labour of their own hands." The Culdees were permitted to marry, but they were not allowed to keep their wives in their houses, as we learn from the Registry of St. Andrews, one of their monastic institutions.‡‡ They possessed some things in common, whilst other matters were the private property of individuals, and divisible after their decease amongst their wives and children.§§ In each Culdee college, there were, according to the original establishment, twelve bre-

* Jamieson, p. 20, et sequent. † Vol. vi. p. 246. ‡ Buchannan, lib. i. § Charter of St. Leonard's Hospital at York, in the Cotton Library, citante Ware, in Ant. p. 236, 237. || Ibid. ¶ Brit. Eccl. Ant. p. 333. ** Regist. Mey. f. 12. †† Bed. Hist. lib. iv. c. 4. ‡‡ Excerpta Regist. St. And. v. Pinkerton's Inquiry, 1 App. p. 462, et sequent. §§ Ibid.

thren, one of whom was appointed prior by election; but in process of time, the members were admitted by hereditary descent.*

Their church government was of a very peculiar kind. Bede† speaking of Iona, says “that island is always accustomed to have for its governor an *abbot-presbyter*, to whose jurisdiction both the whole province, and even the *bishops* themselves, in an unusual order, ought to be subject, according to the example of the first teacher, who was not a bishop, but a presbyter and monk.” The province to which Bede here alludes was probably that portion of Scotland occupied by the Northern Picts, whose apostle was Columba, founder of the Culdean establishment at Iona. To this institution Buchanan says, six of the neighbouring islands also belonged. Notker Balbulus, misunderstanding the words of Bede, asserts that this abbot was the ecclesiastical primate of all the Hibernian bishops—an unfounded assumption, whose truth is strenuously denied by Ussher.‡ Indeed it is totally inconsistent with the whole tenor of Irish history.§

It is not a little singular that these presbyter-abbots should have acquired either a spiritual or temporal jurisdiction over the bishops of the province. But as Bede explicitly states, that the Picts were converted by Columba to Christianity,|| their spiritual pastors were, of course, subjected to the jurisdiction of this pious missionary, from whom their knowledge of religion was first derived, and his power seems to have been transmitted to his successors. Hence it is that the monks of Iona had (as Bede remarks) authority over almost all the monasteries of the Northern Scots, and over *all* those of the Picts, and were preeminent in the government of their people.¶ But the church of Ireland was founded before Columba existed, and its prelates never resigned their authority to the monks of Hi; though the Hibernian Culdees may have acknowledged the jurisdiction of their prior.

The bishops alluded to by Bede, as subordinate to the Culdees of Hi, could not have been diocesan bishops, or members of a regularly-ascending hierarchy; for such prelates would not have submitted to the rule of a presbyter. They were probably of the nature of Choripiscopi, of whom there were many both in Scotia Major and Scotia Minor.

Though the Culdees were themselves presbyters, they did not hesitate to ordain bishops. Thus Bede informs us, that in the year 635, when Oswald, prince of the Northumbrians, had demanded from them a bishop to instruct his people, the monks of Iona assembled, and ordained Aidan, an Irishman, bishop, and sent him to England as the accredited successor of the missionary, Corman.** It is difficult to reconcile the assertions of ancient

* Excerpta ut supra. p. 31, 32. † Hist. lib. iii. c. 24. ‡ Brit. Eccl. Ant. p. 366, 367. § See Not. Balb. in Martyr. St. Columb. citante Messingham, p. 182. || Bed. Hist. Ang. lib. iii. c. 34.—Lib. v. c. 10. ¶ Ibid. lib. iii. c. 3. ** Ibid. lib. iii. c. 5.

authors, concerning the ecclesiastic government of the Culdees. The Annals of Ulster assert, that there was always a bishop in the monastery of Iona.* On the contrary, the Saxon Chronicle, A. D. 560, contains the following passage:—“*Nu sceal beon aefre on II, Abbot and no Biscop, and than scullen beon under theod eall Scotta Biscopas forthan Columban was abbot na biscop.*”—“From thenceforth there will always be in II, (Iona) an abbot, but no bishop; and all the Scottish bishops should be subject to him, because Columban was an abbot and no bishop.”†

Alcuin, who flourished in the eighth century, says that the Scots did not use auricular confession, but that the monks were remarkable for their sanctity of Life.‡ The Culdees agreed with the Irish, as to the time of celebrating the Easter festival, and all the Northern Scots and Picts imitated their example.§ Bede, speaking of Aidan as a man of meekness, piety and zeal, adds that he used to observe Easter Sunday from the fourteenth till the twentieth of the moon, after the manner of his country; and thus the Northern Scots, and all the Pictish nation, celebrated Easter, believing that they adhered to the writings of the holy and meritorious Father Anatolius. In a conference held in the year 662, at Streoneschalch (Whitby,) in England, Colman, an Irishman, who had been educated by the Ionan Culdees, defended the practice of his countrymen against Wilfrid, a Northumberland abbot, who advocated that of Rome. This practice had, he said, been transmitted to them by their ancestors, men beloved of God; and it is the same, added he, which St. John the Evangelist, and the churches over which he presided, observed.|| Wilfrid opposed him by arguments drawn from the authority of “the Apostolic and Catholic church, confirmed by the Holy Scriptures.” “Though your fathers,” said he, “were pious men, think you that their small number, in a corner of the remotest island, is to be preferred to the Catholic church throughout the world.”¶

It is highly probable that after the church of Ireland was reconciled to the see of Rome, by Malachy Morgair, the ecclesiastical government of the Culdees underwent a considerable change, and that the monks were subjected to the jurisdiction of the episcopal hierarchy of the country. Thus we find from Archbishop Swain's Registry, that although the prior, on a vacancy, was elected by the other presbyter-monks, yet it was necessary that their choice should be afterwards confirmed by the primate;** and a mandate of Pope Nicholas V. respecting the

* Brit. Eccl. Ant. p. 367. † Vers. Gibson, p. 21. Jamieson, p. 92.

‡ Epist. 26. v. Sibbold's Fife. p. 169. Jamieson's Culdees p. 204. § Bed. Hist. lib. iii. c. 5. || Bede, lib. iii. c. 25, 26.

¶ Of the Culdean scheme of church government, very opposite opinions have been formed by different writers. Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph, Dr. Ledwich and others, maintain it to have been episcopalian.—On the other hand. Selden. Blondel, Smectymnus, Henry, Toland, and Jamieson, consider it as strictly Presbyterian.

** Regist. Swain, f. 43 b.

abbot of the Armagh college of Culdees,* is recorded in the Registry of Archbishop John Mey.†

By an inquisition taken in the thirty-third year of King Henry VIII. it appeared that the prior of the Colidei or Culdees of Armagh was seized of seven townlands or ballyboes,‡ called Cannadisse, Lisleagh, Ennogsegurt, Aghavillie, Lisvonnowe, Killenure, and Maghocarrell.§ In Fennenoaghan, five acres of land—in Rossmore, three—in Mollochchonghan, twenty—Lissagally and Molloghdromgallon, in Ballonehonarmore, twenty—Brughnesegart, in Mulloghmore, three—Brodonaghan, in Ballynachonebeg, twenty—Aghatern, alias Clarragh, (or Aghateine and Cargagh,) four—Lannigley, alias Giltneglogh, (or Aniglog and Gildenegly,) in Farenekoogan, four—Lissaghkerrel, near Monaskelig, three—Lackmullack, four—Golworth, alias Balworth, near Cavanaca, sixty—Tawnaghavillen, in Mullagnocrovah, twenty—Le Bend, or The Bond, in Ballyhurclain, (*i. e.* Ballyharridan,) twenty.

In Armagh, they possessed twenty-three houses or tenements which were occupied by the following persons, viz. James Berkely, Robert Jordan, Donald Savage, Pat. Oge O'Heyre, Elis Crawley, Thady Crawley, same, Robert Moore, B. M'Cory, Manus M'Garrey, Cael O'Monaghan, Thady Crawley, H. Oge M'Coddon, John Davis, D. M'Crawley, John Rudworth, Percy Williams: three near the Franciscan friary; and in the precincts of their own priory, two messuages.

Their spiritual property was as follow:—Rectory of Mullaghbrack—rectory and vicarage of Crogan—rectory and vicarage of Derryhoose—rectory and vicarage of Tynan—rectory and vicarage of Mounterkenny, alias Tannaghbie—vicarage of Levallyeglise—rectory of Donoughmore—rectory of Clonfecle—with the tithes of the nine towns of Tomachbryn (parcel of Kilsleeve rectory) and the tithes of the forty-eight towns of Toaghy, and seven towns of Kilnesegart, alias Fieghth.

All the temporal property of the Culdees was assigned to the incorporated vicars choral, by charter, granted by King Charles, on the 23d of May, in the tenth year of his reign.

After Cardinal Paparo had granted palls to the four archbishops of Ireland, the following suffragan sees were assigned to each, viz. To ARMAGH—Conner, Dumdaleghlas, Lugud Cluaimiard, Connanas, Ardachad, Rathboth, Rathlurig, Damliag, Darrich. — To DUBLIN—Clendelachi, Fern, Cainic, Leghlin, Childar. — To CASHEL—Cendaluan, Limerich, Insulæ Gathay, Cellumabrach, Ole-imlech, Rosscreen, Waltifordian, Lismor, Cluanvanian, Corcaia, Rossailether, Ardfert. — To TUAM—Mageo, Cellalaid, Rosscoman, Cluanfert, Achad, Cinani, Cellmun-duac.||

* If the reader be curious to trace the other monastic establishments of Ireland, he will find much information in the *Hibernia Dominicana*, and Archdall's *Monasticon Hibernicum*. † Regis. Joannis Mey, fol. 2.

‡ They are situated in the barony and county of Armagh.

§ In the charter of the vicars choral of Armagh cathedral, these lands are called Coninandesse, Enaghsegart, Lisnavaive, Magherevall, Lislough, Aghavallis, and Kilcunrie.

|| Ware's *Antiq.* p. 40, edit. Dublin, A. D. 1707.

APPENDIX, No. XIV.

On the meaning of the phrase "Borene-trian-Sasanach," &c. mentioned in page 144.

WE have already stated in page 143, that one portion of the city of Armagh was formerly called Rath-Ardmach, and another Trian-Sassach, or Trian-Sassanach. Rath-Ardmach was evidently situated at the summit of the city, and comprised within the inner line of circumvallation, of which we have spoken in Appendix, No. III. page 588. Borene-trian-Sassanach is merely a corruption of "Bohar-na-trian-Sassanach"—"the road, highway, or street of the Saxon district of the city." *Bothar*, a road, is pronounced *bohar*. *Na* is the particle appropriate to the genitive case. *Trian* signifies a *third*, a *district*, and a *portion*; and *Sassanach* is synonymous with *Sassach* or *Saxon*, a name given to the English by the natives of Ireland.

Tradition assigns the place to which we have alluded in page 96, as the site of Templum Columkille; and here Rocque places it in his map of the city, published in 1760. We are, however, firmly persuaded that the Culdees possessed another establishment near the site of the old Vicar's-hall, in the rear of Castle-street. Possibly the Templum Columkille noticed by Rocque, was an affiliation of this friary.

APPENDIX, No. XV.

On the Descendants of Aodh (Hugh) Buidhe O'Nial.

IN page 130, we have stated that there is yet in existence a representative of the O'Neil Clan Aodh Buidhe, in the illustrious family of the Shane's-castle O'Neills. This is a branch of those princely Hi Nials, from whom, as we have shewn in page 581, most of the royal families of Europe have descended. The O'Neils, of Banville are also lineal descendants of the chieftain of the Clan Aodh-Buidhe, or Clan Æu Buidhe, as appears manifest from a pedigree now in possession of Mr. John O'Hagan, of Newry, which was originally written, by its author, in Irish, and afterwards translated into English by Patrick Lynch. The pedigree is contained in a work styled "ORAIÐ NA COMHRADH TRIAMHUI-NEACH EUG-CAOINTEACH AIR BHAS EOGHAIN ORIRC I'NEILL,

NOCH DO HAINIG, AGUS DO SHIOLUIGH AR THREABHA TIAR-NAUDH UASAL AIRD-CHEIMEACH CHLAN ÆU BUIDHE."—This pedigree was compiled from ancient documents in the O'Neill family, and continued till the year 1744, by the reverend gentleman who was then their officiating chaplain.

The clan of which we now speak, obtained its name from Aodh (or Hugh) Buidhe O'Neill, (*i. e.* Hugh O'Neill the Yellow,) and possessed a tract of territory extending from Lough Neagh to Lough Cuan, and from thence to the sea on the north side.*

"Hugh Buidhe was the father of Brian Caha Dhuin, who was slain in battle near Downpatrick. From him descended Owen O'Neill, the father of the late John O'Neill, of Banville, a man remarkable for prodigious strength, majestic form, princely deportment, affable manners, and unbounded benevolence. The pedigree stands thus—Brian Caha, Hainri, Murcheartach Ceann-fada, Brian Bealla, Aodh Buidhe (the 2d,) Conn an Aithne,† Nial, Nial Og Brian Fachartach,‡ Nial-Tuahal, Felim, Aodh Mergeach, (a warrior who was slain at the battle of Aughrim,) Owen, who died on the 27th of September, 1744. He was the father of the late Felix and John O'Neill, and of Miss O'Neill, of Banville, who has survived her brothers §

* Oraid na Comhradh Triamhuinech, ut supra.

† Con was a man of remarkable generosity. A poem, beginning with the following stanzas, was written by a bard, one of his contemporaries.—

"Mile failte dhuitse a Chuinn
Chugain air tuinn chum do thire fein
A Mhic Onora anabhra dhuinn
A breasda grinn do clanna Neill.
Ni breacog a bhi ann do theach
Acht mairt-fheoil chreach is chuirn
Ol fiona agus malairt each
Buidh do chine leatsa Chuinn."

Which we paraphrase thus—

Hail prince of Erin—HONOR's noblest son!
A thousand welcomes greet the dark-eyed Con!
Soft heave the waves—the breezes waft him o'er,
And give our chieftain to his native shore.
O'Nial, offspring of a noble race,
In all thy acts a liberal soul we trace.
The heart of HOSPITALITY commands
Thy doors to open—wide the portal stands.
Enter, O people! 'tis no miser's hoard
That crowns so sumptuously yon festive board;
But GENEROSITY whose hand divine
Bears the rich viands, and the laughing wine.
Tamer of steeds, O Con, &c.

‡ Nial Og was married to Mac Artan's daughter, of whom was born Brian Fachartach. At a time when she had come to pay a visit to her father's house, in Kineal fuairti, she took labour, and was delivered of Brian in that place, whence he was called Fachartach.

§ This branch of the O'Neil's gave Kelly's woods to the O'Kellys—Dort a ghiolla ghruama and adjacent lands, to the Maol Craoives, or Rices; and Ard M'Criosq, or Hollywood, to the Gilmors.

APPENDIX, No. XVI.

WE have incorporated the matter intended for this Appendix, in Appendix, No. XIII. to which we refer the reader.

APPENDIX, No. XVII.

Of the Exploits of De Courcy.

DE Courcy was accompanied in his adventurous exploits in Ulster by the ancestors of the “Savages, the Yordans (or Jordons,) Fitz-Simonses, Bensons, Russels, Andeleys, and Whites.* Hanmer gives the following curious account of an extraordinary action performed by the heroic De Courcy:—

“Not long after, there fell some difference between John, king of England. and Philip, king of France, for the right of some fort in Normandy; who, to avoid the shedding of Christian blood, agreed of each side, to put it to a combat. Of King Philip's part there was a Frenchman in readiness. King John, upon the sudden, wist not what to do for a champion to encounter with him. At length one attending upon his person, enformed him, that there was one Courcy in the tower of London, the only man in his dominions (if he would undertake it) to answer the challenge.—King John joyful of this, sent the first, yea the second and third time, promising large rewards and rich gifts; and that it stood him upon, as far as the honour of his crown and kingdom did reach, to make good the combat. Courcy answered very forwardly, (the which was taken in good part, in regard of the urgent necessity,) that he would never fight for him, neither for any such as he was; that he was not worthy to have one drop of blood spilled for him; that he was not able to requite him the wrongs he had done him, neither to restore him the hearts-ease he had bereaved him of: yet notwithstanding all the premises, he was willing, and would, with all expedition, be ready to venture his life in defence of the crown and his country. Whereupon it was agreed, he should be dieted, apparelled and armed to his content; and that his own sword should be brought him out of Ireland. The day came, the place appointed, the lists provided, the scaffolds set up, the princes with their nobility of each side, with thousands in expectation; forth comes the French champion,

* Vesey's Statutes, vol. i. p. 231.

gave a turn, and rests him in his tent. They sent for Courcy, who all this while was trussing of himself about with strong points; and answered the messengers, that if any of their company were to go to such a banquet, he would make no great haste. However, forth he comes, gave a turn, and went into his tent.

“ When the trumpets sounded to battle, forth came the combatants, and viewed each other. Courcy beheld him with a wonderful stern countenance, and passed by. The Frenchman not liking his grim look, the strong proportion and feature of his person, stalked still along; and when the trumpets sounded the last charge, Courcy drew out his sword, and the Frenchman ran away. and conveyed himself to Spain. Whereupon they sounded victory, the people clapped their hands and cast up their caps. King Philip desired King John, that Courcy might be called before them, to shew part of his strength and manhood, by a blow upon a helmet. It was agreed; a stake was set in the ground, and a shirt of mail, and a helmet thereon; Courcy drew his sword, looked wonderful sternly upon the princes, cleft the helmet, shirt of mail, and the stake, so far in, that none could pull it out but himself. Then the princes demanded of him, what he meant to look so sowerly upon them? His answer was, if he had missed his blow upon the block, he would have cut off both the kings’ heads. All that he said was taken in good part; and King John discharged him of all his troubles, gave him great gifts, and restored him to his former possessions in Ireland.”

Some writers deny the truth of the above narrative, because no French author recites the occurrence, and because it contains some improbable circumstances. However, an immense sword, said to have been used by De Courcy on the occasion, is deposited in the tower of London; and the Lords of Kinsale are possessed of the right of wearing their hats in the King’s presence, on account of the exploit, real or supposed, performed by their ancestor,

APPENDIX, No. XVIII.

Abstract of O’Nial’s Letter to Pope John.

WE cannot, in the bounds of this work, insert the curious and spirited letter, written by Donald O’Nial to Pope John, about the year 1329, to which we have alluded in page 184 of this work. The reader will find a faithful transcript of it in Mac Geoghegan’s “ *Histoire De L’Irlande*,” tom. ii p. 106, extracted from the *Scoto-chronicon* of John Fordun, vol. iii. p. 908, et sequent.—In this document, O’Nial styles himself “ King of Ulster, and true heir, by hereditary right, of the whole dominion of Ireland.” He recites, in animated language, the wrongs

and injuries which his family and people had sustained from the British monarchs, states his descent from Milesius, and reminds the pope, that the Irish had been Christianized by St. Patrick, the missionary of his predecessor, Celestine, and that they always steadily maintained the Catholic faith. He affirms, that prior to the national conversion, one hundred and thirty of his royal ancestors had been kings of Ireland, which they ruled even to the days of Leogair; and from that period till the year 1170, sixty monarchs of the same princely family had swayed the Hibernian sceptre. He complains that, in that year, Pope Adrian had, at the unjust and iniquitous suggestion of Henry, king of England, by a certain verbal form, and without any legal or just process, deprived them of their dominion, their people and country. "Thus," added he, "he delivered us, without any reasonable cause, or fault committed by us, to be lacerated by the ravenous fangs of wild beasts." The English (he asserts) sought, under the external appearance of sanctity and religion, to extirpate the Irish nation. They drove them from their spacious habitations and paternal property, to dwell in woods, lakes, marshes and caverns, and sought to expel them even from these wretched places of refuge. Hence (says he) has originated a deadly hostility betwixt the two nations—hence mutual slaughter—active depredations—endless rapines—and fraud and perfidy, frequent and detestable. Henry had promised that he would preserve and improve the church of Ireland, and that Peter's pence should be regularly paid to the apostolic see. But the English had robbed and despoiled the church, and had seized its prelates and afflicted them with the severest injuries, &c. Further, he complains that through the instrumentality of the archbishop of Armagh (a man of little prudence and no science) and the other English prelates, an ordinance had been made, decreeing that no one should be admitted into any religious order, except those who belonged to the English nation, &c, &c.

APPENDIX, No. XIX.

Of the Galloglasses, &c.

THE Galloglass wore a defensive coat, studded with iron nails. A long sword was appended by his side. An iron head-piece secured his skull, and in his hand he grasped a broad keen-edged battle-axe. There was another species of foot soldier called Kearns.* These combatants fought with swords, skeans and javelins, to which thongs were fastened. In war they used bag-

* More properly Ceathernacs, or Ceathern.—Cormick Mac Culionain, in his Irish Glossary, written in the latter end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century, derives Keathern from *kith*, a battle, and *orn* or *orguin*, to burn.

pipes as their military music. *Sgean* (*unde skean*) signifies "a knife." Harris conceives that the Galloglasses were a kind of foot soldiers introduced by the English, and that the term was synonymous with *Gall-oglach*—"English servant"*

APPENDIX, No. XX.

On the ancient mode of electing Sovereigns in Ireland; and on the regal Stone Chairs in which they were crowned.

CROWNS of gold have been found in this country, which had probably belonged either to some of its provincial, or of its general monarchs.† The regal ornament for the head was called *asion*, and in process of time, *asion* and *oroin*, "a crown," were used as synonymous terms. It is recorded, that in the year 174, the golden *asion* of the queen of Cathoir-Mor was stolen from her at Tara.‡ In public solemnities, and in battle, the monarchs appeared crowned with diadems;§ and king Brian Boroihme was found dead, after the battle of Cluan Torbh, with the royal crown on his head.¶

The monarchy of Ireland, as well as of the provincial kingdoms, was elective; but the choice of the electors was limited to the individuals of particular septs or families. After the Milesian conquest, it was necessary that the candidate for the monarchy of Ireland should be a lineal descendant from one of the three sons of Milesius. The Irish were, therefore, remarkably careful to record the genealogy of every princely family with scrupulous fidelity.

Hence we find that Nial, chieftain of Ulster, in pleading his own cause with Sydney, the representative of Queen Elizabeth,¶ urges that he had been duly elected "The O'Nial." It was deemed necessary that the king elect should be of the equestrian order, of full age, and perfect both in his corporeal and mental faculties.** After his nomination he was inaugurated in a regal stone chair, similar to that mentioned in page 300 of this work, a fragment of which is perhaps in existence. In the days of paganism, various stones were held in superstitious reverence. One of these, denominated "the golden stone" (*Cloch-or*,) uttered, it was said, oracular responses, at the place which now bears its name. We learn from Charles Maguire, canon of Armagh, who, about the year 1490, wrote comments on the Registry of Clogher, that "this stone was preserved there on the right of the entrance into the

* Ware's Ant. p. 161.

† Vita Rumeldi, p. 170.

** O'Hall, vol. i. p. 268.

‡ See p. of this work.

§ Marianus Scotus ad an. 1014.

¶ Ware's Ant. p. 66.

¶ See p. 255.

church, and that it had been formerly covered with gold by the worshipers of an idol called Kermant Kelstacth." After the introduction of Christianity, these superstitions ceased; but remarkable stones were still used in the solemn inauguration of the king elect. Of the most famous of these stones, the Scotichronicon of Fordun gives the following curious account:—

"Erat autem quidam Scotorum Hispaniæ rex plures habens filios, unum tamen cui nomen Smonbrecht, quamvis natu non major, fuerat, vel hæres, præ cæteris tamen diligebat. Misit igitur ipsum pater ad Hiberniam, cum exercitu, donavitque sibi marmoream cathedram, arte vetustissima, diligenti sculptam opifice, qua Scoticæ nationis Hispaniæ reges sedere solebant. Unde diligenter, in sua regione quasi pro anchora tuebatur. Pergebat autem idem Smonbrecht, magna comitatus hominum caterva, prædictam ad insulam, et in ea suo subjecta dominio regnavit annis multis. Lapidem vero præfatum scilicet, cathedram, in eminentiori loco regni, THEMOR nomine posuit, qui regia sedes locusque regni, superior de cætero dictus, quo suæ propaginis posteræ reges multis temporibus sedere solebant, regiis honoribus insigniti. Attulit secum hanc cathedram Gaythelos, cum aliis ornamentis regalibus ad Hispaniam, ut aiunt quidam, ex Ægypto. Alii quoque, quod Smonbrecht in mare prope littus Hybernicum emissas e navi confixit anchoras, et eas iterum, urgente ventorum adversitate, dum ex undosis omni conatu retrahere fluctibus valide fatergerat, in formam cathedræ decisum ex marmore lapidem de pelagi profundo sublatum, in navi cum anchoris introduxit.—Hunc igitur lapidem quasi pretiosum munus a Diis oblatum, certum etiam futuri regni præsagium accipiens, et nimio fluctuans in gaudio, suas in tantum veneratus est Deos, ac si regnum sibi tradiderant penitus cum corona. Accepit ibidem et inde vaticinium a diis suis hujusmodi sic ut scriptis asseritur, quod ubicunque locorum regno seu dominio per adversariorum de cætero potentiam ab eis invitis delatum reperiant lapidem, pro firmo tenere jusserunt aruspices ibidem se suosque postea regnatos. Unde quidem, ex eorum divinatione vaticinando metricè sic prophantur—

"Ni fallat fatum, Scoti quocumque locatum
Invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem."*

The same author, in the thirteenth chapter of his first book, says that "after many years, a certain king named Fergus, who was the son of Ferethard, came from Ireland to Scotland, bringing with him this stone chair,† in which the first king was crowned by the Scots." He adds, that the succeeding monarchs imitated the example, and were crowned in the same chair.

This remnant of antiquity was removed, by Edward I, to London, and is preserved amongst the regalia of the British monarchs.

* Scotichron. Johannis Fordun, lib. 1. c. xvii. apud Gale, p. 580.

† Marmoreo lapide decisam.

APPENDIX, No. XXI.

A brief Account of the Settlement of Ulster, so far as relates to the County of Armagh.

BY the flight of Tyrone and O'Donnel, and the destruction of Sir Cahir O'Dogherty's party, upwards of 800,000 English acres of land were forfeited to the crown, in the province of Ulster. James I. soon determined to apportion out that vast tract, partly to English and Scotch Protestant settlers, partly to servitors and natives, and partly to the established church, the national university and free schools. He endeavoured also to give a preponderance to the Protestants, in parliament, by the formation of new boroughs, and by prescribing oaths to the electors, which Roman Catholics were restricted from swearing, by the tenets of their religion.*

The lands of the settlers were divided into portions of 2000, 1500, and 1000 English acres. A small yearly rent was reserved to the crown. The undertakers were to be of three distinct sorts. 1st, English and Scottish settlers, who were to locate Englishmen and Scots on the lands—2d, Servitors in Ireland, who might take English or Irish tenants, *ad libitum*—3d, Native freeholders of the country.—For a minute account of the nature of this settlement, we refer the reader to Harris's *Hibernica* and Pinnar's *Survey*.

In the county of Armagh, the state of the plantation, in the year 1619, was as below:—

In the precincts of O'Neiland, a portion of land estimated at 2500 acres, belonged to William Brownlow, Esq. viz. Dowcoran, 1500 acres; and Ballenemony, 1000 acres. At Dowcoran, a good mansion-house was erected, encircled with a palisado and fortified by a strong bawn of timber and earth—another stone house was built at Ballenemony. Mr. Brownlow also founded a town of forty-two houses, which he peopled with English families. The streets were paved, and kept remarkably clean, and two

* These boroughs were peculiarly offensive to the Catholics of that age. They remonstrated on the subject, and even questioned the king's power and right to make such innovations. James, in commenting on their remonstrance asserts, that "he finds the new boroughs, except one or two, to be as good as the old;" and again he says, "you that are of a contrary religion must not look to be the only *law-makers*—you that are but *half subjects* should have but *half-privilege*—you that have one eye to me one way, and to the pope another way. The pope is your father in *spiritualibus* and I in *temporalibus* only; and so you have your bodies torn one way, and your souls drawn another—You that send your children to the seminaries of treason, strive henceforth to become *full subjects*, that you may have *cor unum et viam unam*," &c. &c.—Cox's *Reign of James I.*

water-mills and a wind-mill were constructed in the neighbourhood, for the benefit of the settlement. On his estate, Mr. Brownlow located fifty-seven principal British families, who had several ter-tenants under them, all of whom had taken the oath of supremacy. There were no Irish families on the premises.—Such was the origin of the flourishing settlement in the populous district which surrounds Lurgan—a beautiful town which at present is nearly a mile in length, and contains 379 houses, and 2,207 inhabitants.*

Sir Oliver St. John, knight, had 1000 acres in Kernan, on which were two moated and very strong bawns of timber. In each of these was a house of cage work, inhabited by an English family. Near the bawn were five houses, inhabited also by English families. The remainder of the colony was dispersed over the land, in which there was located in all seventeen British families, viz.—five freeholders, eight lessees for years, and four cottagers, with their under-tenants. They were able to muster thirty men in arms, thirteen of whom had taken the oath of supremacy. To this establishment, we trace that prosperous settlement at the manor of Kernan, &c. betwixt Knock-bridge and Lurgan.

In Ballnevoran, of which William Powell was first patentee, there were 2000 acres in possession of Mr. Obyns, ancestor of the ancient family, which, for two centuries have been proprietors of the Portadown estate. Here was a sod bawn, palisadoed with boards, and secured with a ditch. A brick mansion-house was erected at Ballnevoran, and at a short distance there were four houses inhabited by English families. On this estate there were five freeholders, fifteen lessees for years, and four cottagers. They and their undertenants mustered forty-six armed men.—Such was the original settlement of the Protestant colony of Portadown.

The Lord Say was the first patentee of the lands of Derrycravy and Drumully. These have been, during two centuries, the property of the ancient family of the Copes, whose ancestor possessed 3000 acres in that district, on which he erected a stone and lime bawn, one hundred and eighty feet square, and fourteen feet in height, with four flankers. In three of these were habitations three stories high. Near the bawn were fourteen houses inhabited by two English families, and accommodated with two water-mills and a wind-mill. On the estate, he located six freeholders, thirty-four lessees for years, and seven cottagers, who, as well as their undertenants, were all Britons, and able to muster eighty armed men.—Such was the origin of the Protestant colony in the thickly inhabited district of Drumilly and Loughgall, &c. This was, for a considerable time, the most flourishing and the most defensible plantation in Ulster; but on the 23d of May, 1643, Loughgall was burned, in a battle fought by the Scottish general, Monroe, with Sir Phelim O'Neal and Owen Roe O'Nial.†

* See page 466 of this work.

† Cox's Charles I. p. 130.

At Semore, Richard Roulstone had 1000 acres, on which was a sod bawn, palisadoed and moated around, with a house in the interior, inhabited by an English family. Near the bawn were nine houses, occupied by English tenants. On the estate were two freeholders and eight lessees for years, who, with their undertenants, mustered twenty-four armed men.

At Aghavellan and Brochus, John Heron possessed 2000 acres, on which he had erected two earthen bawns, which he palisadoed and fenced with a ditch. Near these he had built houses in which he located English families. On this estate were thirteen British families who, with their undertenants, mustered twenty-six armed men.

At Kannagoolan, William Stanhow possessed 1500 acres, which he neglected to settle. The land was inhabited with native Irish.

Francis Sacheverell, Esq. possessed 2000 acres at Mullalelish and Legacorry, which are the hereditary property of the ancient family of the Richardsons. Here were three British freeholders and eighteen lessees for years, who, with their undertenants, mustered fifty armed men. Such was the commencement of the flourishing colony of Richhill, formerly called Legacorry.

At Mullabane, John Dillon, Esq. had 1500 acres, on which he built a house of stone and lime, and located twenty-nine British families, who, with their undertenants, mustered forty armed men. They resided together in two villages, which they built for their own accommodation. In this establishment we trace the origin of the Protestant colony which settled at Hockley, Drummond, Killuny, Grange, &c. on the hereditary estate of the very ancient family of the Molyneuxes, of Castledillon—the lineal descendants of the illustrious race of Howards.

In the precincts of the Fews, allotted to Scottish undertakers, Henry Acheson, Esq. possessed 1000 acres at, Coolemalish. Here was a stone and clay bawn one hundred and forty feet in length, and eighty in breadth, with four flankers. In the interior was a house, partly formed of stone and lime and partly of timber. There were on the land nineteen tenants, who, with their subtenants, mustered thirty armed men, and were actively employed in agricultural pursuits.

At Magharientim, of which James Craig was the first patentee, John Hamilton, Esq. possessed 1000 acres, on which was a stone and clay bawn, sixty feet square and twelve feet high, with two flankers. On the estate he located twenty British families, who, with their tenants, mustered thirty armed men.

At Kilruddan, (of which William Lawders was the first patentee,) John Hamilton possessed 1000 acres. On the estate was a bawn similar to that last mentioned, with a house in the interior, and seven other habitations in the neighbourhood, occupied by British tenants. Seventeen British families were located on the land, and mustered thirty armed men.

In Edenagh, John Hamilton had 500 acres. He had transferred the residue of his grant (500 acres) to the dean and chapter.

On this estate was a stone and clay bawn, pointed with lime; and near it six houses, occupied by British tenants. There were in all ten British families on the lands, which, with their undertenants, mustered twenty-two armed men.

At Clancarny, Sir Archibald Acheson possessed 2000 acres, of which Sir James Douglas was the first patentee. Here was a stone and lime bawn, one hundred feet in length, eighty feet broad and ten feet high. Here also Sir Archibald built a castle eighty feet in length and twenty-two in width. Near the bawn were seven houses, occupied by British tenants. On the estate he located twenty-nine British families, which, with their subtenants, mustered one hundred and forty-four armed men. He built, also, a town called Cloncarney, where twenty-nine British tenants resided, who were accommodated with small tracts of land appurtenant to their dwelling-houses. These were able to muster twenty-nine armed men; so that Sir Archibald could then have brought into the field one hundred and seventy-three men, all resident inhabitants of his own lands. In the settlements formed by the Achesons and the Hamiltons, we trace the origin of the flourishing colonies of Markethill, Hamilton's-bawn, Mulabrack, &c. &c.—To the same Achesons, we trace the noble family of Gosford.

In the precincts of Orier, allotted to servitors and natives, Sir John Davies, knight, had 500 acres at Cornechino, on which he had neither built a house nor located British tenants.

At Ballemoore, Sir Oliver St. John possessed 1500 acres. The town situated on his lands was in a state of progressive improvement, and inhabited chiefly with English tenants. Here were also nine Irish families, whose members frequented the established church and had taken the oath of supremacy. In this settlement we trace the origin of the Protestant colony of Ballymore and Tandragee.

At Tandragee, or Tanrygee, one branch of the noble family of O'Hanlons had formerly erected their mansion-house or castle, in the centre of a country which then belonged to them as chiefs of the clan;* but they had been deprived of this property.

At Ballimonehan, the Lord Moore had 1000 acres, on which was a stone and lime bawn, nearly one hundred feet square, with two flankers. In one of these was a house, inhabited by an Irishman. In this establishment, we believe, the Protestant colony at Drumbanagher, which has since flourished so exceedingly under the ancient family of the Moores, or Mores, had its origin.

* In the original project for the plantation of Ulster, there is a passage to the following effect:—

“Twelve hundred acres to four corporate towns or boroughs, which are to have like liberties, and hold their lands as before expressed, viz. to Ardmagh 300 acres, to Mountnorris 300 acres, to Charlemont 300 acres, and to a corporate town to be erected at Tanrygee, in O'Hanlon's country, 300 acres. Of the rest 1200 may be granted to the college of Dublin, and the residue, being 720, to be allotted to the maintenance of a free school to be erected at Ardmagh.”

At Clare, Henry Bowcher, Esq. possessed 2000 acres, on which was a stone and lime bawn, one hundred feet long, eighty broad, and fourteen high. Here Mr. Bowcher built a strong stone house, which, we believe, was situated where Clare castle now stands.—In this settlement, we find the commencement of the Protestant colony at the village of Clare and its vicinity.

One thousand acres, in the precincts of Orier, were possessed by Captain Anthony Smith. On these lands, Sir Thomas Williams had begun a stone and clay bawn; but Captain Smith erected another in a more convenient place, eighty feet square, with two flankers and a good stone and lime house.

At Curriator, Lieut. Sir T. Pointz possessed a tract of land, with a bawn of 80 feet square, and a house. On this he erected another bawn, one hundred feet square, and a brick and lime house.—This appears to have been the first settlement at Pointz-pass. The ancient family of the Halls, of Narrowwater, are descended, we believe, *a parte materna*, from a branch of the Pointz family.

At Camlough, 1000 acres had been in possession of Henry Mac Shane O'Neill; but after his decease, it was in the hands of Sir Toby Caulfeild, who intended to improve and plant the lands.

APPENDIX, No. XXII.

Translation of the Charter of the City of Armagh.

JAMES, by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, king, defender of the faith, and so forth, to all to whom these our present letters shall come, greeting. Know ye that we, as well at the humble petition of the inhabitants of the town of Ardmagh, in our county of Ardmagh, in our province of Ulster, in our kingdom of Ireland, as for the peopling and planting, according to the form of government excellently established in our kingdom of England, the northern parts in our said kingdom, depopulated and wasted, and for the better progress and perfecting of that new plantation of late happily begun; of our special grace, and of our certain knowledge and mere motion, with the consent of our well-beloved and faithful counsellor Arthur Lord Chichester, of Belfast, our deputy general of our said kingdom of Ireland, as well according to the intention and effect of certain letters of ours, signed with our own hand and given under our signet, at our Honor of Hampton-court, the 26th day of September, and of our reign of England, France and Ireland the 10th, and of Scotland the 46th, and now in the rolls of our Chancery of our said kingdom of Ireland entered; we appoint, declare and ordain, by these presents, that the aforesaid town of Ardmagh, and all and singular castles, messuages, tofts,

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mills, houses, edifices, structures, curtilages, orchards, gardens, wastes, farms, lands, tenements, and hereditaments whatsoever, lying or being in or within the said town of Ardmagh, or within the precincts of the same, in the county of Ardmagh aforesaid, may henceforth be, and in all future times shall be, one entire and free borough of itself, by the name of the borough of Ardmagh, and they shall henceforth be named, styled, and called the borough of Ardmagh, and all these things into one entire and free borough of itself, by the name of the borough of Ardmagh, we erect, constitute and ordain, by these presents; and further, we will, ordain and appoint by these presents, that within the borough aforesaid be one body corporate and politic, consisting of one superior, in English a sovereign, twelve free burgesses, and of the commons; and that by virtue of these presents, they the inhabitants within the said town and land aforesaid, henceforth and at all times hereafter are and shall be one body corporate and politic in thing, fact and name, by the name of the sovereign, free burgesses and commons of the borough of Ardmagh, and them by the name of the sovereign, free burgesses and commons of the borough of Ardmagh aforesaid, a body corporate and politic in reality, fact and name, really and fully for us, our heirs and successors, we erect, make, ordain and constitute by these presents, and that by the same name they may have perpetual succession, and that they by the name of the sovereign, free burgesses and commons of the borough of Ardmagh aforesaid, be and shall be in all time to come persons fit and capable in law to have, ask, receive and possess lands, tenements, liberties, privileges, jurisdictions, franchises and hereditaments whatsoever, of whatsoever kind, nature or species they shall be, to them and their successors in fee and perpetuity, and also goods and chattles and all other things of whatsoever kind, nature or species they shall be, and also to give, grant, demise and assign lands, tenements, hereditaments, goods and chattles, and all and singular other acts and things to do and perform by the aforesaid name, and that by the name of the sovereign, free burgesses and commons of the borough of Ardmagh aforesaid, they may plead, be impleaded, answer and be answered, defend and be defended, before us, our heirs and successors, and before any of the justices and judges, of us, our heirs and successors, and of any others whomsoever, in any other courts whatsoever, of us, our heirs and successors, and every where else, of and in all and every actions, forfeitures, complaints, pleas and demands whatsoever against them or for them, in any manner to be prosecuted or obtained, so as they the said sovereign and free burgesses of the borough of Ardmagh aforesaid and their successors for ever have full power and authority to choose, send, and return two discreet and fit men to serve and attend in any parliament in our said kingdom of Ireland, hereafter to be held, and that such men so chosen, sent and returned, have full power and authority to treat of and consult upon those things and matters which to them and others shall be there set forth and declared, and there-

upon their votes and suffrages freely to give, and to do and perform all other things as freely and fully as any other burgesses of any other ancient borough in our said kingdom of Ireland, or in our said kingdom of England, were in parliament there accustomed to do or perform. Wherefore we will and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, we give and grant to the aforesaid sovereign and free burgesses, and to their successors, and also charge and firmly for us, our heirs and successors, command all sheriffs, officers and ministers of us our heirs and our successors whomsoever in our said county of Ardmagh, for the time being, to whom any writ or writs of ours for electing burgesses for parliament in our said county of Ardmagh at any time shall be directed, that every such sheriff, officer or minister to whom any writ of this sort, or any of our writs of this sort shall have been directed as aforesaid, shall make his precept to the sovereign and free burgesses of the said borough of Ardmagh for the time being, for the electing and returning of the said two burgesses, according to the form and effect of the said writ or writs, and those our letters patent, or a record of them, shall be as well to the sovereign and free burgesses of the borough aforesaid, and to their successors as to all and singular sheriffs, officers and ministers of us, our heirs and successors, sufficient warrant and exoneration in this behalf, and to the intent that it may appear to future times, that this new incorporation was at the very first composed of men of probity and honest, we make, constitute and name Mark Usher, Esq. to be and become the first and present sovereign of the said borough, to be continued in the same office until the feast of St. Michael the archangel, immediately after the date of these presents, and likewise we make, constitute and name John Usher, Mathew Usher, Richard Usher, Thomas Dawson, Thomas Smith, John Rudworth, Peter alias Pearce Williams, Joseph Powell, Peter Eales, William Bennet, Nathaniel Lord, and John Hays, to be and become the first and present twelve free burgesses of the borough aforesaid, to be continued in the same offices of free burgesses of said borough, during their several lives, unless in the interim for their behaving themselves ill, or for any other reasonable cause, from their aforesaid office they shall be removed, or any one of them shall be removed, and all the inhabitants of said town and all and every such other men as the sovereign and free burgesses of said borough, for the time being, into the freedom of said borough shall admit, we will, constitute and ordain to become of the commons of the borough aforesaid; and further we will that the aforesaid Mark Usher, whom by these presents we have made sovereign of the borough aforesaid, shall come before our justices of assize at the general sessions to be held in the county of Ardmagh aforesaid, next after the date of these presents, and in due manner shall take as well the oath of the commons* called in English the oath of supremacy, as his corpo-

* This is the freeman's oath, to be taken by the members of the commons.

ral oath well and truly to fulfil the office of sovereign of the borough aforesaid until the feast of St. Michael the archangel next to come, as aforesaid, and that the sovereign of the borough aforesaid be annual and elective, and therefore we will, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, we grant to the aforesaid sovereign, free burgesses and commons* of the borough aforesaid, and their successors, that said sovereign and free burgesses of said borough, for the time being, annually for ever, on the feast of the nativity of St. John the Baptist, can and may gather themselves together in some convenient place within the borough aforesaid, and that the said sovereign and free burgesses thus assembled, or the major part of them, before they depart thence, may elect one of the more discreet of the free burgesses of said borough to the office of sovereign of said borough, to be filled for one year from the feast of St. Michael the archangel then next following, and till such time as one other of the burgesses of the said borough to that office in due manner be elected, appointed and sworn, and that any sovereign so elected before he be admitted to execute the office aforesaid, or shall be or be esteemed sovereign, shall take as well the aforesaid oath, commonly called in English the oath of supremacy, as also his corporal oath well and truly to execute the office of sovereign of the borough aforesaid, on the feast of St. Michael the archangel next ensuing, after such election before the sovereign of the borough aforesaid who went before him in the same office in the preceding year, and we grant full power and authority to every such last predecessor of any sovereign of the borough aforesaid, for the time being, the aforesaid oath of any such sovereign newly chosen to receive, and moreover of our like special grace, and from our certain knowledge and mere motion, we will, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, we grant to the aforesaid sovereign and free burgesses and commons of the said borough and their successors, if and as often as it shall happen that the sovereign of said borough, for the time being, shall die or by any mode whatever vacate his office aforesaid within one year after he is so as aforesaid chosen and sworn to the office aforesaid, that then and so often the free burgesses and commons of the said borough and their successors another fit person out of the number of free burgesses, for a sovereign of the borough aforesaid, for the remainder of that year, for the ruling and governing of said borough, within fifteen days after such vacancy they can and may elect, and that every such person or persons so as aforesaid elected into the office of sovereign of the borough aforesaid, may and can exercise the office of sovereign of said borough even till the feast of St. Michael the archangel next following after such election, having first taken the aforesaid oath called in English the oath of

* Or assembly.

supremacy, and also the aforesaid oath for the due execution of his office of sovereign of the said borough as aforesaid set forth in these presents; and farther of our special grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, we will, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, grant to the aforesaid sovereign, free burgesses and commons of the borough aforesaid, and to their successors, that if any one or more of the aforesaid free burgesses of the aforesaid borough so as aforesaid in these presents named, or any one or more of the free burgesses of said borough hereafter to be chosen, should die or be removed from that office, which free burgesses, and any one or more of them not conducting himself well in that office, we will to be removeable, at the good pleasure of the sovereign and major part of the free burgesses of said borough, for the time being, the sovereign and the rest of the free burgesses of the borough aforesaid, for the time being, within seven days next after such free burgess's death or being laid aside, can and may gather themselves together in some convenient place within the borough aforesaid, and that the said sovereign and free burgesses thus assembled, or the major part of them, before they depart, may elect one or as many as are wanting of the aforesaid number of twelve free burgesses, of the better and more honest inhabitants of said borough, in the place or places of such free burgess or free burgesses so dead or removed from their office, to be continued in the same office during their natural lives, unless in the interim for bad governing or behaving themselves ill, in that behalf, they be removed, or some one or more of them be removed, and that every such person so chosen into the office of a free burgess of the borough aforesaid, before he be admitted to execute the duties of that office, shall take his corporal oath for well and truly executing the office of a free burgess of the borough aforesaid, in less than seven days next after such election, before the sovereign of the borough aforesaid, for the time being, or before such of the rest of the free burgesses of the same borough as shall then be surviving and in that office remaining, or the major part of them, to which sovereign for the time being, or to such of the free burgesses, or the major part of them for the time being, we give and grant full power and authority, by these presents, to receive said oath from any such free burgess newly elected, and so on as often as the case shall so happen; and farther of our special grace and certain knowledge and mere motion, we will, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, we grant to the aforesaid sovereign, free burgesses and commons of the borough aforesaid, and their successors, that they and their successors for ever shall have and hold and that they may and can have and hold one court in some convenient and open place in the aforesaid borough to be held before the sovereign of said borough for the time being, and in the same court to hold pleas every Friday, from week to week, of all and

singular actions, debts, covenants, trespasses, withholdings, contracts and personal demands whatever, not exceeding the sum of five marks sterling. happening or emerging in or within the aforesaid borough of Ardmagh or the liberties of the same, and that this court be and be reputed and held a court of record for ever. We also will, and out of our more abundant special grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, we grant to the sovereign, free burgesses and commons of the borough aforesaid, and their successors for ever, that they and their successors from time to time, as often as to them it shall seem more expedient, may and can assemble and meet together in some convenient place within the borough aforesaid, and in their assemblies there make, decree, ordain and confirm acts, ordinances and statutes, in English bye-laws, for the good regimen and wholesome government of said borough and its inhabitants, such and of such kind as to them and the major part of them shall seem necessary, and that they have power and authority by fines and pecuniary mulcts to punish, chastise and correct all such persons as shall become delinquent against such acts, ordinances and statutes, provided the aforesaid acts, ordinances, statutes, fines and mulcts be reasonable and not contrary or repugnant to the laws and statutes of our kingdom in Ireland; and further we will, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, we grant to the aforesaid sovereign, free burgesses and commons of the borough aforesaid, and to their successors for ever, that they may have within the borough a guild merchant* and perpetually keep one common seal, engraved in such form and with such arms as to them shall seem best for the business of said borough, and that they can and may for ever from time to time, as often as they shall have occasion, chuse, constitute and ordain from among themselves, two sergeants at mace and other inferior officers and necessary servants for the better governing of the said borough and its inhabitants, and whatsoever person or persons so from time to time may be chosen, constituted and ordained, we make, constitute and ordain to become and be sergeants at mace and other officers and servants of said borough respectively, and to be continued in their offices during their good behaviour or at the will and pleasure of the said sovereign, free burgesses and commons of the borough aforesaid, and that every such servant, officer or minister, before he be admitted to the exercise of his office, shall take his corporal oath before the sovereign of said borough for the time being, well and truly to perform his office; and further out of our like special grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, we will, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, we give and grant to the aforesaid sovereign, free burgesses and commons of the borough aforesaid, and their successors for ever, that the sovereign of the aforesaid

* Guild: mercat.

borough for the time being, for ever, be clerk of the market in the borough aforesaid and the liberties of the same, and from time to time may have full power and authority to do and execute all and singular things belonging or appertaining to the office of clerk of the market within the borough aforesaid, so as no other clerk of the market of us, our heirs or successors, into the aforesaid borough or the franchises of the same, shall enter to do or execute any thing therein appertaining or belonging to the said office of clerk of the market, nor in any office of the clerk of the market within the borough aforesaid or the liberties thereto belonging, shall in any manner enter; and farther of our more full special grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, we grant to the aforesaid sovereign, free burgesses and commons of the borough aforesaid, and their successors for ever, that these our letters patent, and every article and clause in them contained or set forth, shall be construed, interpreted and adjudged in the most advantageous, beneficial and favourable sense to the aforesaid sovereign, free burgesses and assembly of the borough aforesaid, and their successors, with respect to and against us, our heirs and successors, as well in all our courts as elsewhere in our kingdom of Ireland and every where else, without confirmation, license or toleration to any person hereafter to be procured or obtained, notwithstanding that our writs *ad quod damnum* have not issued to inquire concerning the premises before the framing of these our letters patent, and notwithstanding any other defect or any other thing, cause or matter whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding. And because express mention and so forth, any statute and so forth, we will also and so forth. In testimony whereof we have made these our letters patent, witness our aforesaid deputy general of our kingdom of Ireland, at Dublin, the 26th March, in the year of our reign of England, France and Ireland, the 11th; and of Scotland the 46th, by virtue of letters of our lord the king, sent from England and signed by his own hand.

*Extracts from the Charter of the Vicars Choral of the Cathedral of Armagh.**

—“MOREOVER of our more abundant special grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, with the advice and consent aforesaid, and also according to the tenor and effect of our said letters, we have granted and given license, and for us, our heirs and successors, do grant and give license to the said James, archbishop of Armagh, and his successors, that he the said James,

* See pages 367, 628, of this work.

archbishop of Armagh, and his successors and each of them for ever, can and may have and hold one free market, to be held at the said town of Armagh, in the county of Armagh aforesaid, on every Saturday in every week for ever, and also one fair to be held in and at the said town of Armagh, in and upon the feast day of St. Peter the apostle, and one day next following, to continue annually for ever, provided they be not to the injury of any neighbouring markets or fairs respectively. Provided always that if said feast of St. Peter the apostle shall fall on Saturday, Sunday or Monday, then and so often we will that said fair shall begin and be held on the Tuesday then next following; and further of our more ample special grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, for us, our heirs and successors, we give and grant to the said James, archbishop of Armagh, and his successors, that he the said James, archbishop of Armagh, and his successors for ever, and every of them, can and may have, hold and enjoy several courts of Piè poudre, and all things to courts of Piè poudre appertaining, in and within the said markets and fairs respectively, during said markets and fairs respectively, and take, receive, have and enjoy to his and their proper use and behoof, without any account thereout to be rendered to us, our heirs and successors, all and singular tolls, customs, issues, profits, perquisites, commodities, emoluments, liberties, privileges, free customs and jurisdictions whatsoever, or howsoever, of, from, or within the said market and fair and court of Piè poudre aforesaid, above granted, growing, accruing or emerging, or to such market, fair, and court belonging and to every of them respectively incident or in any manner appertaining, and to put themselves in seisin thereof. To have, hold, and enjoy said market, fair and court, tolls and customs, profits, commodities and jurisdictions, to the said James, archbishop of Armagh, and his successor, to the sole and proper use and behoof of the said James, archbishop of Armagh, and his successors for ever, without any duty or rent thereout to be rendered to us, our heirs and successors."

ON perusing the charter granted to the city of Armagh, our readers will perceive that it was the intention of King James that the freemen of the borough should take "the oath of supremacy," which is styled by him "the oath of the commons, *i. e.* the freeman's oath. This, of course, would limit the freedom of the city to those persons who can, with a safe conscience, swear that they deem the sovereign of Great Britain to be rightful head of the church in these realms. This oath has been long disused in the assembly of the borough,* and a system more liberal than

* See page 472 of this work.

that prescribed by the charter, has been adopted by the citizens. To this system under which the town has flourished exceedingly, we hope they will steadily adhere.

It seems, also, to have been the intention of James, that on the death or removal of a burgess, one of the most respectable of the inhabitants of Armagh should be elected by the other burgesses to fill the vacant office.

We have endeavoured to translate the charter with as much fidelity as possible, from the barbarous language in which it is written. The copy we possess is duly attested by a *custos rotulorum*. It is in contracted law Latin, offensive to the eye and grating to the ear of a classical scholar.

*Catalogue of the works of Dr. James Ussher, Primate and
and Metropolitan of all Ireland.**

GRAVISSIMÆ questiones de Christianarum ecclesiarum in occidentis præsertim partibus, &c. &c. Londini, 1613, 4to. iterum Hanoviæ, 1658, iterum Londini, 1687, 4to.

Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge, &c. Dublinii, 1632, 4to.—Parisiis, 1665. 4to.

Gotteschalchi et Prædestinationæ Controversiæ ab eo motæ Historia. Dublinii, 1631, 4to. Hanoviæ, 1662. 4to.

De Ecclesiarum Britanicarum Primordiis. Dublinii, 1639, 4to.

Policarpi et Ignatii Epistolæ Gr. et Lat. cum dissertatione de eorum Scriptis, &c. Oxonii, 1644. 4to.

Appendix Ignatiana &c. Londini, 1647, 4to.

Diatriba de Romanæ Ecclesiæ Symbolo Apostolico vetere, &c. Londini, 1647, 4to. Oxonii, 1660, 4to.

De Macedonum et Asianorum anno solari Londini, 1648, 8vo. Parisii, 1673. folio. Leyden, 1683.

Annales Veteris Testamenti a prima mundi origine deducti, &c. Londini, 1650. folio.

Epistola ad Ludovicum Capellum de variantibus textus Hebraici lectionibus. Londini, 1652, 4to.—1655. 4to.

Annales Novi Testamenti. Londini, 1654, folio. Parisii, 1673. folio.

De Græca Septuaginta Interpretum versione Syntagma, &c. Londini, 1655, 4to.

Dissertatio de Cainane Arphaxidi filio et epistola ad Ludovicum Capellum. Londini, 1655.†

Chronologia Sacra (edit. per Thomam Barlow.) Oxonii, 1660, 4to, iterum Parisii, 1673.

Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates, &c. Dublinii, 1687, folio.‡

Ad Britannicarum Antiquitatum Collectanea Index Chronologicus.§

* See his Life in page 310 of this work.

† This work was annexed to the preceding *De Græca*, &c.

‡ See the former edition *De Primordiis*, as above.

§ This valuable work and the treatise *De Christianarum Ecclesiarum statu* are annexed to the *Brit. Eccl. Ant.*

Historia dogmatica *Controversiæ* inter Orthodoxos et Pontificios de Scripturis et sacris vernaculis, &c. Edit. Londini, per H. Wharton, 1690, 4to
Censuræ Patrum et aliorum Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum, sive Bibliotheca Theologica.

De veterum Paschalibus Scriptis.

Variæ Lectiones et Collationes, Vet. et Nov. Instrumenti.

1. *Genesis*.—Longe antiquissimum exemplar Græcum Cottonianum, cum editione Francofurtensi, Collatum.

2. Collatio Psalterii à B. Hieronymo ex Heb. conversi, et à Jacobo Fabro, Parisiis, an, 1513. editi, &c.

3. Annotationes variarum Lectionum in Psalmis juxta Masoreth Judæorum, sive cum nota aliqua Masoretica.

4. Psalterium cum versione Saxonica interlineata in Bibliotheca Salisburiensis Ecclesiæ.

5. Psalterium Gallicum cum Romano collatum et Hebraico παραλληλως oppositum, Manuscripto in Westmonasteriensis Ecclesiæ Bibliotheca

6. Collatio Canticorum utriusque Testamenti cum editione vulgatâ Latinâ.

7. Variæ Lectiones et Collationes N. Test. ex vetustissimis Exemplaribus.

8. Collatio editionis Chronici Eusebii à Josepho Scaligero edit. cum Manuscripto è Regia Bibliotheca.

9. Collatio variorum Pentateuchi Samaritani Exemplarium, cum notis et Observationibus.

10. Chronologia Legum Codicis Theodosiani et Justiniani, &c.

Julianæ Periodi ad Juliani anni usum et vulgaris æræ Christianæ, ad anni Juliani pariter et Gregoriani Methodum accommodatæ, &c.

Ratio Bissextorum literarum Dominicarum, Equinoctiorum et Festorum Christianorum, tam mobilium quam immobilium.

De Institutione Chronologica, viz De Tempore et illius Mensura. de Die ejusque partibus, de horis et scrupulis, de Hebdomadibus et Mensibus, de Anno Astronomico, de varia Annorum Supputatione. Secundum Græca Exemplaria.

De differentia circuli et spheræ. de cursu septem Planetarum et Signorum Cœlestium, et de quinque Parall. in sphaera Zonas distinguunt.

Veteres Observationes Cœlestes Chaldaicæ, Græcæ, et Ægyptiacæ.

Insigniorum Imperiorum et Regnorum, quæ ante Christi adventum in orbe floruerunt, successiones et tempora, &c.

Series Chronologica Syriaca. Regum et Imperatorum Babyloniorum, Persarum, Græcorum, et Romanorum, à Nebuchadnezzar ad Vespasianum, ab Anno Mundi 4915, ad Annum 5585.

De fastis Magistratum et Coss. et Triumphorum Romanorum, ab Urbe Condita usque ad excessum Cæsaris Augusti, ex fragmentis Marmoreis foro Romano effossis, et a doctissimis nostri temporis Chronographis suppletis.

Catalogus Consulium, ex variis Authoribus.

De Ponderibus et Mensuris.

De Primis Hæreticis et Hæresibus Judæorum.

Annotationes Rabbinicæ, ex Scriptis Rabbinorum et eorum Sacræ Scripturæ Interpretum.

Imperatorum Christianorum a Constantino magno usque ad Justinianum, Constitutiones, et Epistolæ collectæ et recensitæ.

Veterum Anglo-Saxorum Monumenta et Anglo-Saxonicarum Epistolarum Sylloge, ex variis Manuscriptis.

Epistolæ Alcuini variæ ad diversos Missæ ineditæ, in Bibliotheca Cottoniana Manuscriptis collectæ et recensitæ.

Epistolæ venerabilis Archiepiscop. Lanfranci ad diversos Missæ, ex antiquissimo exemplari Bibliothecæ Cottonianæ collectæ, et recensitæ

Collectiones Genealogicæ, Historicæ, Mathematicæ, Astrologicæ, Chronologicæ, et Theologicæ variæ, de quibus passim judicium fertur.

Besides these, there is a Latin dissertation on the original and first institution of Corbes, Erenachs, and Termon lands, written by Dr. Ussher.*

There were also Polemical Lectures, written by him while professor in the university of Dublin, in three quarto volumes, which are lost. His Lectures on the Seventy Weeks of Daniel, and De Mille Annis, mentioned in the Apocalypse, are lost.—The works he wrote in English are—

A Sermon preached before the House of Commons at Westminster, Feb. 18th, 1620, on 1 Cor. 10, 17. London 1621, 4to. 1631, 4to. It was published by order of the House, and is reckoned a very learned piece.

A Speech delivered in the Castle of Dublin, concerning the lawfulness of taking, and danger of refusing the Oath of Supremacy, on the 22d of November, 1622. London, 1631, 4to. *ibid.* 1661.

A Brief Declaration of the Universality of the Church of Christ, and the Unity of the Catholic Faith professed therein, in a Sermon before the King, on the 20th of June, 1624. London, 1631, 4to. *ibid.* 1687, 4to.

An Answer to a Challenge made by a Jesuit in Ireland, wherein the Judgment of Antiquity in the Points questioned is truly delivered, and the Novelty of the new Romish Doctrine plainly discovered. London, 1625—1631, 4to. 1686.

A Speech delivered in the Castle of Dublin upon the denial to contribute to the Supply of the King's Army for the Defence of the Government, April 30th, 1627.

A Discourse of the Religion anciently professed by the Irish and British London, 1631, 4to. 1686, 4to.

Immanuel, or the Mystery of the Incarnation of the Son of God. Dublin, 1638, 4to. 1649, 4to. London, 1658, 4to.

His Petition to the House of Lords of England, against John Nicholson, who had published an injurious Pamphlet, entitled "*Vox Hiberniæ*," with the order thereon. London, 1640, 4to.

A Geographical and Historical Disquisition touching the Asia properly so called, the Lydian Asia (which is the Asia so often mentioned in the New Testament) the Proconsular Asia, and the Asian Diocess. Oxford, 1641, 4to. 1643, 4to.

The Judgment of Dr. Reynolds, &c. touching the Original of Episcopacy more largely confirmed out of Antiquity. Oxford, 1644, 4to.

A discourse of the Original of Bishops and Metropolitans, Oxford, 1641, 4to.

The Principles of the Christian Religion. London, 1654, 12mo.

A Body of divinity; or the Sum and Substance of the Christian Religion, by way of Question and Answer. Collected in his younger years for his own private use; but published without his knowledge. London, 1649, folio, 1658, folio.

The Annals of the Old and New Testament. London, 1658, folio. It is a translation of his Latin work, made by himself.

The Power of the Prince, and Obedience of the Subject stated, with a Preface by Dr. Robert Saunderson Bishop of Lincoln. London, 1661, 4to. 1683, 8vo. 1691, 8vo.—Published by his grandson, James Tyrrel, Esq.

Sermons preached before the King, at Oxford and elsewhere. London, 1662.

* There is a translation of this in the *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis*, No. ii. page 174, of which we have made use in treating of the ancient Irish church. Appendix, No. xiii.

Letters, being a collection of those he wrote to several learned men, and of theirs to him, published with his Life by his chaplain, Dr. Parr. London, 1686, folio.

The Reduction of Episcopacy into the form of Synodical Government received in the Ancient Church. London, 1656, 4to.

The Extent of Christ's Death and Satisfaction upon the Cross; with an Answer to the exception taken against it. London, 1657, 8vo.

Of the Sabbath, and Observation of the Lord's Day. London, 1657, 8vo.

Of Ordination in other Reformed Churches. These three pieces are printed together, under the title of "The Judgment of the late Archbishop of Armagh, &c." London, 1657. 8vo.

His Judgment of the State of the present See of Rome, from Apocal. xviii. 4 London, 1559, 8vo.

Ordination, a Fundamental. His Sense of Heb. vi. 2;

Of the Use of a set Form of Prayer in the Church.

His Judgment and Sense of John xx. 22, 23.—"Receive the Holy Ghost whose sins ye remit, &c." London, 1659. 8vo.

THE END.

Wilkinson, Printer, Newry.

Lancaster, a collection of those he wrote to several learned men, and of others to him, published with his life by his chaplain, Dr. Farr, London, 1802, 8vo.

The Institution of Episcopacy into the form of Synodical Government received in the Anglican Church, London, 1856, 4to.

The History of Christ's Church and Satisfaction upon the Cross; with an Answer to the objection taken against it, London, 1857, 8vo.

Of the Sabbath and Observance of the Lord's Day, London, 1857, 8vo.

Of Ordination in other Reformed Churches. These three pieces are printed together under the title, The Judgment of the late Archbishop of Armagh, London, 1857, 8vo.

The Judgment of the State of the present See of Rome, from Apocal. xviii. & London, 1858, 8vo.

Ordination, a Fundamental. His Discourse of Heb. vi. 2. Of the Use of a new Form of Prayer in the Church.

His Judgment and Sense of John xx. 22, 23, "Receive the Holy Ghost whom the Father sends, &c." London, 1859, 8vo.

THE END.

William, Printer, Newry.

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ERRATA.

Page 27, line 23, for *quæ*, read *quod*...line 24, for *acceperat*, read *acceptant*. Page 31, line 17, for *a modern author*, read *an author of no great antiquity*. Page 61, line 25, for *Trea. Tham.* read *Tria. Thaum.* Page 64, line 7, in the note, for 1791, read 1691. Page 75, line 13, for *about*, read *above*. Page 113, lines 20 and 22, transpose the words *former* and *latter*. Page 146, line 20, for *English*, read *British*. Page 160, line 11, for *were*, read *was*. Page 163, line 5, in the note, for *two miles*, read *one mile*. Page 169, line 4, for *Tirconnel*, read *Tir-Eoghain*. Page 172, line 14, for 1612, read 1216. Page 177, line 3, for 15th, read 19th. Page 182, line 13, for 1210, read 1310. Page 215, line 2, for *he*, read *the*. Page 235, in the reference, for 70, read 79. Page 266, line 25, for 1586, read 1584. Page 283, line 1, *dele* the word *round*. Page 293, line 3, for *proceeded*, read *returned*. Page 314, in the list of names, for *Ge. Richardson*, read *Jo. Richardson*. Page 318, line 28, put a semicolon after the word *lady*, a comma after *Beaumont*. Page 321, line 14, for *community*, read *communion*. Page 324, line 19, for *dignities*, read *dignitaries*. Page 380, line 27, for £110,000, read £40,000. Page 381, line 23, for *Lowth*, read *Lowther*. Page 383, line 14, for *ship*, read *bark*. Page 404, line 22, for *Hibernica*, read *Hibernia*. Page 444, line 5, for *has*, read *had*. Page 448, line 18, for 1666, read 1766. Page 452, line 7, for *Darby*, read *Derby*. Page 455, line 37, for *of Tell*, read *Duke of Tell*. Page 520, line 11, for *S. M. P.* read *L. M. P.* Page 584, line 35, for *edifices*, read *edifice*. Page 598, line 22, insert "*that part of*," before the words, *the district*. Page 602, line 36, for *denum*, read *demum*.*

* Some of the above errors are already corrected in a great part of the edition.



Stuart, James

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